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[PART I.

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Om Mani Padme Hum.

By Dr. Sten Konow, Ph.D., Honorary Member, Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Everybody who has occupied himself with Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism has more than once come across the famous formula *om mani padme hūm*. These six syllables, the *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā*, are the most efficacious among the numerous prayers and formulas used by the Buddhists of Tibet and Mongolia. To quote Koeppen, "they are the only thing the ordinary Tibetan and Mongol knows; they are the first words which the child learns to stammer, they are the last sigh of the dying one. The wanderer mutters them on his way, the herdsman at his flocks, the woman at her house-work, the monk at all his studies of intuition, i.e., of doing nothing: they are the cry both of war and of triumph. They are to be read everywhere where the Lamaistic church has penetrated, on flags, rocks, trees, walls, stone monuments, implements, paper slips, human skulls and skeletons, etc. They are, according to the opinion of the believers, the essence of all religion, all wisdom and revelation, the path to salvation and the gate of bliss. The six syllables combine the goodwill of all Buddhas in one point and are the root of every teaching. They are the heart of the heart from

which everything that is salutary and blissful flows, the ladder to rebirth in higher existences, the door which bars evil rebirths, the ship which takes us across transmigration, the torch which illuminates black darkness, the brave conqueror of the five evils, the fire ocean which consumes sin and worry, the hammer which crushes all pain, and the accompanying friend for converting the rough snow land."¹

A religious formula which plays such a prominent rôle in the mentality of numerous human beings, must necessarily be of considerable interest to the student of religions, and eminent scholars have devoted much time and study to its elucidation. But it has not, so far as I know, been satisfactorily explained. It raises numerous questions, which cannot as yet be finally solved, and I do not flatter myself in thinking that I am able to clear up every doubt. The ideas underlying the formula are, however, so intimately connected with what I consider to be the leading principles of Indian and Indo-European religion that every new attempt at an explanation may be of value, if not otherwise, at least in instigating other scholars to take up the investigation on broader lines. The remarks which I have to offer are therefore not meant to be final but rather in the way of a preliminary study.

The formula is only known to us in connexion with Buddhism, but that is no reason for inferring that it cannot have its origin in non-Buddhist conceptions, and Koeppen has already suggested that it may have been borrowed from Saivism.

It seems certain that it does not properly belong to Southern Buddhism as it is laid down in the Pali Tipitaka, but to the Mahāyāna.

The most striking feature in this system is the great rôle played by the Bodhisattva. The Hinayāna teaches the way to bliss by insight, intuition and faith, where every individual must strive for perfection by himself, guided by the eternal truths preached by the Buddha, but without the help of a saviour. It is a small vehicle, in so far as it only carries one individual

¹ Die Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche, page 59.

into the haven of bliss, and it can only be used by him who has renounced the world for good. It is the last, the final means of attaining to the eternal reality of Nirvāṇa.

We know that the Buddha did not point to this yāna when preaching to the masses. To them he spoke about the duties of common life, about the merit of giving alms and following the precepts of morality, and about the reward set out for such conduct in the bliss of heaven. To them he was a guide on the right way, and most of his upāsakas and upāsikās no doubt found rest in the hope he held out to them of rebirth in the celestial abodes of bliss.

This more popular teaching has been continued and perfected in the Mahāyāna. The merciful Bodhisattva, who has acquired the high state which enables him to become a Buddha, stops short and devotes his merit to the salvation of all beings. His teaching and mercy become the great vehicle on which all mankind can drive to the haven of bliss. Also within the Mahāyāna, at least in some sects, the individual salvation through self-exertion and dhyāna is the last end to the ultimate goal. What strikes us most, however, are the attempts at making salvation universal, and here we have before us the explanation of the fact that Mahāyāna and not Hīnayāna has become a universal religion, which many Buddhists think will some day be adopted by all mankind.

There are, as is well known, many Bodhisattvas, but none of them has acquired a higher rank than Avalokiteśvara, whose name according to Dr. Zimmer characterizes him as a being who is able (*śoara*) to acquire *avalokita*, the highest insight. He it is who leads man to Sukhāvati, the western paradise, where Amitābha, the immeasurable light, is enthroned, and it is also he who is believed to have revealed the sacred formula *om maṇi padme hūṃ*.

The Mahāyāna is not only a further development of the teaching of the Buddha. It is, at the same time, a reawakening of the deepest religious tendencies of the Indian people. The old conceptions and ideas, which had always pervaded the

religious life, and which are also at the bottom of Buddhism, came to light again, and it is therefore not to be wondered at that many features of Mahāyāna have striking parallels in other Indian religions. The deep primeval substratum is common to all of them. Nothing would accordingly be more intelligible than if the famous formula of Lamaism should prove to be derived from this ancient substratum, and to have, in its origin, nothing Buddhistic about it.

The tradition according to which the *ṣaḍakṣarī* was revealed by Avalokiteśvara, is not of Tibetan origin. The first time it is met with is, so far as I know, in a Sanskrit work of the Mahāyāna, one of those who are believed to be due to higher inspiration, the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*. In the *Divyāvadāna*, where a *ṣaḍakṣarī* is also mentioned, the formula is not given in the usual words. The *Kāraṇḍavyūha* is stated to have been translated into Chinese about the year 270 A.D., and as we cannot trace the systematical Mahāyāna further back than to about the second century, the work cannot be much older.

It is written in prose, and I know it from an edition which seems to have been brought out in such a way that a corrupt manuscript has been sent to press, while the actual editing was left to the printer. There exists, besides, a poetical version, which has not, so far as I know, been printed, but which may be used as a commentary.

This version is comparatively late, and it is possible that also the prosaic recension has been altered and enlarged since it was translated into Chinese in the third century. Some sinologist will perhaps give us information about this question. There is not, however, any reason for suspecting that the account of the revelation of the *ṣaḍakṣarī* formula is a later addition. It is to the following effect:

The Bodhisattva Sarvanīvaraṇaviṣkambhin enquires from the Buddha how he can obtain the *ṣaḍakṣarī* vidyā. The Buddha relates how the Buddha Padmottara had learnt it from Avalokiteśvara and revealed it to himself. Viṣkambhin, however, ought to proceed to a certain Dharmabhāṇaka in Benares in order to learn the formula.

We are told how Amitābha, when the *ṣaḍakṣarī* was to be revealed to Padmottara, declared that it could not be taught before he had learnt the corresponding maṇḍala. The latter should be square, four hands long on each side. In the centre one should draw Amitābha, to his right the Bodhisattva Mahāmañdhara and to his left the *ṣaḍakṣarī* itself. The *ṣaḍakṣarī mahāvidyā* is to be pictured in the shape of a four-armed female, white like the crescent of the autumnal moon. In her left hand she holds a red lotus (*padma*), in her right a rosary. The remaining two hands should be held in certain mudrās.

This description of the maṇḍala is not found in the poetical version but it is in agreement with the general trend of religious ideas in India. The *ṣaḍakṣarī*, the sacred formula, is what is so often called a *devatā*, i.e., a manifestation of eternal power. Such powers and forces have their own life, their own independent existence just as well as ordinary living beings. The ancient Aryan and Indo-European mentality was, with regard to them as to every more or less abstract idea, somewhat different from ours. In addition to the things and beings perceived by the senses the universe consisted of countless entities of a different description, but no less real: faculties like speech and thought, qualities like strength and fertility, forces and potencies of various kinds. They were often viewed in personal or semi-personal shape, and the great Vedic gods are such personifications, manifestations of the occult forces, through which it becomes easier to approach them in worship. In the same way the *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā* stands for the mysterious power hidden in its six syllables, and it may be pictured in human or super-human shape. That it is personified as a woman, may of course be a consequence of the fact that the words *ṣaḍakṣarī vidyā* are of the feminine gender. It is, however, more likely that the sex belongs to ancient conceptions which have been continued in the belief in the efficacy of the *ṣaḍakṣarī*.

If we now examine the picture drawn of the formula in the maṇḍala, it will be seen that the red lotus and the rosary are

prominent attributes, and we are involuntarily reminded of the fact that these same attributes qualify Prajñāpāramitā. We are inclined to think that the ṣaḍakṣarī was considered to be a manifestation of that *devatā*, and we do not get astonished when we read in the poetical recension of the Kāraṇḍavyūha that such is the case, that the formula is in fact the Prajñāpāramitā, the mother of all the Buddhas.

The Prajñāpāramitā, the perfect and transcendental insight and wisdom, belongs to the philosophical conception of Buddhahood. A Buddha has to practise and master several perfections *pāramitās*, in *dāna*, in *sīla*, etc. And these perfections were not simply qualities or faculties belonging to the individual Buddha, but real entities, existing independently of him and filled with their own life, eternal forces, which had to combine in order to produce a Buddha. In Vedic times we hear about such forces having their body, their *tanū*. The conception was accordingly strongly materialistic, and I have already mentioned how it was personalized in the case of the Vedic gods. And later on, when the Aryans began to represent the eternal powers in pictures and statues, the personal stamp naturally asserted itself. It should be remembered that the picture does not only represent, but actually *is* the thing represented, and though the representation of the forces in human or superhuman shape was apt to give rise to the creations of poetical and mythical fancy so that the ancient conception might be overlaid and overshadowed by fiction, it never lost its hold on the mind.

Among the perfections constituting Buddhahood the perfection of knowledge and insight naturally occupied a prominent position. For Buddhism is essentially a jñānamārga, a way to emancipation through insight and knowledge. This insight into the nature of things, into the eternal law pervading the universe, which leads to emancipation, is not, however, a mere reasoning, but essentially a reflex of eternal truth, acquired through direct intuition, and in this way it becomes an image of, and as an image essentially identical with, the eternal law itself. It was in direct intuition, under the

tree of Bodhi, that the Buddha saw the eternal truths which it is necessary to realize in order to become a Buddha, and every Buddha has to proceed in the same way. It is this intuition, this perfection which makes a human being a Buddha, which creates the Buddha. It exists as an eternal entity since the beginning of things and is older than all the Buddhas, brings them into being, creates them, is their mother, *jananī*.

The Prajñāpāramitā was at an early time brought into shape in a book or in books, which were not, however, anything else than verbal pictures of the real thing, with the usual identity between the picture and the thing pictured. And it was also represented in actual pictures, as a woman, the mother of the Buddhas.

This representation seems at first sight to belong to the realm of poetical and mythical fiction, just as the Virgin is, to the average Christian, a definite personality within the sphere of Christian tradition. To the ancient Aryan mind, and to a great extent in Indian art on the whole, a picture does not, however, represent an individual being or definite personality, but rather an idea or some eternal force or power. The Prajñāpāramitā is pictured as a woman, but this woman is the mother who has produced all the Buddhas, she is personified motherhood, the eternal mother herself.

This idea of abstract motherhood as a kind of living entity, which has been at work as long as the universe has existed and even may be said to precede the universe, is very old in India. It is a living force, say an eternal fluid, which manifests itself everywhere where life is procreated. Thereby it is often coupled with another force, the active principle of procreation, the ideal fatherhood, and this conception is at the bottom of the vague references to *Prithivī mātā* and *Dyaus pitā* in the *R̥gveda*, motherhood being manifest in Earth and fatherhood in the Sky, the bestower of the fertilizing rain. They are not real gods, in the common sense of the word, but the mystic powers of the male and female elements in generation.

Every productive generating force may be viewed under this double aspect, and we therefore find female counterparts of the great gods, already in the hymns of the R̥gveda. Mythic imagination then leads to widespread speculations. Every god, every representative of mystic power, may be viewed as an active male deity and also as a sprouting and developing energy, a *sakti*.

The doctrine of *sakti* has especially been developed within Śaivism and Buddhism, in the Tantras, which in their present form are comparatively late productions, but which have evolved and systematized very ancient ideas. As we know them, they are more or less under the influence of the idea of the one god, which seems to have some of its deepest roots in ancient Yoga and in Śaivism. God is one and eternal, with no wishes and wants, and consequently with no desire to manifest himself. He is the only existing reality, and as such he also comprises the potential force of evolution and activity. And this force, his *sakti*, manifests itself in the manifold universe.

In the further development of this idea the ancient conception of eternal forces at the bottom of life and the manifested universe has been further framed under the influence of the theory of *karma*, which is already met with in the oldest Upaniṣads. Karma, which shaped the destiny of man, was an eternal force, to which everybody was subject, and its effect was not to be avoided. Now this karma came to be considered as the moving power in the evolution of divine *śakti*. The transcendent calm of eternal divinity was disturbed through karma, in order that it might display its force in framing the destiny of the souls and finally exhausting itself. The activity of divine Śakti thus becomes a manifestation, a *pravṛtti*, through which the innumerable beings enter into life and earn the fruit of their karma. But behind this display we have always the static reality of God, and the aim of the whole process is to lead the universe back to him, the everlasting reality : after the *pravṛtti* follows the *nirvṛtti*, the return. Both processes, the *pravṛtti* as well as the *nirvṛtti* were viewed as a kind of generation, with

the aim to produce, on the one hand the manifold display of the world of phenomena, on the other eternal reality of true existence. The latter generation is framed on the model of the former one, which has its roots in the oldest conceptions of the Aryan and probably in Indo-European worship, with mystic ceremonies and rites, wherewith magic copulation may have played a considerable rôle. And these rites were partly taken over in the practice of the later philosophical school.

This whole theory has at an early date penetrated Buddhism. The Buddhas are evolved from, born by the eternal energy or Sakti, the Prajñāpāramitā, and come forward in *pravṛtti* in order to enable man to get rid of the effects of karma, through the eradication of craving, *trṣṇā*, which alone makes karma fatal to the individual. And then their activity gets a higher aim, to lead the man who is freed from *trṣṇā* back to the eternal reality, where there is no birth or growth or decay, no impermanency or suffering, to Nirvāṇa. And in this activity they each have their own individual Sakti, with which they are united in order to bring about the desired result. But these individual Saktis, the consorts of the various Buddhas, are in reality only manifestations of the one eternal Sakti, the Prajñā or Prajñāpāramitā, which was the mother of the Buddhas who now became her husbands.

This union is, perhaps in imitation of ancient rites, pictured as a couple, the Buddha or Bodhisattva embracing his Sakti, and this embrace can be imitated, and its effect realized by human beings who have entered on the path of *nirvṛtti*. Thereby there are, in Śaivism as in Buddhism, two schools, the *dakṣiṇācāra*, where the imitation of the ideal union is a spiritual process, and the *vāmācāra*, when it is effected through a ceremonial union with a woman.

The spiritual union can be effected by means of pictures which lead the mind into the proper direction, but also by means of verbal pictures, sacred formulas and spells. In both cases the picture is an actual realization. Such pictures are well known to every student of Buddhism, and the corresponding

formulas and spells have often been discussed by scholars. They are called *dhāraṇī*, and their form and length are varying. They are commonly introduced by the sacred syllable *om*, and they usually contain a designation of the power or force which they are meant to bespeak, to fix (*dhṛ*). Finally they contain a *bīja*, a syllable indicating the deity which is intended. Such *bījas* sometimes consist of the initial of some god's name. Thus *in* is used as a *bīja* of Indra, *ga* of Gaṇeśa. More commonly, however, the *bīja* is apparently a meaningless sound-complex such as *klīm*, *śrīm*, *hrīm*, *hrām*, *hrūm*, *khaṭ*, *phaṭ*, etc. The syllable *om* itself occurs as a *bīja*, and several *bījas* can already be traced in Vedic literature and may be considerably older still. They aim at the same result as the *dhāraṇī*, to effect an ideal union with some eternal power. From later times we have indexes of such *bījas*, and if such works had been available for the Vedic period as well, we should rarely be in doubt about the identity of the deity invoked in a *dhāraṇī*.

The *ṣaḍakṣarī* is such a *dhāraṇī*. It is introduced by the syllable *om*, which is not here a *bīja*, but meant to impress upon the mind that the aim is to attain union with the eternal reality for which the syllable often stands. The actual *bīja* is *hūm*. For the reason already mentioned, we cannot say with certainty which deity had in ancient times this *bīja*, but it may be of interest to note that it is frequently in Tantric literature connected with Śiva's consort, the goddess with the many names.

The remaining portion of the *dhāraṇī* seems to consist of two words, *maṇi*, jewel, and *padme*, the locative of *padma*, the red lotus. They have commonly been translated "O thou jewel in the lotus", and attention has been drawn to the fact that the red lotus is an attribute of Avalokiteśvara, whose intimate connexion with the formula cannot be doubted. The whole *dhāraṇī* would accordingly consist in an invocation of the merciful Bodhisattva.

Everybody who is acquainted with Sanskrit will, however, know that this translation is impossible.

Maṇi cannot be the vocative, and we should have to state that the formula was written in ungrammatical language. That would of course be possible, if it were late and had been framed outside of the territory where Sanskrit was properly taught and cultivated, e.g., in Tibet. We know however that it goes back into a time and a country where Sanskrit was well known, and we must try to analyse the words under the supposition that the grammatical forms are correct. But then we must infer that *maṇi*, which is the mere theme without any case suffix, is not a separate word but only the first part of a compound, so that *maṇipadme* should be taken together as one word.

That such is the case has also often been recognized. Wilson saw in *maṇipadme* the locative of a word which he explained as synonymous with *padmapāṇi*, he who has the lotus in his hand, i.e., Avalokiteśvara. It is not necessary to discuss this explanation, because we know from numerous other dhāraṇīs that the word or words designating the deity or divine power invoked are always put in the vocative. *Maṇipadme* must therefore be a vocative, and as such, it can only be a vocative of the feminine base *maṇipadmā*. This explanation has been correctly given by Dr. F. W. Thomas,¹ who has suggested to explain the ṣaḍakṣari as an invocation of Tārā, who is so often pictured and invoked together with Avalokiteśvara, as his śakti.

Dr. Thomas has not given any analysis or translation of the form *maṇipadme*, probably because he did not think it necessary. It is evident that the meaning can only be "thou whose padma is a maṇi", or, "thou in whose padma there is a maṇi". The former analysis does not seem to give any sense, the latter, on the other hand, is quite satisfactory and no doubt correct. The proper explanation of this designation has already been indicated by Koeppen, who drew attention to the fact that *maṇi* also means *liṅga* and *padma* the *yoni*. *Maṇipadmā* is accordingly a female deity with a *liṅga* in her *yoni*. The conceptions which I have already discussed about the god and

¹ J. R.A.S. 1906, p. 464.

his śakti give us the explanation : it is the same idea which meets us in the numerous representations of the sexual union between a god, a Buddha, or a Bodhisattva and his śakti. And in our case the meaning is clear : the eternal power or śakti, which has caused the evolution of the world of re-birth, has united herself with her own child, the Bodhisattva, in order to bring about a new generation, the nirvṛtti, leading to emancipation, to Nirvāṇa.

He who in faith and understanding mutters or makes use of the sacred formula has a share in the cosmic force which it symbolizes and embodies, and he may confidently hope to be carried on by its current to the ultimate, the highest goal. He has attained to a mystical union with the force itself and with the powerful being personifying it.

That being cannot be Avalokiteśvara, because it is conceived as a female. But it must be closely connected with him. That is evident from the history of the ṣaḍakṣari itself, and that is in accordance with Buddhist belief. We must therefore necessarily infer that the dhāraṇī is directed to Avalokiteśvara's female counterpart, to his śakti.

This śakti is usually named Tārā, and she is conceived in various shapes and forms, and the syllable *hūm* is sometimes actually used as her bīja. The red lotus and the rosary, however, which are mentioned as attributes of the ṣaḍakṣari in the Kāraṇḍavyūha, and the definite statement in the poetical version of that work, rather point to the Prajñāpāramitā, as has already been remarked. But then we have also seen that the śakti of the individual Bodhisattvas are, after all, nothing else than manifestations of the eternal Pāramitā, and Tārā is also actually identified with it.¹

The ṣaḍakṣari therefore apparently dates back to a period when mythical fancy had not yet created all the individual Bodhisattvas and their female counterparts, to a time when the idea of śakti was only beginning to crop up in Buddhism. And this idea is, as is recognized by all scholars, no new creation

¹ Cf. Āryatārābhaṭṭārikānāmāṣṭottarāśatakaṣṭotra 32

of Buddhism, but belongs to the common Indian mentality, and has been especially developed in Saivism, from which sphere also the physiognomy of Avalokiteśvara has borrowed several of its features. It is possible that the śaḍakṣarī is older than the amalgamation of Buddhism with the idea of śakti, and that it is not, from the beginning, a Buddhist formula. That question does not, however, interest us in the present connexion. It might be taken up in a general survey of the development of the śakti theory. The history of the śaḍakṣarī however shows that the connexion of Buddhism with the śakti idea is old, and that the development which in China led to the transformation of the male Avalokiteśvara to the female Kwan-yin had already taken its beginning on Indian soil.

II.—Annual Meeting, Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

**Review of the work of the year 1924 by the Hon'ble Sir
Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Vice-President of the
Society.**

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It falls to the Vice-President to give the Society at its annual meeting a brief review of the work of the year. It is impossible for me to undertake this duty on the present occasion without a great feeling of sadness. Last March I stood up for this purpose side by side with that eminent scholar and great Indian, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, whose untimely and sudden death a few months later filled not only this province and our neighbour Bengal, but all India and the whole world of scholars, with the deepest sense of regret. He was cut off at a time when he had just retired from the service of Government and had still the normal expectation of many useful years before him. To none was the loss greater than to the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, of which he was a most distinguished member. None of us who heard him last year will forget his keen interest in the progress of our society, his comprehensive review of the work done by its various members since its foundation in 1915, his scholarly indication of the fields still to be explored within and without the province, and his warm encouragement to all lovers of research.

"Learning," he concluded, "is its own reward and no people can thrive or survive the wreck of time, who love not, cherish not, treasure not, learning. Let us give ourselves and set ourselves to do our duty, for duty, and sacred duty, it is to study our past, to unearth our treasures, to shed light all around us, and to hand down our heritage richer and greater than it came to us."

Although he has been taken from us, these, his last words to us, will continue to be an inspiring memory to members of the Society, both present and future.

I have another sad loss to chronicle, before I pass on to the business of the day. We have just heard a few days back of the death of another distinguished scholar, Dr. Spooner, whose name will always be intimately connected with Pataliputra, and who was a personal friend of many of us here in Patna. He took a prominent part in the work of our Society during the first years of its foundation and always maintained a kindly interest in our doings. I am sure that you will all join with me in sending a message of heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Spooner in her sad bereavement.

I will now endeavour to give a short sketch of the work done during the past year. I am glad to say that the Society has continued to function vigorously since our last annual meeting, thanks to the keen interest taken in its labours by the General Secretary, Mr. Horne, the Joint Secretary, Mr. Sen, and the Journal Committee, Messrs. Jayaswal, Banerji-Sastri and Mazumdar. The Council has met several times during the year and the finances of the Society are in good order. I should like here to record our special thanks for this result to our late Treasurer, Mr. Duke, who worked hard to improve the financial position of the Society. Since Mr. Duke's departure to Muzaffarpur, Mr. Sen has kindly agreed to take over the work of the Treasurer in addition to his duties as Joint Secretary.

It is to our Journal of course that the world of scholars looks for evidence of our vigour as a Research Society and I think I can justly say that under the fostering care of Mr. Jayaswal and his coadjutors the journal has fully maintained its output and reputation during the past year. All four issues have been duly brought out and the volume for the year covers some 500 pages of original research work.

Perhaps the most notable contributions have been the publication of two interesting Sanskrit texts, the Bhagavadajukam, which was published in the March-June issue, by

Dr. Banerji-Sastri, and the Rājanīti-Ratnākara, which was published in the December issue, by Mr. Jayaswal.

The Bhagavadajjukam is a Sanskrit comedy, of which the date and authorship are unknown, but from internal evidence Dr. Banerji-Sastri attributes it to the second or third century A.C. Its author was a Hindu Aristophanes, who criticised in the most humorous way the foibles of his times, attacking indiscriminately all religious sects and beliefs, both orthodox and heterodox, Brahminical and Buddhistic. The hero, Bhagavat, exposes the mercenary nature of all the cults prevalent in his time and deplores the absence of any true philosophy of life. The publication has already attracted outside notice and one leading vernacular paper has asked for permission to publish a translation. Dr. Banerji-Sastri has promised a further critical study of the comedy in a subsequent issue of the Journal.

The manuscript of the Rājanīti-Ratnākara was discovered in the course of the search for Sanskrit manuscripts initiated by Sir Edward Gait, of which I have something to say later. The author was the famous lawyer of Mithila, called Chanḍeśvara, who lived at the court of Hari Sinha Deva, the last of the Karpāta dynasty, in the beginning of the fourteenth century A.C. Mr. Jayaswal has edited the Rājanīti, which is a work on Monarchy and Hindu politics, adding valuable critical notes and an introduction, which deals with the author's time, his family history, and the class of literature described by him as the Digests of Hindu Politics. This type of literature arose in the same period as the Digests of Hindu Law. It is interesting to note that Chanḍeśvara, writing about the time when the Muhammadan power became firmly established on this side of India, discarded the traditional theory of caste in kingship, and held that the protection of the people is the only criterion of kingship and not the orthodox ceremony of coronation or membership of the Kṣātriya caste, as emphasised by earlier writers.

I should add here that the Society is indebted to Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan for a contribution of Rs. 500 which he

made towards the cost of printing the text of the *Rājanīti-Ratnākara*. The book has been dedicated to Sir Edward Gait, who, as I have already mentioned, inspired the search for Sanskrit manuscripts in the province.

In epigraphy we have two contributions of note. The glass seals discovered at Patna by Dr. Spooner, bearing legends in Brāhmī, have been deciphered by Mr. Jayaswal and published in the September issue of the Journal. Two of the glass seals go back to about 200 B.C. To that age also belongs the Patna Darga Seal discovered by Mr. Jayaswal. The remaining glass seal bears characters attributed by Mr. Jayaswal to about 300 B.C. No glass seal had been discovered in India before this, and our Patna finds indicate the existence of a glass industry in or around Patna in the early centuries before Christ. It is noteworthy that the seals are private records of ordinary individuals, pointing to their fairly extensive use in Maurya times.

The Śuṅga inscription, published also in the September issue, is the first record of that dynasty yet discovered and published. Our Journal is the first in the field to place before the scholarly public a scientific impression of this important record. At the request of Mr. Jayaswal, the local Government obtained a copy from the site (Ayodhya in the district of Fyzabad) through the Curator of the Patna Museum. The inscription gives the name of the first king of the Śuṅga dynasty, who ruled from Pāṭaliputra a large area of Northern India immediately after the fall of the Maurya empire. The inscription closes the controversy regarding the current form of the name, which is *Pushyamitra*, and not *Pushpamitra*. The tradition recorded by the poet Kālidāsa that Pushyamitra performed the *aśvamedha* or horse sacrifice is confirmed by the inscription. Mr. Jayaswal judges from the form of the letters that the inscription belongs to the first century B.C. but it is possible that it was a century or two earlier. It is the first inscription in pure Sanskrit yet discovered.

Pandit Surendra Nath Majumdar has read an inscription on an image of Tārā (found by Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Roy and himself at Hilsa) belonging to the 35th year of King Deva Pāla

of the Pala dynasty. Mr. Hiranand Sastri, it will be remembered, discovered a copper plate of this king dated the 38th year of his reign under the gate of the large monastery excavated at Nalanda. We now get a second piece of evidence of the reign of the king whose dominions then clearly included South Bihar.

In the historical section Mr. Jayaswal has published two papers on Mithila—one establishing the existence of Hṛdaya Nārāyaṇa of the Kāmeśvara dynasty which had been doubted by Dr. Bendall. His second paper is in continuation of his "Contributions to the History of Mithila" noticed in my last year's survey. In this paper Mr. Jayaswal discusses the relative position of the Gaharwal power of Kanauj and Benares, the Senas of Bengal to the east and the Kalachuris of the Central Provinces to the south. He indicates how the balance of power reacted upon Benares and Mithila.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar gives us an interesting paper on Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, one of the five sons of Aurangzeb. It is a biographical study of that favourite son of Aurangzeb, who seized the crown on his father's death but failed to retain it. Professor Sarkar tells us how the puritan father relaxed his severity in favour of this son only, but towards the end of his life, when Azam petitioned to be allowed to come to him from Guzerat on the ground of its uncongenial climate, the shrewd Aurangzeb replied—"I, too, had begged for the same thing from my father during his illness, and he had replied to me that the wind of every place is congenial to men except the wind of evil passions." This is only one of many interesting anecdotes of the prince's history told in Professor Sarkar's paper.

The same scholar has made a critical study of the sources of the history of Shivaji in a well considered paper contributed to the March-June issue of the Journal.

Mr. Jayaswal and Dr. Banerji-Sastri have made accessible, through an English translation, the well-known History of Indian Commerce, written in German, by the Norwegian scholar Lassen who was the first to give a synthetic view of the

subject, himself doing most of the spade-work. The translators have brought his work up to date by referring to the researches of later scholars.

Pandit B. C. Bhattacharya has contributed a paper on historical tradition in Sanskrit literature, in which he endeavours to show that the ancient Hindus were not devoid of the historical sense.

In the anthropological section Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy has given us an interesting account of the Black Bhils of Jaisamand Lake in Rajputana. These "Kalia" Bhils in the territory of the State of Mewar are distinguished from ordinary or "Ujala" (white) Bhils of Udaypur. Their social organisation, birth, marriage and funeral customs have been described in detail by the Rai Bahadur and the account is illustrated by five excellent photographs which have been reproduced in the Journal.

Babu Sarat Chandra Mitra has concluded his studies of the cults of godlings, male and female, in Champaran, and has also written a note on Magical Practices, Omens and Dreams among the aboriginal Birhors.

Professor Kalipada Mitra contends in his paper on *Nirbanam* that its character was left undetermined and somewhat of a mystery by the Buddha.

The Maharaja of Sonapur describes in the September issue the game of Ganjpā, played with circular cards, which has come down from olden days in Orissa and is still in vogue. The circular cards, which are of various colours and designs, are divided into two divisions, one of Rāma and the other of Rāvaṇa. I am told that the game bears some resemblance to the Chinese game of *mah jong*, with which I have not yet made acquaintance, though it has become so popular of late.

Among miscellaneous contributions I may mention the notice of Sanskrit works on elephants by Messrs. Vinayatosh Bhattacharya and G. K. Shrigondekar, the paper on Glass in Ancient India by Rai Saheb Manaranjan Ghosh, an account of the East India Company of Ostend by Mr. Khosla, and a

description of the ruins at Gholamara by Rai Bahadur Chuni Lal Ray. Another contribution which may prove useful to scholars is the Oriya Alphabet, which, at the suggestion of Sir George Grierson, I had prepared by two Oriya scholars, Pandit Kasinath Das and Pandit Mrityanjaya Rath, with the help of the Government Press and the Survey Office. The alphabet, which is reproduced in thirteen plates of the March-June issue, includes all the conjunct Oriya letters as well as the Brahmani and Karani scripts. Sir George Grierson has said that the publication will be found useful by scholars and librarians of all countries in reading Oriya manuscripts and records.

I will now say a few words about the progress made with the search for Sanskrit manuscripts which was started in Sir Edward Gait's time. Shortly after the foundation of the Society, two pandits were appointed to carry on the work under expert supervision. The work has so far been confined to the Darbhanga district where 125 libraries, including that of the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, have been examined. According to a resolution of the Society's Council passed in November 1923, the search for further manuscripts in Mithila was temporarily suspended and it was decided to concentrate on the preparation of a descriptive catalogue of the manuscripts already found with a view to its publication by the Society. The work of cataloguing has made good progress during the year, under the supervision of Mr. Jayaswal and Dr. Banerji-Sastri; eleven parts have been got ready for the press and eleven more are under preparation. The whole, consisting of 22 parts, will be published in eight or ten volumes costing approximately Rs. 10,000. I am happy to be able to announce at this meeting that the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, whose house has ever since its foundation been distinguished for its patronage of Maithila learning, has come to our assistance by undertaking to finance this work, which will be most fittingly dedicated to him, as the most important treasures so far discovered have been found within his estate, and one of the most interesting of the finds is the Sanskrit record of the Judgment of a Hindi

Court, the court being that of one of his predecessors. The Maharajadhiraja has promised to give us now a handsome donation of Rs. 5,000 which will enable the work of publication to be started at once and to supplement this amount next year. I would ask that the very special thanks of the Society be accorded to the Maharajadhiraja, who is one of our Vice-Patrons, for his generosity, which is in keeping with the scholarly traditions of his family.

Last year I devoted a considerable share of my review to an account of the Buchanan Journals, and of the work which had been done in the way of publishing them and of preparing them for publication. I was able to congratulate the Society that the first portion of our task had been completed in the publication of the Patna-Gaya volume by Mr. Jackson who contributed a valuable introductory note on Dr. Buchanan's methods of work. I mentioned that we had asked Mr. C. A. Oldham, a former Commissioner of Patna who is well known to all of us, if he would undertake the editing of the Shahabad Journal. I am glad to say that Mr. Oldham has responded willingly to our call and is now deeply engaged in the preparation of the volume for the press. I understand that the work is nearing completion and that we may hope to see the publication of the Shahabad volume at an early date. Mr. Jackson informs me that he has not been able to devote much time, on account of the press of official duties, to the remaining volume which covers the Bhagalpur-Monghyr and Santal Parganas districts, but he hopes to obtain the assistance of Mr. Oldham after the Shahabad volume is published. It will be a great achievement if we can get both volumes out before our next annual meeting.

I should like here to mention another act of generosity, which has brought within the bounds of possibility a work that has always made a special appeal to me, I mean the complete republication of Dr. Buchanan's reports, with all the defects, omissions and mutilations of Montgomery Martin's "Eastern India" removed. This work, though it would involve much patient labour, is not in itself a difficult matter, but it would cost

a lot of money, and it seemed to be beyond our resources. The new fact which has brought the task within the bounds of achievement is a generous donation of Rs. 5,000 by the Maharaja Bahadur of Hatwa, who is our youngest Vice-Patron. His gift is to be devoted by the Society to some special piece of work, and nothing, I think, could be more appropriate, or could redound more to the credit of the donor and the Society, than the publication of a complete edition of Dr. Buchanan's Reports written 120 years ago. I would ask the Society to accord its grateful thanks to the Maharaja Bahadur for this splendid contribution to its funds.

There is one other matter to which I should like to refer in a few words. It is a matter of common interest to the Research Society and the Patna Museum. Both of these institutions are still without a permanent home. For the present both have found a temporary lodgment in the buildings which were erected as High Court chambers for the accommodation of the Bar, and they are not uncomfortable in their present quarters, but the arrangement cannot continue indefinitely, partly because the chambers may have to be given back for their original purpose, as the High Court expands and the Bar becomes more affluent and robust than it was eight years ago, and partly because the Museum and Research Society require a more distinctive home and one more accessible to the public. The fortunes of the Research Society and the Museum have always been very closely associated, as we realised very clearly the other day when Your Excellency unveiled the marble bust of their common founder, Sir Edward Gait. But now that we have got the bust, we feel that this is only the first step to getting an appropriate setting for it in a worthy building which will be a common home for the Society and the Museum.

I have been looking into this question lately and find that in 1915 three distinguished educational officers, Messrs. Jennings, Jackson and Fawcett, of whom two are fortunately still with us, were deputed to draw up a scheme for the equipment of Bihar and Orissa with a provincial museum and

library. They went on their mission all over India, visiting similar institutions, from which they could draw inspiration, and in the end they produced an admirable report, which was circulated for public opinion. The Government Architect, Mr. Munnings' prepared designs in accordance with their proposals and a rough estimate of cost, which amounted, alas, to nearly three lakhs of rupees. That for the time being was the end of the matter, for the financial stringency of the war years rendered it impossible to proceed with this, as with many other useful projects, which were not altogether indispensable. The plans are now on exhibition at this meeting for anyone who cares to have a look at them. It will be seen that the building was to be three-storied and that the idea in 1915 was to build in the vicinity of the Hardinge Park.

Since that date there have been certain developments which affect the proposals of 1915, and which perhaps render it possible to reconsider the question. In the first place we are not quite so badly off for funds as we were in the war years, and it is possible that if a portion of the cost of construction could be raised by public subscription, Government might come to our assistance with the balance. In the second place we could probably do with a more modest scheme than was proposed in 1915, because the public spirit and generosity of my hon'ble colleague Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha have supplied the citizens of Patna in the Radhika Sinha institute and library with one of the wants to meet which the building of 1915 was designed. We need no longer combine with the Museum, at least on anything like the same scale, the library, reading and lecture rooms for which Mr. Munnings made provision. We should still have a library, but it would be that of the Research Society, which is a very modest affair compared with that of Mr. Sinha, now enshrined in the Institute. Lastly, we have recently taken certain decisions regarding the University extension and its site, which should solve problems considered in connection with the Museum and Library proposals of 1915 and in particular help us to decide what would be the most convenient

site for a new museum-cum-research office and library. I have no proposals on this subject to put before the meeting to-day, but I think it desirable to draw prominent attention to the question, as it is one which interests the general public as well as the Museum authorities and the members of the Research Society, and I hope that we shall have made some progress in finding a solution for the problem before the next annual meeting comes round.

I should like in conclusion to refer to what may be described as the social side of our existence. While the primary object of our Society is scientific research, the human interest has not been wholly forgotten. It is desirable that those who take an active part in the work of the Society should have opportunities of association not only with their fellow-workers but also with the general public. We have accordingly organised quarterly gatherings which members can attend, bringing their friends with them. We have found a home for these gatherings in the Radhika Sinha Institute, which the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha has kindly placed at our disposal. There, after light refreshments have been partaken, the members and their friends settle down to absorb the heavier pabulum of learned papers, which are subsequently discussed in a spirit of good fellowship by those present, whether experts or laymen. The gatherings which we have had of this nature during the past year have been eminently successful. Incidentally they have had the effect of bringing together Indian and European, official and non-official, on a platform of common interest, and thereby fostering an ideal which inspires all the activities of our Society, including not least this our Annual Meeting.

III.—Begam Samru.

By Brajendranath Banerji.

Principality of Sardhana.

The magnificent Mughal empire, once so famous for its pomp and splendour, was falling into decadence and rushing to utter downfall towards the close of the eighteenth century. The imbecility of the later Mughal Emperors, their lack of foresight, indolence, and unbridled love of ease and luxury paved the way for ambitious leaders to realize their dreams of conquest and dominion. With the help of a handful of soldiers of fortune these leaders were inciting the subjects to throw off the imperial yoke, and all over Hindustan small independent kingdoms were springing up like mushrooms. There was nothing like amity or alliance among these rebel kingdoms. They were all seeking opportunities for the furtherance of their individual interests at the cost of their neighbours. The country presented a dreary spectacle of constant internecine warfare, rapine and violence. The disruptive forces of race-hatred, rancour and mutual jealousies, which generally mark the downfall of an empire, were all present. This was the precise situation when military adventurers from Europe turned covetous eyes towards India. To these Europeans, India looked a most alluring prize, a land strewn with jewels, a perfect *El dorado* of popular story. It was their firm belief that if one could only once manage to touch her shores he would win a princely fortune, and this impression of the Westerners was not ill-founded. Bands of enterprising foreign adventurers began to enter the armies of the Native Powers. Their unquestionable talents and knowledge of military tactics won the admiration of the Native Princes, who eagerly employed them

with a view to organizing their armies according to European methods of discipline.

Amongst these adventurers was a German named Walter Reinhardt. Early in life he had enlisted under the French flag and, after spending some time in Southern India, joined the French forces at the settlement of Chandernagar. But after the seizure of Chandernagar by the British (1757), he for some time wandered about in Bengal, and was ultimately engaged by Goorgin Khan, the Armenian general of Mir Qasim, the Nawab of Bengal. Mir Qasim was then organizing his forces and, being aware of the superiority of troops disciplined after the European mode, was inviting capable foreign military men to enter his army, and thus Reinhardt was drawn into his service.

Reinhardt was by temperament a grave, sullen and morose man; and the sombre cast of his countenance got for him the nickname of *Sombre* from his friends while he was in the French service. This rather harsh appellation was softened into Samru.¹ It was not his name only that underwent a change, but his nature and personality also were altered by close contact with Indian life. He "adopted the manners and customs of the country; wore the Mughal dress, and had a zenana. He was versed in the Persian and Moorish tongues, both of which he spoke fluently, and accurately enough."²

Fortune smiled on Samru, and he soon won the heart of his master and became a special favourite with him. But the manner in which he discharged the debt of gratitude to his master has cast a slur on his character. Mir Qasim was not a bad man by nature, but, goaded to madness by the repeated wrongs he had received at the hands of the servants of the East India Company, he determined to emancipate himself from

¹ According to other accounts *Samru* is the corruption of an alias, *Summers*, assumed by him when he enlisted in the British army.

² Major Polier. *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1800, "Mis. Tracts," pp. 31-32. In his letter, dated the 22nd May 1776, Polier writes from Delhi:—"He [Samru] is about 56 years of age, and has an only son about 12." (*Ibid*, p. 32)

the bondage of the English and prepared for hostilities. Mr. Ellis, the chief of the Factory at Patna, together with other Europeans, who had made an unprovoked attack upon his city of Patna, were captured and ordered to be shot. It was Samru who carried out the execution of these prisoners—numbering 51—at Patna on 5th October 1763. At the battle of Buxar, fought with the English on 23rd October 1764, the Nawabs of Oudh and Bengal met with a decisive reverse. Thereupon Samru, who had raised a body of troops—officered by Europeans—on his own account, roamed about for some time as a free-lance together with his followers,³ and at last joined the army of Jawahir Singh, the Jat chief of Bharatpur, about April 1765.⁴ On the death of Jawahir in 1772, confusion fell upon the kingdom of the Jats. Najaf Khan (Zulfiqar-ud-daula), the Amir-ul-umara of the Emperor of Delhi, seized this opportunity and proceeded to reduce the Jats. The Jat Rajah Nawal Singh marched from the fort of Deeg with a powerful army, including several regiments of sepoy, trained in European tactics and commanded by Samru and some Frenchmen. The opposing forces met at Barsana and a hard-fought action ensued (1186H.=1772-3). "One Frenchman, a lieutenant of Samru, and his men fired volleys with such rapidity and precision as to deprive the Musalmans of their senses. Najaf Khan himself charged them several times, but their ranks stood firm and unshaken like the walls of Alexander."⁵ But despite the heroism and military skill displayed by Samru and his followers, Najaf Khan gained the day.

³ "His party is not very considerable. Three battalions of sepoy and about 200 horse compose it; but he has a good train of artillery, 14 guns well mounted and well served with everything necessary." Polier, p. 31.

⁴ Brigadier-General J. Carnac wrote a letter, dated Benares 28th July 1765, to the Gentlemen of the Select Committee, stating that the Jats desired to secure the friendship of the English and that he had asked the Jat chief—Jawahir Singh—to deliver Sombre into the hands of the English.—Select Committee Proceedings 10 August 1765, p. 130.

⁵ "Mirza Najaf Khan's First Campaign against the Jats (as described in a M.S. of Khair-ud-din Allahabadi's *Ibratnama*)"—Prof. K. R. Qanungo, *Prodgs. of Meetings Ind. Hist. Records Commission*, v. (1923), 99-103.

Samru realized that the Jat Rajah's service was no longer attractive, and he decided to go to the Court of the Emperor. Shah Alam II., a feeble voluptuary, was then on the throne of Delhi where Samru "came to pay his respects. He received a *khilat* from the Emperor and was granted Panipat in *jagir* with the faujdarship of that place on the 21st May 1774—9 Rabi I. 1188 H." (*Waqia-i-Shah Alam Sani*, p. 278).

By this time Samru had grown tired of his wanderings from Court to Court as a free-lance and longed for a secure and settled existence. This wish was fulfilled when he entered the Emperor's service. As the imperial coffers were empty, he was assigned a *jagir*⁶ instead of regular pay for the maintenance of his troops, and thus the rover became a landed magnate. This *jagir*, which yielded an annual revenue of six lakhs of rupees, was situated in the Gangetic Doab and stretched from Aligarh to beyond Muzaffarnagar. Samru selected the village of Sardhana in the centre of his *jagir* for his residence. This place was some twelve miles north-west of Meerut. Such was the origin of what became afterwards the famous Principality of Sardhana.

But Samru did not live long to enjoy his new distinction, and in the evening of his life, he was sent to Agra as its civil and military governor and died there on 4th May 1778. "His remains were at first buried in his garden. They were afterwards removed to the consecrated ground in the Agra churchyard by his widow the Begam" (Sleeman, ii. 273). From the Portuguese inscription on his tombstone, in the old Catholic Cemetery at Agra, we get the date of his death.

⁶ It appears from the following passage in Polier's letter that on the date of his writing—viz. 20th May 1776—Samru was not in possession of a military fief: "He will not take from Najaf Khan any other subsidy for his troops but ready money, which the latter is not very forward to pay. He is actually ten months in arrears with Sombre, and the latter four months in arrears with his own party. If Sombre would accept of a district, which Najaf Khan has more than once offered him, from the rents of which he might get what is sufficient to pay himself his monthly allowance, which is rated at 65,000 rupees, all included, everything would go well with him."—*As. Annual Register*, 1800, p. 31.

Early History.

General Samru, while in the service of the Jat Rajah Jawahir Singh, took part in his master's unsuccessful siege of Delhi in 1765. There a young girl of Arabian extraction was brought to his notice, whose personal attractions, more particularly her fair complexion, charmed him. She was united to him "by all the forms considered necessary by persons of her persuasion when married to men of another." (Sleeman, ii. 268.) This Arab girl is known to the historian as the celebrated Begam Samru of Sardhana, whose eventful life contributes a bright page to the history of the times.

Unfortunately we do not possess any trustworthy account of the early history of the Begam, which is shrouded in obscurity. Her father was a nobleman named Lutf Ali Khan, who settled in the town of Kutana, in the Meerut district.⁷ He was married twice, and our heroine—born about 1750-51⁸—was his offspring by his second wife. On the death of Lutf Ali, when the Begam was about six years old, her mother was subjected to ill-treatment by her stepson, which drove them to seek for an asylum elsewhere. Both mother and daughter, in the course of

⁷ As for her ancestry I have followed Keegan (*Sardhana*, p. 30) whose version is identical with that of Atkinson (*N.-W. P. Gaz.* ii. 95-96) except that the latter speaks of her as being the daughter, by a concubine, of Asad Khan which may be another name of Lutf Ali Khan or else that of a different person altogether. According to Sleeman (ii. 267) "she was by birth a Saiyadani, or lineal descendant from Muhammad," while Francklin (*Shah-Aulum*, p. 146) describes her as the "daughter of a Mughal nobleman." Archer (i. 137). Bacon (ii. 35) and Skinner (i. 285) speak of her as belonging originally to a dancing troupe.

⁸ According to Beale (*Bio. Dic.* 251), who seems to be very particular about dates, she was aged 88 lunar years when she died on 8 Shawwal 1251 H. (27 Jan. 1836), this age being equivalent to about 85 solar years. This computation places her birth in 1750-51, as the year 1164 H., when converted into the Christian era, covers the period 18 Nov. 175 to Nov. 1751. Dyce Sombre, the adopted son and heir of the Begam, reported her death in a letter, dated the 11th July 1836, to the Pope Gregory XVI, wherein her age, at the time of death, is given as 85—evidently solar years. Captain Francklin, the biographer of Geo. Thomas who had served the Begam for some time, when describing the events of 1796, mentions her age as being then about 45, which too places her birth in 1751.

their wanderings, "came to Delhi about 1760" (*N.-W.P. Gaz.* ii. 96). She was destined to experience much rough treatment at the hands of fortune. The loss of her father the cruelties of her half-brother, besides many other troubles made her childhood positively miserable. The dark clouds however soon began to roll away, and on the dawning of her youth, bathed in the luxuriance and glamour of her beauty, she came across the path of the General who, as could naturally be expected, became at once a willing victim to her charms, and the girl passed into the harem of Samru Sahib as his partner in life.

Begam Samru's uncommon beauty and intelligence won the heart of that stern military adventurer so much so that Samru now thought more of a life of ease and pleasure than one of campaigning, and the Begam was not behindhand in availing herself of the opportunity. She ingeniously contrived to take away from the hands of her lord the exercise of all the powers and prerogatives hitherto wielded by him, and the General was so thoroughly captivated by her charms that he parted with his authority without the slightest demur. But this peaceful life he was not destined to enjoy long, as death overtook him in 1778.

There was no issue by this marriage, but Samru had a son by another Muhammadan wife [named Baha Begam, *Gaz.* ii. 96] who had become insane, and remained so till her death (during the rainy season of 1838). This son of Samru "got from the Emperor the title of Zafar Yab Khan, at the request of the Begam, his step-mother; but he was a man of weak intellect, and so little thought of that he was not recognized even as the nominal chief on the death of his father. The Begam, therefore, was requested to take command of Samru's forces by all the Europeans and natives that composed it, as the only possible mode of keeping them together. She consented, and was regularly installed in the charge by the Emperor Shah Alam." (Sleeman, ii. 268, 273.) She thus attained the status of a ruling princess with an army of her own, a staff of civil and military officers under her direct control, and all

the other instruments of power for reigning over a subject population.

The confidence thus reposed in her by the Emperor was not misplaced. She was a valiant lady, and the battle-field had no terror for her, as she had become accustomed to it by accompanying her husband in several of his campaigns. When she took command of the army, her chief military officer was a German named Pauli.⁹

Three years after the death of her husband she, along with her stepson Zafar Yab—doubtless under the persuasions of her European officers—"was baptized at Agra on 7th May 1781" (Sleeman, ii. 273) by Fr. Gregorio, a Roman Catholic priest, when she was christened *Joanna* and her stepson *Louis Balthazar Reinhardt*.

Some five years later a very extraordinary man entered her service. He was the celebrated adventurer George Thomas, a native of Tipperary in Ireland. Thomas came to India in 1781-2 as a quartermaster—or as affirmed by some, as a common sailor in a British man-of-war—and deserting his ship took service for a few years among the Polygars of the Carnatic. Spurred on by ambition he travelled overland to Delhi about 1787, where he received a commission under Begam Samru. The Begam with her characteristic judgment and discrimination soon advanced Thomas to a command in her army.

Thomas was a man of great ability and "in various and successive actions against the Sikhs, and others of the Begam's enemies, he, by his courage and perseverance, rendered her authority respectable. By these successes, he obtained a considerable influence over the mind of his mistress, and was for some time, her chief adviser and counsellor." (*Thomas*, pp. 2-3.) The Sardhana brigade, drilled in European fashion, became formidable under Thomas and the Princess of Sardhana was now looked upon with dread by her neighbours.

The Begam's Exploits.

In those troubled times, when Hindustan was in a state of transition, chaos and disruption reigned everywhere. The

⁹ Assassinated during an interview in Muhammad Beg Hamdani's camp in 1782.

Maratha Power was in the ascendant, and Mahadji Sindhia as Vicegerent of the Emperor of Delhi virtually ruled the destinies of Northern India. Revolt against the imperial domination became the order of the day. Rajah Pratap Singh of Jainagar (Jaipur) now withheld the customary tribute to the Court and, rallying the Rajput magnates round him, unfurled the banner of independence. To subdue him Mahadji himself marched with a large force. There was no dearth of treachery even in his own camp, and the lure of gold enticed away many a dissatisfied Mughal noble to the ranks of the enemy. In the battle that ensued Mahadji was defeated and, smarting under this humiliation, he retreated with expedition to Gwalior, to wait for reinforcements from the Deccan. Shah Nizam-ud-din, the deputy of Sindhia, hearing the disheartening news of his master's reverse and retreat towards the Deccan, put the fort and city of Delhi into the best possible state of defence as a pre cautionary measure.

Towards the latter part of 1787 a storm was brewing in the very heart of the capital. Ghulam Qadir, the son of the old Rohila rebel Zabita Khan, was then the ruler of Saharanpur. Taking advantage of the confusion prevailing at the time, he prepared for the gratification of his ambitious schemes and made his appearance with an army on the eastern bank of the Jamuna opposite the citadel. Qadir was confident of his success, as he had attached to his interests a man commanding the greatest influence over the mind and Court of the Emperor. This was Manzur Ali, the treacherous nazir, who faithlessly joined in the intrigues of the rebel.

Shah Nizam-ud-din, the deputy of Sindhia, however underrated the strength of the Rohila chief. He sent out a small force across the river to deliver an immediate attack on the enemy's camp, which, however, was repulsed with considerable loss. Shah Nizam-ud-din sorely disappointed at this defeat and, having by this time received intelligence of the treacherous designs of the nazir, fled for safety to the fort of Ballamgarh, 22 miles south of Delhi.

With the flight of Sindhia's deputy, the capital stood entirely undefended and the Emperor was in a helpless state. Ghulam Qadir now crossed the river and entered the king's chamber without the least obstruction and demanded from the Emperor the office of the *Amir-ul-umara* or Premier Noble then held by Sindhia. The helpless Shah Alam II. acquiesced in the demand.

Begam Samru, hearing of the ignominious plight of her sovereign, resolved to advance with all her force in order to restore him to his legitimate position. "In the war against Pratap Singh, Begam Samru with her force was stationed at Panipat on the frontier; and committing so important a trust to her charge was a sufficient proof of the idea the Maratha chief had conceived of her capacity. Her conduct now evinced that that confidence had not been misplaced, and her spirited exertions in defence of the king's authority acquired deserved applause in the breasts of all" (*Shah-Aulum*, p. 148).

Ghulam Qadir was not ignorant of the Begam's influence at the imperial Court, and he was much alarmed when he learnt that she was coming in person for the deliverance of the Emperor. "Being frightened at her hostile attitude the artful Rohila one day went to her camp, situated outside the Delhi Fort, accompanied by only two servants. He called her his sister, and tried to make friends with her. She, however, knew his reputation for cunning and deception and therefore outwardly promised to join him with her troops—four *paltans* of sepoys trained for battle with 85 guns—after he had crossed over to the other side of the Jamuna. Falling into her trap he did so, when she guarded the ferry by means of one *paltan* of her sepoys and some guns to prevent his return! Thus the Emperor was saved" (*Ibratnama*, iii. 26-7).

Had she consented to the ignoble proposal of the powerful miscreant she might have made herself the mistress of immense fortune. She however rose to the occasion and "rejected all his solicitations; and to give proof of her resolution to maintain the king's authority, she with her whole force repaired to the palace, and declared her intention of sacrificing

her life in his Majesty's cause" (*Shah-Aulum*, p. 148). Her loyal devotion in scorn of riches and power stands out in signal contrast to the black treachery of the Rohila rebel.

"Baffled in his attempts to acquire the Begam's support, Qadir was inflamed with savage fury. From his camp on the opposite bank of the Jamuna he thence despatched a messenger to the Court, demanding in terms most peremptory, the immediate removal of Samru's wife, adding, that in the event of non-compliance he should proceed to hostilities. His message having been treated with the contempt it deserved, Ghulam Qadir commenced a heavy cannonade upon the royal palace. This was answered from some artillery in the fort, from the guns attached to the Mughal battalions in his Majesty's service, and from a battery which had been erected with great expedition by Begam Samru. * * * During this disgraceful scene, intelligence arrived that Prince Mirza Jawan Bakht, accompanied by a large army, was on his march to the capital. Of this event the nazir conveyed private information to Ghulam Qadir, and foreseeing that the Prince's arrival would disconcert his perfidious schemes, he strongly recommended the Rohila to make immediate overtures for a pacification. * * * Qadir, therefore, having signified to his Majesty his sincere contrition for the late insult, presented a handsome *paisheush* in ready money, and, moreover, promised to restore all the royal lands in the Doab which he had lately usurped.¹⁰ * * * Urged by the repeated solicitations of the nazir, the Emperor acquiesced in the proposal. The terms being settled, an honorary dress was despatched over the river to Ghulam Qadir Khan, who immediately after receiving it, struck his camp, and returned to Saharanpur" (*Shah-Aulum*, pp. 148-150).

The disorderly state of things at the capital offered an opportunity to some of the zamindars who, from their remote

¹⁰ It is stated in the *Ibraatnama* (f. 63) that the Emperor had granted Rs. 1,000 daily to Begam Samru, because her jagirs were in Ghulam Qadir's possession. This temporary usurpation of the Begam's jagirs must have taken place during the close of 1787.

situation, could safely withhold the payment of the revenue and deny allegiance to the imperial Court. Najaf Quli Khan was one of these refractory men. On 8th January 1788 the Emperor Shah Alam proceeded with his forces to subdue this chief, whose stronghold was the fort of Gokulgarh ¹¹ in Rajputana. Begam Samru accompanied the expedition with her contingent, "composed of three disciplined battalions of sepoys, which had belonged to the late Samru, and were then commanded by his Begam in person, and furnished with a respectable artillery served by European cannoneers" (*Shah-Aulum*, p. 162). The imperialists sat down before the walls of Gokulgarh, but owing to certain of their officers being negligent on the watch, they were surprised and thrown into utter confusion by a sortie of the garrison at early dawn. The besieging line gave way. The royal tent being within cannon shot the king was exposed to the greatest personal risk. At this juncture when the Emperor's life was in danger, it was the gallantry of Begam Samru that saved him.

"That spirited woman was encamped to the right of the line; her force remained entire, unaffected by the general panic and stood ready in dressed ranks. On perceiving the extreme confusion that reigned throughout the line, she bravely resolved, by a personal effort, to prevent the king's disgrace; she sent a respectful message to his Majesty, desiring him to repair to her quarters, and assured him of her determined resolution to punish the rebel, or perish in the attempt. At the same time, she, on the field, wrote a short note, which she despatched to Najaf Quli Khan, upbraiding him with his ingratitude towards the king, and threatening him with immediate and exemplary chastisement. The gallant lady then getting into her palanquin, placed herself at the head of 100 of her own sepoys, accompanied by a six-pounder, commanded by a European officer [George

¹¹ When the Emperor went with the Princes to invade Rajputana, a night-attack was made on his camp near Rewari, which is 49 miles south-west of Delhi, by Ghulam Hussain, a slave of Najaf Quli, from the fort and by Major Neir [P] with a detachment from the army of Najaf Quli (*Ibratnama*, iii. 126.)

Thomas, see *Thomas*, 3*n*]. With this detachment she proceeded to the spot occupied by Munsoor Khan, and advancing upon the rebel with much spirit, she commanded her palanquin to be set down, and ordered her artillery to charge with grape-shot; a well-directed fire from the gun, assisted by volleys of small arms from the sepoys, soon had the desired effect. Order being once more restored, the king directed his tents to be pitched, which done, he bethought of bestowing a suitable reward to the gallant female who had preserved him from imminent destruction. Having sent for her to the *darbar*, in the warmest terms he praised her gallantry, and thanked her for the service she had that day rendered him; he clothed her in a magnificent vest, and, in addition to her former titles, ¹² honoured her with the appellation of 'his most beloved daughter'. It was, indeed, by all acknowledged, that the intrepidity manifested by the Begam on so trying an occasion, merited the most honourable reward; to her courage and resolution was owing, not only the safety of the army, but her sovereign's life" (*Shah-Aulum*, pp. 164-166).

Dispirited as he was at his defeat ¹³ Najaf Quli now approached the Begam who, as all knew, had a considerable influence at the Court of Delhi, to plead for his pardon with the Emperor. She consented to intercede on his behalf, and

¹²She had on a former occasion been given by the Emperor the title of *Zeb-un-nissa* or 'the Ornament of the Sex.'

¹³ According to Atkinson (*N.-W.P. Gaz.* ii. 99) the Emperor Shah Alam on this occasion conferred on her a valuable estate called Pargana Badshapur Jharsa in jagir situated on the west of the Jamuna. Probably this is the property referred to by Francklin (*Shah-Aulum*, p. 148) and, following him, by Skinner (*Memr.*, p. 285), when they remark that Sindhia when arrived at supreme power, added to the extent of her possessions by a grant of some other lands south-west of the Jamuna.

It, however, appears from a perusal of the *Privy Council Judgments* (1872 May) that the estate was bestowed as a jagir (which may be a mere estate for life) upon Zafar Yab Khan, the stepson of the Begam, by Shah Alam sometime in the 30th year of his reign which corresponded to 1787-88. But the Begam had in some way usurped his interest and was found in the enjoyment of it during her life.

the Emperor "to comply with her request" (*Ibratnama*, iii. 127) fully pardoned Najaf Quli Khan.¹⁴

The Centre of Delhi Politics.

The defeat of Mahadji Sindhia at Ajmer in the latter half of 1787 by the Rajput Confederacy led by the Jaipur Rajah eclipsed the Maratha influence over the throne of Delhi for a time, as Sindhia had no agent capable of maintaining his hold on the Emperor during his own absence.¹⁵ The imbecile monarch was steeped in pleasure and indolence, and the administration virtually rested with his faithless nazir, Manzur Ali, whom the infatuated Emperor prized as his most faithful servant. The eldest son of the Emperor, Mirza Jawan Bakht Jahandar Shah, who had been living in retirement far away from the capital, received intelligence of the rebel Qadir's late conduct and the disgraceful state of things at Court. He now resolved to proceed to the capital, wishing to conciliate the Mughal nobility and, with their assistance, to establish order and tranquillity at the capital, and thereby seek to retrieve the lost glory of the Mughal empire.

Begam Samru was an important figure in Delhi politics at this time, and therefore her friendly counsels and help were considered invaluable by the Prince. He now sent from his camp at Faridabad his constant companion Fakir Khair-ud-din Muhammad, as his minister plenipotentiary to negotiate with her.

"Khair-ud-din reached Delhi by *ddk* in six hours and went to the camp of Begam Samru outside the city. On hearing of his

¹⁴ Ghulam Qadir's temporary usurpation:—*Ibratnama*, iii. 26-27; *Shah-Aulum*, pp. 145, 148-50. Najaf Quli's night-attack:—*Ibratnama*, iii. 126-27; *Shah-Aulum*, pp. 162-66.

¹⁵ Ambaji Dhara Rao—sent by Sindhia to reinforce the *subahdar* of Ajmer—is defeated by the Rajputs. He goes to Delhi and meets the Emperor, seeking his aid. Manzur Ali Khan (the nazir) turns the Emperor's mind against them, and the Mughal *sawars* crowd at the palace door, asking for permission to loot Ambaji and other Marathas. But Zeb-un-nissa (Begam Samru), who was in the environs of Delhi, and with whom Ambaji had abjectly sought refuge, protects them with her European-style-disciplined troops. She sends a party of her troops and extricates him from this danger (Nov. 1787).—*Ibratnama*, iii. 53.

approach she held a splendid darbar, bidding her French, Armenian, Portuguese and other captains to be present, while she herself sat behind a screen. After tedious formalities Khair-uddin opened the object of his embassy. The Begam asked him, 'Does your Prince possess any manly and heroic qualities?' He answered, 'The day is near when you yourself will test it personally in an interview with him. I find his external appearance to be as it ought to be.'

"She said, 'What joking is this? What I meant to ask, was whether he possessed the capacity to play the sword and win kingdoms, or only a passion for playing on the drum and tabor.

"He replied, 'If he were not such a hero and man of enterprise, he would not have turned to thee. If he were a coward and pleasure-seeker he would not have asked for thee.'

"She then said, 'I have heard that he is capricious and constantly changing his mind.' [Then she narrates a well-known Persian anecdote.]

"She agreed that when next day the Prince entered the palace to interview his father, she would send a *paltan* of sepoy inside the Delhi Fort and, thus strengthened, the Prince would demand of the Emperor that he should be appointed regent. Thereafter the Prince would remain in the fort and manage the affairs of State" (*Ibratnama*, iii. 62-63).

The return of the heir-apparent after a long absence and especially in such a time of distress, was looked upon with joy by the Emperor who promised to invest him with the management of affairs. But in order to effect the total overthrow of the Maratha usurpation and to establish order and peace, it was necessary to place the imperial treasury and the army under the direct control of the Prince.

But alas! the fall of the Mughal Emperor was not to be averted. He was virtually a puppet in the hands of his nazir, Manzur Ali, who, envious of the Prince's authority, instilled into his weak old master's mind an ugly suspicion about his heir's loyalty, and thus succeeded in ruining the cause of the Prince—materially assisted though he was by Begam Samru. At last

the Prince retired from the Court in despair to die a sad death, as a heart-broken noble youth.¹⁶

The retirement of the Prince from the scene and the absence of Begam Samru from Delhi put the capital in a defenceless state. Ghulam Qadir now thought it fit to strike a decisive blow. He easily gained access to the palace with the connivance of his friend, nazir Manzur Ali, and filled it with his own troops. The rebel now proceeded to the Emperor and demanded his hidden treasures. In vain did Shah Alam plead the emptiness of the imperial coffer, but this only enraged Qadir and he, having dethroned Shah Alam, placed Bidar Bakht, a son of the late Emperor Ahmad Shah, on the throne. The Emperor and the Princes were held prisoners. "Qadir went to Shah Alam, and said, 'Find me some gold, or I will send you to join the dead.' Shah Alam reviled and reproached him, saying, 'I am in your power, cut off my head, for it is better to die than to live like this.' Ghulam Qadir sprang up, and threw himself upon the Emperor's bosom, Qandahari Khan and Purdil Khan seized his hands, two of their companions held his feet; Qandahari Khan tore out one of his eyes, and that bloodthirsty ruffian tore out the other with his own hands, amid the wailings of the Emperor. * * * Then he called for a painter, and said 'Paint my likeness at once, sitting knife in hand, upon the breast of Shah Alam, digging out his eyes.' [10th August, 1788. *Ibratnama* in Elliot, viii. 248-49.] Now the ladies' apartments were ransacked. "Neither Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Durani, nor Taraji Bhao, had ever dreamed of plundering the ladies of the harem; but now all valuables, the accumulations of fifty or sixty years, were brought out." (*Ibid.*, p. 250.) "Ghulam Qadir heard of the beauty of the daughters of Mirza Haika and Mirza Jaika, and when he was sitting in the Moti Mahal in the evening, he ordered these unhappy ladies to be placed before him without veils or curtains. He was pleased with their beauty,

¹⁶ For a detailed account of the Prince's fruitless attempt, see *Ibratnama*, ii. 58-59, 62-63; *Shah-Aulum*, pp. 149-57.

showed them to his boon companions, and acted indecently to every one of them." (*Ibid*, p. 252.)

But the day of agony at last came to a close. Sindhia had entered the Doab again with a formidable army. When these tragic events came to his knowledge he at once sent his general Ranah Khan to expel the traitor and to liberate the Emperor Ghulam Qadir now found his situation in the imperial palace untenable and prepared for flight; he collected all the plunder and left the fort and retreated to Meerut along with the new king and the infamous nazir.

The Maratha general hastened to the palace, released the dethroned king, caused him to be proclaimed again as Emperor of Delhi and made the requisite arrangements for his comfort. He then took up the pursuit of the rebel, who was eventually captured alive.

Ghulam Qadir was placed in an iron cage, and a chain put upon "his legs, a collar on his neck, and conveyed in a bullock carriage to Sindhia, guarded by two regiments of sepoy and a thousand horse.* * * Under the orders of Sindhia, the ears of Ghulam Qadir were cut off and hung round his neck, his face was blackened, and he was carried round the camp and city. Next day his nose and upper lip were cut off, and he was again paraded. On the third day he was thrown upon the ground, his eyes were torn out, and he was once more carried round. After that his hands were cut off, then his feet, and last of all his head. * * * Maharajah Sindhia sent the ears and eye-balls to the Emperor Shah Alam." (*Ibratnama* in Elliot, viii. 254.) The wicked nazir also atoned for his crimes by being trodden to death under the feet of an elephant.

IV.—Aboriginal Names in the Ramayana.

By G. Ramadas, B.A., M.R.A.S.

The story of the wanderings of Rama, first sung by Vālmiki, increased in volume time after time until it counted 24,000 verses. The great pathos of the story and the striking character of the chief men therein seem to have tempted the poets that lived in times after Vālmiki, to add to the story. The ultimate result of these interpolations was to raise Rāma to the godhead. This is poetically expressed in

वाल्मीकिगिरिसम्भूता रामसागरगामिनी ।

पुनातु भुवनं पुण्या रामायणमहानदी ॥

The Rāmāyana is a great river that had its source in Vālmiki and flows into the Ocean-like Rāma—A river from its source to its mouth receives many tributaries and increases in volume; at last, it falls into the sea.

In the attempt to make Rāma great, the historical facts, the epic first set out to expound, were lost sight of. Hidden in these accumulations, the gem of history lies obscure, and it is thought to be an unpaying task to search for it. A study of the language and habits of the peoples with whom Rāma had come in contact in his wanderings will lead us far in the way of discovering that history which is covered up in the interpolations and impertinent additions. The names of places, of persons, and of objects mentioned south of the Ganges lead us to the discovery of the languages spoken by those peoples.

L a ṇ k ā, the chief abode of R ā v a ṇ a, is understood to be the modern Ceylon, because the word is taken to mean an island. Sanskrit dictionaries say that it is the name of the town of R ā v a ṇ a; but are silent with regard to its derivation.

5 Res. J.

Why the city was called so is nowhere explained. The name of anything must signify some prominent feature of that object. This *L a ñ k ā* also must have had some significance in it which has subsequently been lost sight of.

H a n u m ā n was the first to see the *rākṣasa* abode and he was struck with its lofty position on the *Trikūṭa* (V. 2.) In describing it to *Rāma*, he said (VI. 3.)

२½ शैलाग्रे रचिता दुर्गा सा पूर्वैवपुरोपमा ॥

As soon as *Rāma* had crossed the sea, he was also struck with its eminent situation and drew the attention of his brother *Lakṣmaṇa* to it (vi. 24)

9 आलिखन्ती मिवा काश मुत्थिताम्.....

मनसेव कृतांलङ्कां नगाग्रे विश्वकर्मणा ॥

They then ascended a neighbouring hill and observed it to be, (VI. 39)

18 शिखरं तत्रिकूटस्य प्रांशु चैकं दिविस्पृशम् ।

समन्ता स्फुप्पसंच्छ्रमं महारजत सन्निभम् ॥

19 शतयोजनविस्तीर्णं विमलं चारुदर्शनम् ।

श्लक्ष्णं श्रीमन्महच्चै व दुष्प्रापं शकुनैरपि ॥

20 मनसापि दुरारोहं किम्पुनः कर्मणा जनैः ।

निविष्टा तत्र शिखरे लङ्का रावणपालिता ॥

The one peculiar feature that struck all these was its inaccessibility. *Rāma* said that it was so high that it could not be reached even by birds or by mind. Even *R ā v a ṇ a* does not fail to say that his city was situated on the top of a hill (III. 47. 28.) Moreover, when *R ā v a ṇ a* went to the *Dandaka* forest, he is said to have descended ; *Sugrīva* told *Rāma* that he could very easily go up to *L a ñ k ā* (VI. 2. 5.)

From these it is seen that the high situation was the chief feature of the place and the name must have signified it.

Since it is not a Sanskrit word, it must have been of one of the languages spoken by the tribes living in that region. The

poet has in the name of Śābarī, the forlorn inhabitant of the pensive plain, preserved to us the name of the tribes that had their home in and around the Daṇḍaka forest. The Śābarī here and Viradhā at the entrance of the forest seem to have been introduced for no other purpose than to intimate the nature of tribes to which they belonged. The Śābarī especially serves no purpose in the way of showing the whereabouts of Sītā—she did not even know that Rāma had lost his wife and was going in search of her. Her faith and devotion were not required at that time and place. Valmiki was not a poet to introduce characters unnecessarily into his song. His purpose in bringing in the Śābarī here appears to be to tell us that the tribes in this region were of this class. Here is our clue to find out who these tribes were, and what language they spoke.

In the language of the Śābars or Śavars, Laṅkā means above, tall, high, and it is used to signify the sky or heaven. Any high object is indicated by this word. The final 'n' is dropped and the word ends in long 'ā', and it becomes feminine in Sanskrit. That the word is in the feminine gender consequent on the curtailment it has suffered, is intimated in Amarakośa III. 5.

5. स्त्री भ्या त्काचि न्मृणाल्यादि विंबत्ताञ्चये यदि ।

लङ्का सेफालिका टीका धाककी पञ्चकादकी ॥

It clearly appears that लङ्का had suffered curtailment and was consequently placed in the feminine gender. Laṅkā was originally a Śāvāra word and was adapted into Sanskrit.

If the rākṣasas were secure on the top of an inaccessible mountain, they must have a temporary abode in the country below to serve as a base to carry on their depredations on the Aryan settlers in the Daṇḍaka forest. Such was Janasthāna, the southernmost extremity of the forest. (II 116. 11—12). Rāvāna, the lord of the rākṣasas, says that he had placed fourteen thousand rākṣasas under the command of Khara at Janasthāna. (III. 964, 5).

When these were all killed by Rāma, he sent eight of his picked men to reinforce the place. (III 34. 18-20.) Thus it clearly appears that Janasthāna was a rākshasa camp in the plain region of the Daṇḍaka.

Janasthāna means the 'abode of men'; but nowhere is it described to have been inhabited by men. The significance of the word does not appear 'to be full of men' but to be 'below or down' in contrast (with) 'Lāṅkā'. In the language from which Lāṅkā was taken, 'down or below' is indicated by the word 'Jaitan'. The people of Lāṅkā living on the top of the hill spoke of Khara's camp as 'Jaitan', down or below. Even now men living on the hills speak of the lower country as 'below'. The people in Tirupatī name the town at the foot of the hill as 'below or down'—Tirupatī. The plain country of the Vijagapatam district is spoken of as the 'below or down' by men living in the agency. It is no wonder, therefore, if Khara's camp was called 'Jaitan'.¹ This name easily becomes 'Janasthāna' in the mouths of the Aryans.

In the vicinity of Janasthāna lived the old man Jātāyu who greeted Rāma and introduced himself as 'पितृसखा'. (III. 14-3) उवाच वत्स मां विद्धि वयस्यं पितुणात्मनः । But we are nowhere told how Jātāyu became the friend of Daśaratha, Rāma's father. When the Vānaras despairing to find Sītā, sat on the sea-shore bemoaning their fate, Sampātī came out of a cave in the hill near by and questioned them how Jātāyu became the friend of Daśaratha (IV. 56-24).

तस्यैव च मम भ्रातृ स्सखा दशरथः कथम् ।

But the vānaras without giving any reply to this question again repeated (IV. 57-9) 'रामस्य तु पितुर्मित्रं जटायुर्नाम गृध्रराट्' । Jātāyu was more a friend to Rāma than to his father. The old man of the Pañchavātī gave even his life to protect Rāma's wife. So it appears that 'पितृसखा' appears to be the meaning of the name Jātāyu.

¹ Near Gajapatinagaram in the Vizagapatam District there is Jaiti which is just at the foot of a hill. Jaiti appears to be a contraction of Jaitan.

'U w ā' in Ś a v a r a means father. 'J a ṭ a' means a friend or companion as in the phrase 'J a ṭ ā l e a' which means 'in company'. The genitive termination 'ā' added on to U w ā keeps the form unchanged. 'J a ṭ a u w ā' (father's friend) easily becomes J a ṭ ā y u.

From the time Chitrakūṭa had been left till J a ṭ ā y u was cremated, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were wandering in the forest of D a ṇ ḍ a k a. In Uttarakāṇḍa, which is clearly a later interpolation, the origin of the name of the forest is accounted for in a peculiar way. King D a ṇ ḍ a had committed rape on the daughter of Ś u k r a who in his anger laid the country under a curse.

सत्यरात्रेण राजासौ सभृत्य बलवाहनः ।
 पापकर्म समाचारो बधं प्राप्स्यति दुर्मतिः ॥
 सर्वं सत्वानि यानोह जङ्गमानिस्थावराणि च ।
 सर्वेषां पांशुवर्षेण क्षयः क्षिप्रं भविष्यति ॥
 दण्डस्य विषयो यावत् तावत् सवनमाश्रमम् ।
 पांशु भूतमिवा कस्मान् सत्यरात्राङ्गविष्यति ॥

... ..

तदाप्रभृति काकुत्स्थ ! दण्डकारण्य मुच्यते ॥

The forest extended from A t r i's hermitage to about the tract lived in by A y o m u k h i. In this was included J a n a s t h ā n a. This forest is said to have been devoid of trees, animals and water, and was converted into a region of ashes. If it had been so, how did so many hermitages exist there? From the description of its parts visited by Rāma, it appears to have been full of rivers and lakes and consequently habitable to man. It may not be out of place to give here the nature and quality of the parts of the forest through which Rāma had passed. The first settlement was (III. I. 3).

शरण्यं सर्वभूतानां ससमृष्टाजिरं तथा ।
 मृगे बह्वभिराकीर्णं पक्षिसङ्घैः समावृतम् ॥

Then the forest of *Virādhā* (III. 2. 2 and 3).

नानामृग गणकौर्णं शार्दूल वृकसेवितम् ।

ध्वस्त वृक्ष लता गुल्मं दुर्दर्शं सलिलाशयम् ॥

निष्कूजनानाशकुनिभिन्निकागणनादितम् ।

This is truly a tropical forest. The country between the hermitage of *Śarabhaṅga* and that of *Sutikṣṇa* is said to be watered by the *Mandākinī* and its affluents (III.5.3). The *Sutikṣṇa* settlement, which they had reached after a long journey, was found to be a flourishing one (III. 7, 17, 18). The men living there had plenty of roots and fruits and even the deer find plenty of food. Around this colony there were a number of other colonies wherein the people were all happy. *Sutikṣṇa* directed *Rāma* to go and see all those colonies (III.8.12) पश्यान्मपदं रम्यं दण्डकारण्यवासिनाम् ।

Even this part of the forest is called the forest of *Danḍaka*. *Rāma* was told that he would see in this region :—

सप्राज्यफलमूलानि पुष्पितानि वनानि च ।

प्रशस्तमृगयूथानि शान्तपक्षिगणानि च ।

कारण्डवविकौर्णानि तटाकानि सरांसि च ॥

द्रक्ष्यसे दृष्टिरम्याणि गिरिप्रस्रवणानि च ।

रमणीयान्यरण्यानि मयूराभि रतानि च ॥

'Lucid pools, floods and lakes, rills leaping from their parent hills', were the marked feature of the country. Wandering in these colonies *Rāma* spent about ten years and returned to *Sutikṣṇa*'s abode again. Then they proceeded to the hermitage of *Aḡastyā*. The intervening country is described (III. 11, 38, 40).

स्थत्ती प्राये वनोद्देशे पिप्पली वनशोभिते ।

बहुपुष्पफले रम्ये नाना शकुनि नादिते ॥

पद्मिन्यो बिबिधास्तत्र प्रसन्नं सलिलं लादिशवाः ।

हंसकारण्डवा कीर्णाश्चक्रवाकोपशोभिताः ॥

A *gastya*'s abode is said to have been situated in रमणीये बनोद्देशे बहुपादपसंवृते । Thence they proceeded to Pañchavaṭi on the precincts of which lay *Janaśthāna*. Pañchavaṭi is said to have been on the banks of the Godāvārī.

In all these, prominence is given to the places containing some source of water. If there be no water, the region would not be fit for human habitation. It was this suitability that made the *Dāṇḍaka* forest a bone of contention between the Aryan settlers and the *rākṣasas*. If it had been a region of ashes, devoid of plant and animal life, as described in *Uttarākāṇḍa*, there would not have been so much of Aryan energy expended to secure it for Aryan habitation. Therefore the prominent feature of the country was that it was full of rivers, lakes, pools and other kinds of water sources which support life.

The word *Dāṇḍaka* does not mean 'of the King *Dāṇḍa*' but signifies 'full of water'. It is made of *Dān* + *Dāk* + *ā*, the final *ā* being the *śavara* genitive termination. In *śavara* language *Dān* means 'water'; in other dialects of *śavara*, *Dāk* is the word for water. So *Dān* + *dāk* denotes excess of water. *Dān* + *dāk* + *ā* means 'of much water'; *Dān* + *dāk* + *āraṇya* means the forest of much water.'

To the south of this forest lay the *Krauñcha* forest wherein lived the head-less demon *Ka-bandha*. He was immovable as he had no limbs for locomotion. Any immovable object is called '*banda*' in Telugu, which means a 'boulder'. In Canarese '*bande*' is the corresponding word. A similar word may also exist in *śavara*; but it is now not possible, from the meagreness of vocabularies available, to say if the word is found in the *śavara* tongue—*Ka-bandha* may mean a 'deadly rock' (*Ka* being a contraction of '*Kias*' which means death in *savara*).

Being directed by *Ka-bandha* the brothers go to the lake *Pampā* which is said to have been the abode of a kind of birds which were like lumps of butter (III. 73).

1 ½. घृतपिण्डोपमान् स्तूलां स्तान् द्विजान् भक्षयिष्यथः ।

Herein the colour of the birds is said to be like that of ghee. They do not fly away at the approach of man, as they did not know what harm was. (*ibid*)

नोद्विजन्ते नरान्द्रष्ट्वावधत्ता कोविदा इशुभाः ।

If they had never been killed before, why does K a b a n d h a say that the two brothers would eat them? So, it appears that this is a poetic way of saying that they cannot fly away at the approach of man. The peculiar features of these birds were that they were fat and of ghee colour and that they could not fly at the approach of man. Such birds are nowhere else mentioned. These were peculiar only in this lake of Pampā.

From the description of the birds it clearly appears that the birds were ducks. P a p ā r ā is the ś a v a r a word for a duck. P a m p ā may be a modification of P a p ā r ā. As 'h' is substituted for 'p' in many languages, P a m p ā becomes 'H a m p ā'; Hamsa appears to be closely allied to 'H a m p ā'. Therefore 'Hamsa' seems to have come from the śavara word 'p a p ā r ā' and 'h a m s ā' is used for a duck in all the M ū n d ā r i dialects. Pampā, the name of the lake is significant of its being the abode of the ducks in particular.

The R u s y a - m ū k a hill which lay to the east of the lake is said to have been the abode of elephants (III. 31) (शिशुनामभि रक्षितः) In spite of this clear statement, the commentator J a ṭ a d h a r a derives the name of the hill from स्यो मृगो मृको यत्र No deer are said to have been on the hill. Therefore this derivation cannot be feasible.

In saying शिशुनामभि रक्षितः, it is implied that there were herds of young elephants. The name of the hill perhaps signifies this feature. M ū k a means a crowd or herd. R u s y a must have been a modification of R ā - j i (R ā an elephant and j i the plural termination). R ā j i - m ū k a means a herd of elephants in śavara. It is a matter for philologists to find out how R ā j i became 'R u s y a'.

This hill has another peculiarity also. It is stated to be 'सुदुःखारोहण' (III. 31). It was with very great difficulty that it could be ascended. On the other side of this hill, lay the town of Kis-kindhā. Because the Vānara headquarters were behind the hill relative to the position of the Pampā, it was Kindān which means 'behind' in śavara. Those that sleep on the hill at night are said to be dead in the morning. This is poetically said in (III. 73, 34)

यस्तु तं विषमाचारः पाप कर्माश्चिरो हति ।

तत्रैव प्रहरत्यनेन सुप्तमादाय राज्ञसाः ॥

Such a hill may be said to be deadly; it has already been said that 'Kias' means death in śavara. Therefore 'Kias-Kindān means 'behind the deadly hill.' However Kindhā seems to be a sanskritised form of the śavara 'Kindān'. As in 'Lāṅkā', the final 'n' is dropped and the word ends in 'ā' long in Sanskrit.

These aboriginal names are found not only between the Chitrakūṭa and Lāṅkā, they are also found to the north of the Chitrakūṭā. Here the Aryan influence having been greater than in the Daṇḍakā region, the names appear along with the Aryan equivalents.

Śṛṅgi-bera, the chief place of the lord of the Niśādas, exhibits in its form the process of the aryanisation of the aborigines. 'Śṛṅgi' is a Sanskrit name generally given to villages near a hill; 'Bera' is the śavara word for 'a hill'. Śṛṅgi explains 'bera'. The name seems to have been given that both the Aryans and the non-Aryans might understand its significance. As this village is said to lie on north of the Ganges, it shows that the Aryan influence that felt earlier than in the regions to the south of the river on the

Some of the rākṣasas. Therefore it appears that origin. verses 17 and 18 seem to be have been thrust in by the Vānater poet. Even though the two verses are omitted, rākṣasas y does not suffer a bit. And nowhere in these cantos

are said to be allied to the Vānaras. H a n u m ā n said to Rāvaṇa (V. 51.2)

अहं सुग्रीव संदेश दिह प्राप्तज्ञवालयम् ।

राक्षसेषु हरीशस्त्वां भ्राता कुशलमब्रवीत् ॥

Sugrīva is said to be the brother of Rāvaṇa. We have already seen that the language spoken by Śabari and her neighbours was Śavara. The rākṣasa language must have been closely related to it.

Rāvaṇa is said in the U t t a r ā k ā ṇ ḍ a to have descended from Śāla-Kaṭaṅkaṭa, the daughter of Sandhyā. From the very sound Śallakataṅkaṭa appears to be non-aryan. In Śavara, 'S a l o-o n' means a daughter. Katankata is almost like the Telugu, Katika Katika Cheekati (thick darkness). Katankata may be a Sanskrit form of a non-aryan word meaning darkness. Śāla-k-aṭaṅkaṭa appears to be a modification of the non-aryan word Sala-katankata which means the daughter of darkness. She is described to be (VII. 4) सन्ध्या या स्तनयां सोथ सन्ध्यातुल्यां प्रभावतः By saying सन्ध्याया स्तनयां the meaning of her name is intimated as in other cases.

Rāvaṇa who was born in her family must also be a non-aryan. There is not much evidence to be deduced from the epic to show that the name of the Rākṣasa king was of the same language as Śāla-Kaṭaṅkaṭa. It appears to be a modification of the Śavara R a m e n which means a cat. In Rāmāyaṇa there appears to be a hint at this significance of the name. When Rāvaṇa revealed himself to Sita (III. 49.4)

कामरूपिणं महं भद्रे पश्यमानं कामदेवपतिम् ।

dehere कामरूपिणम् may be taken to be the accusative singular of कामरूपी which means a polecat. But this can-herds or you- as कामदेवपतिम् makes it to mean 'of beauty this feature. M ū k a means a ~~animal~~ totemistic ~~clans~~ amongst have been a modification of R ā -j i (R ā an elephant presumed the plural termination). R ā j i -m ū k a means ~~and~~ their elephants in śavara. It is a matter for philologists how R ā j i became 'R u s y a'.

S a r a m ā, the wife of Vibhīṣaṇa, was one of the Lāṅkā women that gave consolation to Sītā in her sorrow. She is described to be *mṛdu-bhāṣiṇī* and *valgu-bhāṣiṇī*. She tells Sītā to hear her words which do her good. Therefore, it appears that her chief quality was to speak good words. The organ of speech is the mouth and it alone deserves to be called by that name which speaks kind and soft words. Therefore the name 'S a r a m ā' signifies a mouth. G a d a b a, a śavara dialect, still preserves the original word for mouth, though all the others including Śavara have adapted the Sanskrit word Mukha or Tuṇḍam. In Gadaba *Sarmo* means mouth (Grierson). Saramā must have been a modification of Saramo. In Rāmāyaṇa this person is introduced only in one place and much cannot be said in support of this.

'T r i s i r a' a rākṣasa is twice introduced in the story. T r i s i r a was one of the warriors under Khara in Janasthāna. He is described to have had three heads but not six arms. Even here there is much to suspect that the poet never intended to say that he had three heads. When Rāma had killed the horses and the driver of his car, Trisira rushed against Rāma, but he fell down senseless having been pierced through the heart by Rāma's arrow. (III. 27. 16½)

ततो हत त्रयया चक्षुःशिरः । दुःखतन्तं निशाचरम् ।

विभेद राम स्तब्धवान् हृदये सोऽभवज्जडः ॥

Then it is said that Rāma cut off his three heads with three arrows.

सायकैः शिरःप्रायेयात्मा सामर्षस्तस्य रक्षसः ।

शिरांस्य पातय द्रामो वेगमवद्वि सन्निविशते ॥

That Rāma separated the heads from the body of a man that had fallen senseless on the ground, is rather a slur on the character of the prince of Ayodhyā. Therefore it appears that the two verses 17½ and 18½ seem to be have been thrust in by some later poet. Even though the two verses are omitted, the story does not suffer a bit. And nowhere in these cantos

is he described with three heads. It clearly appears, therefore, that his name Trisira does not signify that he had three heads.

A second rākṣasa of the same name is said to have been a son of Rāvaṇa. Neither when Trisira advised his father regarding the fight (VI. 69) nor when he actually fought with Hanumān (VI. 70) he is said to have had three heads and arms of double that number. But in verses 43 to 48 it is said that his three heads were cut off by Hanumān. From the different metre in which these verses are found, it may be presumed that they were not of the original poet. Moreover it is said that the Rākṣasa is said to have fallen down senseless being struck on the chest by Hanumān. (VI. 70. 43.) Then again he got back his senses when he had heard the cry of Hanumān. (VI. 70. 44.) It was at this time that it is said that his heads were cut off by the leader of the Vānaras. From these considerations it appears that it was the later interpolators that interpreted Trisira to mean 'one with three heads'. A careful study of the whole poem makes clear that Vālmiki never meant that Rāvaṇa had ten heads; yet the later poets played upon the words such as Daśagrīva and it was impressed on the popular mind that the Rākṣasa lord had ten heads and twenty arms. The same is the case with Trisira also.

'Trisiraḥ' seems to be a mere name and does not signify that he had three heads. There is nothing to show the real meaning of the name. The name appears to be a modification of Tir-sēa-rāe which in Godābā, a dialect of śavara, means 'high, devil' Tir means 'high or tall' and sēa-rāe, a devil. Tir-sēarāe is an apt name for a rākṣasa. This being changed to 'Trisiraḥ' the original meaning was lost sight of and the poets took it to mean 'three heads'.

The other names are so far changed that it is impossible to trace out their origin. But the study of the names made above is sufficient to show that the region between the Ganges and Lankā was inhabited by tribes which are now called the Mūndāris; but in the time of Vālmiki they appear to

have been known as the Sabaras or Śavaras, Rākṣasas, and Niṣādas.

A study of the habits and customs of these tribes described in the epic will further strengthen their identification with the modern tribes.

V.—Impression of Five Fingers.

By Professor Kalipada Mitra, M. A., B. L.

The Hand in Magic.

In the *Dadhivāhana Jātaka* (No. 186, Jāt. ii. 104) we read that a mango tree bearing golden fruits of extraordinary savour was treated with great consideration ;—milkwater was sprinkled at its roots, *gandhapañcaṅgulikaṃ* was given to it, garlands were hung upon it, lamps of scented oil were lighted and it was screened round. In *Jātaka* iii, p. 23, we read “ *rukkhe gandhapañcaṅgulikaṃ datvā mālāgandhadhūpehi pūjetvā dīpaṃ jāletvā...* ” The word *gandhapañcaṅgulaṃ* occurs in the *Bhaddasāla-jātaka* (No. 465) where the tree-wrights before felling an ancient *sāla* tree (*Shorea robusta*) worshipped by people (*maṅgalasālarukkhaṃ*) make their excuses to it, saying that they are innocent and are only obeying the King's commands.¹ They offer to it scented wreaths, give *gandhapañcaṅgulaṃ* on it (*rukkhe gandhapañcaṅgulaṃ datvā*), light lamps, etc. In *V. P. A.* (Ed. Hardy) III. 5 (pp. 142, 144) we read “ *Bhagavato cetiye gandhapancaṅgulikaṃ adāsi.* ”

The word *pañcaṅgulikaṃ* occurs also singly. In the *Matakaḥhattajātaka* (No. 18) the Brahmin asks his pupils : “ *tātā, imaṃ elakaṃ nadiṃ netvā nahāpetvā kaṇṭhe mālāṃ parikkhipitvā pañcaṅgulikaṃ datvā maṇḍetva ānethā ti.* ” Here at the “ Feast of the Dead ” the goat which is to be sacrificed is bathed in the

¹ Cf. Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (Abridged Ed. 1923) p. 13 : “ In felling a tree they beg its pardon...In Jarkino the woodman craves pardon of the tree he fells.....they recite some verses to the following effect, ‘ Be not uneasy, my friend, though we fell what we have been ordered to fell, ’ and pages 116, 117. See also Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1920) Vol. II. p. 217 and Crooke, *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad Ed. of 1894), p. 240. Cf. also *Sloka* 25-29, Ch. 16 of *Samanāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*, Vol. I (1924) in *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*.

river, a garland is hung round its neck and *pañcaṅgulikaṃ* is given to it : thus ornamented it is presented to the Brahmin for sacrifice. In the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakatha* (*Dh.A.* iii. 374) we read, “*dāso pi'ssa ... suvaṇṇayuge suvaṇṇayottehi gone yojetvā ... gonānaṃ pañcaṅgulikāni datvā ...*” which is translated by Burlingame (*H. O. S.* 30 p. 137) thus: “His slave ... yoked his oxen with golden yokes and golden straps ... made marks of the *spread hand* with scented ointment on his oxen ” (taking the variant reading with the prefix of *gandha*). In *Mahāvastu* (ed. Senart, p. 269, l. 14) occurs “*Vedikāṃcaiva stūpeṣu kuryāt pañcāṅgulāni ca.*”

It also occurs in compound with *lohita* in *Jat.* iii. p. 160. “*Mahārāja rājasahasānaṃ akkhāni uppālītva kucchiṃ phāletvā pañcamadhuramamsaṃ ādāya imasmim nigrodhe nibbattadevatāya balikammaṃ katvā antavaṭṭhi rukkhāṃ parikkhipitvā lohitapañcaṅgulikaṃ karoma, evaṃ no khippam eva jayo bhavissati.*”

We have thus seen that the word *pañcaṅgulam* or *pañcaṅgulikaṃ* occurs both singly and in compound with *gandha* and *lohita*. What does it signify? Dr. Rhys Davids explains *pañcaṅgulikaṃ* occurring in the passage extracted from the *Matakabhattajātaka* as “a measure of corn.” In support of this Dr. Morris says: “In Wilson’s *Essays on the Religion of the Hindus*, volume ii, page 271, we read that cows and bulls are washed and fed with part of an oblation first offered to Indra, being also painted and adorned with leafy and flowery chaplets.”² In the Hindu *pūjā* the animal to be sacrificed is, indeed, fed with corn and made to drink water, and even in the degenerate Buddhistic worship, namely in the *Dharma cult* of rural Bengal, the goat is ceremonially bathed, fed with grains of rice and wheat, made to drink water and worshipped with scent before sacrifice.³ But I do not think it can mean “measure of corn” here. In the passage “*kaṇṭhe mālaṃ parikkhipitvā pañcaṅgulikaṃ datvā maṇḍetvā*” from the

² J.P.T.S., 1884, p. 84.

³ See *Dharmapūjāvidhāna* published by the Bangiya Sahityaparīṣat, pp. 170, 171, 174.

juxtaposition of *maṇḍetvā* it is evident that the *maṇḍanam* (decoration) consisted in the combined process of (i) *kaṇṭhe mālāṃ parikkhipitvā* and (ii) *pañcaṅgulikāṃ datvā*. Hence it is difficult to accept Dr. Rhys Davids's explanation of "a measure of corn." If it were so, perhaps the construction would have been "*kaṇṭhe mālāṃ parikkhipitvā maṇḍetvā pañcaṅgulikāṃ datvā*..." Besides, as it will be seen presently, Fausboll, Senart, Morris, Rouse and Hardy all are inclined to take it otherwise. In *Dhā* it is the ceremonial decoration of the oxen with the spread hand.

Senart refers to *Jat. i. 166. 21* (*pañcaṅgulikāṃ datvā*) and observes "Dans le deux cas *pañcāṅgula* paraît designer un ornement dont j'ignore la nature exacte." It is an ornament, but then he does not know its exact nature.⁴ Dr. Morris opines that the ornament "was probably composed of shoots or sprouts of five finger-lengths, artificially scented, arranged in the form of a hand, and hung round some object of worship."⁵ In Bihar (and Bengal) on the day of *Vijayā Dasavī* priests come with sprouts of *yava* sown on the first lunar day of the bright fortnight, the day of the consecration of the *ghaṭa* of Durgā Devī (*ghaṭa sthāpanam*) and bless you with them. These sprouts are called *jayantī* (from *gantrī* ?), the day is *vijayā*, and *jaya*, victory, will be to you, by the influence of sympathetic magic through analogy of names. But these are neither artificially scented nor arranged in the form of a hand.

Hardy explains *gandhapañcaṅgalikāṃ* as "a scented five-spray." The meaning, unhappily, is not quite clear. Another explanation is "perfumed garlands with five sprays." It is "perhaps a garland in which sprouts or twigs were arranged radiating like the fingers of a hand."⁶ In *Jāt. Translation Vol. I. page 71* we find it to mean "*gandhena pañcaṅgulikāṃ datvā* — making five-finger wreaths with scent."

I am, however, inclined to think that *pañcaṅgulikāṃ* does not mean a garland with five sprays representing the five fingers.

⁴ Mahāvastu, note, p. 579.

⁵ J.P.T.S., 1884, pp. 84, 85.

⁶ Cambridge Translation of the Jatakas, ii. 72.

In Jāt. ii. 104 (Dadhivāhana), Jāt. iii. 23, Jāt. No. 465 (Bhaddasāla), Jāt No. 18 (Matakabhatta), along with *pañcaṅgulikaṃ* (singly or in compound with *gandhu*), the word *mālā* (wreath) also occurs e.g. in *mālādāmāni* (wreaths), *gandhāmālādi* (scented wreaths), *mālāgandhadhūpehi* (with wreaths, scent and incense), and *kaṇṭhe mālāṃ parikkhipitvā* (encircling the neck with a wreath). If *pañcaṅgulikaṃ* or *gandhapañcaṅgulikaṃ* were to mean “wreaths” or “scented wreaths”, there would be repetition of wreaths in the sentences concerned—which is unlikely. It should mean, therefore, *printing of five fingers with scent*—the purpose of which was evidently to avert the evil eye. Professor Fausboll’s translation of *gandhapañcaṅgulikaṃ* (in Jāt. iii. 23) by “five finger-lengths of scent” seems to strengthen my view.

Examples of the practice of imprinting the five fingers with scent will be referred to presently. The word *lohitapañcaṅgulikaṃ* suggests that the practice of making prints of five fingers with blood was not unknown. Curiously enough Edgar Thurston refers to (the survival of?) this practice among the Madigas of Southern India.⁷ Dr. Morris interprets *lohitapañcaṅgulikāni* as “blood *pañcaṅgulikas*” made of the human viscera (*antavattī*).⁸

The spread hand is a well-known scarer of demoniacal influence and an averter of the evil eye. Rouse says “The spread hand is in many places a symbol to avert the evil eye. In some villages of India it is marked on the house walls (*North India N. and Q.*, i. 42); it is carved on Phœnician tombstones (see those in *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris,) and I have seen it in all parts of Syria on the houses of Jews, Christians and Moslems.” Dr. Crooke indicates “the marking of the wall with handprints” as a device “to avoid demoniacal influence”

⁷ See *paste*.

⁸ *J.P.T.S.*, 1884, page 84. In the original Pāli, quoted above, however the tree was to be surrounded by human entrails (*antavattīhi rukkhakaṃ parikkhipitvā*) and *pañcaṅgulikas* were not to be made of them.

and observes that "if a man is eating by lamplight and the light goes out, he will cover the dish with his hands, which are, as we have already seen, scarer of demons to preserve the food from Rakshas."⁹

To primitive minds objects of nature appeared as much endowed with life as human beings; plants in flower and fruit are known to be treated with all delicate care and affection shown to pregnant women, and all taboos are observed to protect them from harm.¹⁰ In Jāt. No. 186 therefore we find the tree screened from exposure to malignant eyes and in Jāt. No. 465 it is encircled with a thread running round it (*suttena parikkhipitvā*) as a protective charm.¹¹

The use of *parittasuttam* (magic thread) is mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (chapter 7). In the *Pirit* ceremony in Ceylon, a *pirit nula* or cord is much in evidence.¹² The tree in the Dhonasākhajātika (Jāt. iii. 160) was to have been surrounded with human entrails dripping blood as a protective charm, probably owing to the belief in the potency of the magic circle¹³ and blood¹⁴ as a scarer of demons. In Hindu ceremonies a consecrated place is secured by planting at four corners of a rectangle four small split bamboo sticks with palmleaf¹⁵ inserted between and encircled with thread. Thread was used in protecting property. "Property," says Ratzel,¹⁶ "is sufficiently protected by means of symbols, such as the cotton thread which the South Americans draw round huts and fields, and which we may compare with Polynesian taboo-thread or the *fudi* rattan of the Malays."

A passage in *Cullavagga* (v. 18) supports my contention. It is related therein that people come to the *ārāma* (garden)

⁹ Crooke *op cit.*, pp. 151, 155.

¹⁰ Frazer, *op cit.*, pp. 115, 414; 138.

¹¹ Cf. Crooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 250, 251.

¹² Jour. Anthropol. Soc. Bombay. Vol. XII (1922), S. V. Paritta.

¹³ Crooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 210ff. ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹⁵ Cf. Jāt No. 510 (Palmleaf as a scarer of demons).

¹⁶ Ratzel's *History of Manin*, Vol. II. p. 17; I. p. 285.

with scents and wreaths (*gandham pi mālam pi ādāya*). The *bhikkhus* (monks) hesitated to accept them. This was communicated to the Master. The Master said “*Anujānāmi bhikkhave gandham gahetvā pañcaṅgulikam dātum, puppham gahetvā vihāre ekamantaṃ nikkhipitum*. I permit you, O Bhikkhus, to accept the scent with which to give *pañcaṅgulikam* on the leaf of the door, and the flowers, which are to be scattered at one end of the *vihāra*.” The *bhikkhus* could not accept scent and wreaths out of regard to the commandment *mālāgandhavilepanadharānamañḍanaviḥkusa natthānā veramaṇī* and were in a fix.¹⁷ On the other hand the people would be humiliated at the rejection of their respectful offer. The Buddha was careful to avoid hurting popular feelings,¹⁸ and evidently to please them allowed the popular custom of impressing five fingers with scent on the door leaf to be observed in this case. It is clear now that the *pañcaṅgulikam* cannot mean “a garland with five sprays” or “a five-finger wreath.”

It is related in the *Kalpasūtra*¹⁹ that Siddhārta, the father of Mahāvira, calls the policemen and asks them to beautify the whole town of Kuṇḍapura: “that the town be decorated with variously coloured flags and banners and adorned with painted pavilions, that the walls bear the impressions in *go-sīrṣa* (fresh red sandal) and *Dardara* (sandal brought from Dardara) of the hand with outstretched fingers, that luck-foreboding vases be put on the floor, and pots of the same kind be disposed round every door and every arch.” Jacobi observes in the footnote: “All who have travelled in India will have noticed on the walls the impressions of the hand mentioned in the text.”

This custom of impressing five fingers on the wall or door leaf to avert the evil eye seems to have been very ancient and

¹⁷ S.B.E. XIII. pp. 210-212, Vin. i. 83, 84.

¹⁸ C.V. v. 21, 4, v. 33, 3. “The use of scented ointments is allowed to the Buddhist Bhikkhus (Vin. i, 206) and the giving of this, together with other commodities, is included in the*deyyadhamma*.” P.T.S. Pāli Dict. p. 73. *Dhpā. Commy.* (P.T.S.) iii. 10.

¹⁹ Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, S.B.E. XXII. p. 252.

widely popular in India, and it is only natural that we find it mentioned in both Buddhist, Pāli and Jaina Prakṛita literature.

In Kautilya's Arthasāstra (*upanipātāpratīkārah*) we read: "*parvasu ca vitardichatrottopikā hastapatākā cchāgopahārāih caityapūjāh kārayet*,"²⁰ which is translated as follows: "On fullmoon days the worship of chaityas may be performed by placing on a verandah offerings such as an umbrella, the picture of an arm, a flag and some goat's flesh".²¹ Perhaps the proper translation should be "the picture of a hand." It seems, therefore, that in the age of Kautilya the picture of the hand was believed to ward off danger from demons.

That paintings on the doors used to serve both as an ornament and as a protective device seems to be suggested by a passage in the *Divyāvadāna*, viz. *santi citrakalāpāni yāvadeva devānām trayastrimsānām ārakshanārtham atyartam sobhanārtham*.²²

Even in modern India this practice of impressing the hand on the wall to avert the evil eye or to bring luck is largely resorted to. Edgar Thurston relates: ²³ "During a marriage among the Madigas (Telugu Pariahs) a sheep or goat is sacrificed to the marriage pots. The sacrificer dips his hand in the blood of the animal and impresses the blood on his palms on the wall near the door leading to the room in which the pots are kept. This is said to avert the evil eye. Among the Telugu Malas, a few days before a wedding, two marks are made, one on each side of the door, with oil and charcoal for the same purpose. At Kadur, in the Mysore Province, I once saw impressions of a hand on the walls of Brahman houses. Impressions in red paint of a hand with outspread fingers may be seen on the wall of mosques and Muhammadan buildings."^{23a} When cholera

²⁰ *K.As.* ed. by R. Shamasastri, p. 210.

²¹ *K.As. Trans.* by R. Shamasastri, p. 264.

²² *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 220, 221.

²³ *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India* (1912) pp. 119, 120. A photograph showing impressions of (the right) hand on the wall faces, pp. 119.

^{23a} In *Indian Antiquary* XXXIX (1910, June) p. 181 Mr. B. A. Gupta explains that Fig. 6 of Pl. I. inscribed on a tomb in Baluchistan is a kind of

or other epidemic disease breaks out Muhammadans leave the imprint of the hand dipped in *sandal paste* on the door. When a Tamil Faraiyan dies an impression of the dead man's palm is taken in cowdung and stuck on the wall."

In the Barisal district (Bengal) during a marriage ceremony among high class Hindus an impression of the outspread hand obtained in fresh cowdung is stuck on the wall.

Dr. Crooke refers to its wide prevalence in Northern India.²⁴ "Another form of amulet or mystic sign is the mark of the spread hand with the fingers extended. This is made by the women of the family on the outer wall of the house and round the doorpost and is considered to be particularly efficaciousthe custom is generally prevalent. The Bloody Hand of Ulster worn as a crest by the Baronets of one creation is well known..... The Thakurs (of Poona) on the fifth day after the birth of a child dip a hand in red powder and water and make a mark on the wall of the lying-in room which they worship....."

From personal enquiries I learn that this practice also obtains in villages in Monghyr. My informant tells me that on the top of the door and on both sides of it on the wall signs of the hand in red and turmeric²⁵ are painted. That it is done to bring good luck and protect the house from evil is evident from its association with a writing (in Hindi) inscribed on the wall at the top of the door.

Srī Rāma Rāna Sītā Rāma.

Sadā Bhamānī dāhinā sanaukh rahe Ganesa

Pañc deva milke racchā kariye Brahmā Viṣṇu Mahesa.

Translation. (Invocation to) Srī Rāma and (his consort) Sītā. Let Bhamānī (i.e. Bhavānī, the consort of Siva) be always

"Sign Manual" among the people. "A prominent tribesman places his hand on the rock and draws an outline thereof, which is afterwards cut into it and is handed down as the imprint of his hand (*panja*). It is in fact his memorial so long as his name is remembered," or has it got another significance?

²⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 208, 209, 251.

²⁵ On the use of red and yellow colours and the name of Rāma to ward off the evil eye see Crooke, *op. cit.* pp. 201, 208.

on the right, and Gaṇeśa in front. Together with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa, let the five deities protect us.

It is the practice in the district of Gaya to observe what is known as *Vande Newar* as a protective charm. On the door tops of temples (*mandirs*) imprints of fingers dipped in solution or paste of sandal or pounded rice (sun-dried) tinged with turmeric are noticeable ; also in Bengal.

It appears that this custom is world-wide and practised from time immemorial. The hand symbolizes power, and necessarily the power to ward off the evil ; this probably accounts for its wide use. The power of the master on his slave and its renunciation are expressed in terms of the hand (*in manu* and *manumission*). "In several Aryan languages," says Sir Henry Maine, "the term signifying 'hand' is an expression equivalent for Power and specially for Family or Patriarchal Power."²⁶ This is why the hand is pictured to drive away the demon as mentioned in Kautilya. In Egypt "an amulet on which was depicted a human hand was considered to be efficacious, and the Egyptian mother suspended it from a cord which was put round the baby's neck."²⁷

In prehistoric caves also signs of hand were painted on the walls. "On the white surface of these, glazed over with a preserving film of stalactite, we at once notice the outlines of many hands. Most of them are left hands, showing that the Aurignacians tended to be right-handed.....Curiously enough, the practice of stencilling hands upon the walls of caves is in vogue amongst the Australian natives, though unfortunately they keep the reason, if there is any deeper one than amusement, strictly to themselves. Like the Australians, again, and other rude peoples, these Aurignacians would appear to have been given to lopping off an occasional finger—from some religious motive, we may guess—to judge from

²⁶ *Early History of Institutions*.—For connection of "Gellŕine", herus, manus, punchayet with hand, see pp. 216, sq.

²⁷ D. A. Mackenzie : *Egyptian Myth and Legend*, p. 176.

the mutilated look of a good many of the hand prints.”²⁸ W. J. Sollas says: “The inhabitants of America, both North (Colorado, Arizona, Mexico) and South (Peru, Patagonia) have also left imprints of the hand on the rocks as well as paintings or carvings which are not unlike some of the ancient work in Europe.”²⁹ There seem to be certain similarities between these ancient cave paintings and the paintings of Bushmen. Mutilation of fingers is practised among these people. Says Ratzel, “The custom of cutting off joints of the finger alike as a medicinal process, a sign of mourning and an expiation, looks like a sacrifice. You seldom meet a Bushman whose left-hand fingers have not lost some joints.”³⁰ Some Australian tribes and communities of Canadian Indians did it on burial occasions; and to avert ravages of disease, or pestilence, “to cut off deaths.” Bushwomen sacrificed a joint of the little finger when a near relation died.³¹ Chopping off a portion of the finger, or a joint, or a finger plays a great part in sacrificial substitution as a *pars pro toto*, many examples of which are given by Tylor.³²

Along with the hand wavy and interlacing lines are found on Bushmen paintings of hunting scenes and in Aurignacian cave pictures in France and Spain, intended perhaps to snare demons or cast spell over wild animals. Indians still charm their houses with hand imprints and trace wavy and interlacing lines in front of their doorsteps. The figures of the animals on the caves were probably totemistic and the images had magical significance in compelling the appearance of the original animals before the hunters to become their food in the chase.³³ In the rock-drawings in the caverns of Australia the positions and attitudes of men and animals point to hunting and

²⁸ R. Marett: *Anthropology* (H.U.L.) p. 49; also D. A. Mackenzie: *Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe*, p. 30.

²⁹ *Ancient Hunters* (1915), p. 366, see impression of the left hand on p. 192.

³⁰ *History of Mankind* (1896) ii. 276.

³¹ D. A. Mackenzie: *Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe*, p. 31.

³² *Primitive Culture* (1920) ii. 400 sq.

³³ A. C. Haddon: *Magic and Fetishism*.

fishing, and some of the paintings have religious signification.⁸⁴ The symbolical ritual employed in food-quest by the Arunta, a people of Central Australia, known as the *Intichiuma* ceremony, may furnish a key to the paintings of animals found in the Aurignacian caves.⁸⁵

An interesting account of prehistoric paintings in the caves of Singanpur has been given by C. W. Anderson.⁸⁶ They represent hunting scenes. Lack of the full number of fingers is also noticeable. "A lively imagination," observes Mr. Anderson, "might see in the number of fingers allowed by the artist—never more than three or four—signs of the widespread custom in primitive races of cutting one or two off. But as a corrective we have only to remember that a child in his first efforts at portraiture draws perhaps three fingers and then refuses to labour the idea *ad nauseum*."⁸⁷ This may be true. But it cannot be gainsaid that this mutilation of fingers as a magic and sometimes as a substitute and a symbolical satisfaction for full human sacrifice figures as well in folk-tales as in actual practice.⁸⁸ Anderson considers these paintings to be connected both with food-quest and religion (magic) associated with it. Some interlacing lines in the form of a triangular shield both in front and the back of the elephant in Pl. 15 may "probably represent a latticed trap, or corral, into which the elephants are being driven." Pl. 4 is also remarkable. Mr. Anderson considers it probable that it (together with Figs. I and II of Pl. 1, Pl. 5, and Fig. III of Pl. 7) had its origin in some form of totemism.⁸⁹ In an account of "*Some more Rock Carvings from Lower Ladakh*" the Rev. A. H. Francke

⁸⁴ Ratzel, *op cit.* i. 344, 345.

⁸⁵ Spencer and Gillen: *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 176; Marett *Anthropology*, p. 220.

⁸⁶ *The Rock Paintings of Singanpur* in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. IV. pp. 298 sq.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

⁸⁸ See *ante.* Also Flora Annie Steel: *The Tales of the Punjab*, pp. 100, 138, 139; Ratzel: *History of Mankind*, I. 330.

⁸⁹ See *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. IV, p. 304.

explains Fig. 9 of Pl. VII as a scene of "Dance in honour of the gods (*lha*): fourteen dancers, one leader."⁴⁰ May it not, however, have some kindred with Pl. 4 (the lower part) given in *J.B.O.R.S.*, already referred to, and have some relation to totemism? The man has got only four fingers in either hand, which may be similarly accounted for.

In the Singanpur rock-drawings, however, separate imprint of the hand, which we have found along with the interlacing line in the Aurignacian, and Bushman and Australian cave drawings, does not appear. Mr. Anderson saw other paintings at Singanpur at a height of at least 50 feet above the hunting scene which he then could not reach. Who knows if the hand be there? At any rate we have seen that the custom of imprinting the hand as a means of warding off the evil and of bringing good luck is worldwide dating from a time to which the memory of man runneth not.

⁴⁰ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, p. 362.

VI.—New Light on Hindu Political Science Literature.

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.)

Up to this time the writers on *Arthaśāstra* or Hindu Political Science were known from references to their views in the *Kautiliya Artha-Śāstra*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* and Chanḍeśvara's *Rāja-nīti-Ratnākara*. I may also refer to Nīlakaṇṭha's *Nīti-mayūkha* and Mitra Miśra's *Rājanītiprakāśa*. But the latter do not carry our knowledge of the *Artha-Śāstra* literature very much further.

The work which opens up for us a catalogue of hitherto sealed literature on the subject is a commentary on the Jaina author *Soṃa-deva Sūri's Nītivākyāmṛita*. The *Nītivākyāmṛita* is a well-known little book written for the education of young princes in the tenth century of the Christian era. It is a mixture of ethics and politics, in short *sūtras* or aphorisms. The commentary under discussion is by an author whose name is yet unknown. A manuscript of the work discovered is dated the 4th of Kārtika Sudi, Vikrama Samvat 1541 (=1463 A.C.) in the reign of Sultān Bahalola Sāhi, *i.e.* Bahlol Lodi. The manuscript was presented by a pious Jaina lady to a Jaina scholar, Pandita Medhāvī, of Hisār, where it was placed in a Jaina library. From there it was transferred to a Jaina library at Āmer. Pandita Nāthūrāma Premīn of Bombay obtained this manuscript through some Jaipur friends and has printed the commentary as a volume in the *Manikachandra Digambara Jaina Series*. It discloses a welcome mass of information, and we are thankful to Pandita Nāthūrāma for the publication. Unfortunately folios 51 to 75 of the manuscript are missing, the matter available in 133 folios ($11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$, 20 lines to each page) alone could be published. The missing portion covers parts

of chapters 11 and 19 and the whole of chapters 12 to 18. The gap could not be filled in as no other manuscript has been traced. The editing is not, as Pandita Nāthūrāma himself points out, very good. The editor is not acquainted with Arthasāstra literature. His notes, where he attempts to give his own opinion, may be omitted by the reader with advantage.

The chief value of the commentary lies in the method of the commentator. His method is to find out and give the authority on which Somadeva drew, and in most cases we get the original authority of Somadeva almost verbatim. It should be noted that Somadeva has given no reference to his original sources. The commentator following his method has had to cite various and numerous authorities. The result is that we come to know of authors whose works are now lost and whose names we had not heard before in connexion with our political science. We not only now know their names but also a few fragments of their writings. Out of them about thirty we can take, with almost certainty, to have been Arthasāstra writers. In a Hindu Political Science Digest it is at times uncertain to fix whether a passage comes from a Dharmaśāstra (Law) book or an Arthasāstra (Political Science) book, for the Dharmaśāstra-kāras have also their views on politics and they generally give a chapter on constitutional laws. A quotation taken from the latter may be hardly distinguishable from an Arthasāstra opinion. Yet when we get a passage on a point which is exclusively dealt with by Arthasāstra writers, we can conclude with some degree of certainty that the writer is an Arthasāstra authority and that the passage comes from an Arthasāstra book. Judged in this manner out of thirty or thirty-one authors culled from the quotations of the commentator we get about twenty writers on Arthasāstra whose names are not to be found in other places and which are new to us. Probably they are all later than Kauṭilya and Kāmandāka as they do not figure either in the Code or the Epitome. This is significant for it shows that the tradition of authorship and original thinking went on in the study of

Political Science in the country for centuries even after the third century of the Christian era.

It seems, as already pointed out in the introduction to the *Rajānīti Ratnākara*, that the study of politics had a similar history as the study of law in the country.¹ When we find a secondary stage in the study of law we find a similar new stage in the study of Hindu politics. A little before the Muhammadans came in to the country Digests of Hindu Law began to be composed by Hindu writers. Similarly Digests of Politics marked a new stage about the same time in the *Arthasāstra* literature.¹ The earliest of these Political Digests is, as far as I have been able to trace up to this time, the *Rajānīti-Kalpataru* by Lakshmidhara Bhaṭṭa who was the Foreign Minister of King Govinda Chandra Gahadavala of Kānyakubja and Kāśī. Now it is important to note that Somadeva who lived about two hundred years before Lakshmidhara Bhaṭṭa does not compose a Digest but an original book to which he gives the authority of his own name. Yet in the opinion of the commentator, Somadeva's *Nītivākyaṃṛita* was a mere Digest. Somadeva lived at a time when tradition of original writing had not ceased; the commentator lived at a time when the Hindu mind had ceased to venture originality and when it had to fall back upon authority. The change was complete within two or three hundred years after Somadeva.

To show the value of the book I have been discussing, let us take the *sūtra* which is the first in the *Nītivākyaṃṛita* :—
अथ धर्मार्थफलत्रयं राज्याय नमः² “To begin, Salutation to the State, the tree of Dharma and Artha.”

This idealization of the State is remarkable. I selected it as the motto for my *Hindu Polity* and considered it to be a conception of Somadeva (Sūri). But we are indebted to the commentator for carrying the idea back to one of the first thinkers of Hindu Political Science. It goes back to

¹ The December number 1924 of *J.B.O.R.S.* Introduction, p. 4.

² As in the Bombay edition and in Madras MSS. The present work reads
धर्मार्थकामफलत्रयम् ।

Sukra. The commentator raises the question—*How is it that the author who is a Jain (Somadeva) does not salute the Tirtha[n]karas but salutes the State which is composed of ordinary humanity?* ननु कस्मादाचार्येण द्वयक-वृत्त-धारिणा सता तीर्थकरान् परित्यज्य¹ मन्थ्य मात्रस्य राज्यस्य नमस्कृतिः कृता ।

The commentator replies that the Bārhaspatya and the Aśānasa Śāstras are the main authorities of Somadeva, and Bṛihaspati has saluted the Muni (author) and Sukra has saluted the state:—"नमोस्तु राज्यं वृत्ताय षाड्गुणाय प्रशाखिने । समादि-चारु-पुष्पाय त्रिवर्गफलदायिने (Sukra)." This is the original verse of the famous Aśānasa Arthasāstra now lost.

The verse quoted from the Bārhaspatya, as its opening line, has no great direct bearing on the point, yet we are thankful to get the opening line of the most famous book of the Arthasāstra literature which is now lost to us.² The verse shows that the book Bārhaspatya was in its claim a mere human work where the author expresses his gratitude to his original authority. Añgīras and avowedly writes his Code for the benefit of kings. In other words, there is no pretension for a mythical origin.

An author called Varga is largely quoted by our commentator. As the Hindu law literature is fairly well known by references in commentaries and digests and as Varga is unknown to the law literature, it seems almost certain that Varga's work was on politics. Similar is the case of Bhāguri. The passages of Bhāguri and Varga probably have a tendency to the ethical side. And this tendency is a distinguishing feature

¹ The printed matter before me reads. "परित्यज्य मुनेर्मनुष्य मात्रस्य राज्यस्यच" In Gopāla Nārāyaṇa Janatā's (Bombay) edition of the N.V. there is no salutation to any Muni. The preceding verse in the present edition where Muni Somadeva is saluted could not be by Somadeva himself.

² वाचा कार्येन मनसा प्रणम्याङ्गिरसं मुनिम् ।

नीति-शास्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि भूपतीनां सुखावहम् ॥ (Bṛihaspati)

which separates them from earlier writers on pure politics. Bhāradvāja, one of the severest writers of the early political school, is also largely quoted. Those quotations are in verse. Probably we will have to revise our view that the early writers had their works wholly in sūtras (prose).

Amongst the other authors whose names we now know from the commentary, the following may be mentioned :—Bṛigu, Rājaputra, Raibhya, Jaimini, Nārada, Gautama, Garga, Kauśika, Rishiputra and Hārita. Amongst ancient names already known I may draw attention to the quotations from Chārāyana, Pāraskara, Bhāradvāja, Manu, Bṛihaspati and Śukra.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Dates of Sanchi Inscriptions.

By Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, B.A., F.A.S.B.,
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Museum, Calcutta.

In a paper that appeared in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (New Series, Vol. XVIII, 1922, No. 4, pp. 225-233), Professor R. C. Mazumdar of the Dacca University has criticised my paper entitled "Dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stūpas at Sāñchī" which has been published as No. 1 of Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India (Calcutta, 1919). Professor Mazumdar's paper is divided into two parts; the first part consists of the prefatory remarks, and the second part contains detailed criticisms. Among other remarks Professor Mazumdar writes, "Mr. Chanda has not utilised the brilliant opportunities he had, thanks to Sir John Marshall, of making a chart of all the different types of letters used in the Sāñchī inscriptions on the lines laid down by Bühler" (p. 227). In the field of Indian epigraphy after Bühler no name stands higher than that of Kielhorn. Kielhorn had an opportunity of scrutinising column VI of Table III of Bühler in connection with his edition of the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman. In this table each letter of the alphabet of this big inscription of 20 long lines is represented only by a single specimen. About the accuracy of this column Kielhorn writes, "In Table III, Column VI of Professor Bühler's work, where the alphabet of our inscription is given, the sign of *ḍa* (No. 18) is imperfectly drawn; it resembles the *ḍa* rather than the *ḍa* of the inscription. The signs No. 16 (which also is mutilated) and No. 25 in the same column, which unaccountably are transcribed by *ṭa* and *nā*, are really *ṭā* and *nau* and Professor Bühler's remarks on them, on page 42 of his text, are therefore incorrect." (Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 38, note 1).

The results of my own scrutiny of a portion of a table will be noted at the end of this paper.

Another complaint made by Professor Mazumdar is :—

"Instead of doing that (making a chart on the lines of Bühler) Mr. Chanda has given us merely the facsimiles of a few typical examples. It is needless to point out that the typical examples chosen by an author labour under the same defects as the eye copy of an inscription ; for, in both, the author is prepossessed by his own views about the matter. Thus his plates of the Sāñchī inscriptions contain merely the facsimiles of those inscriptions which are written in what he chooses to call the 'regular monumental type'. He seems entirely to omit others which abound in earlier forms, e.g. the inscription on the middle pillar of the additional rail attached to the eastern gate " (pp. 227, 228).

The statement contained in the last portion of the above extract is not accurate. In the Sāñchī Memoir (p. 5) it is stated that three different types of the same letters are often found side by side in some of the inscriptions and are termed archaic, regular contemporary monumental, and irregular advanced forms. In Plate III are reproduced inked impressions of twelve votive inscriptions on the ground rail of Stūpa I. Of these Nos. 6 and 7 contain archaic *a* ; Nos. 4, 8 and 9 contain archaic *bhas*. Among the impressions at the disposal of the present writer at the time when he prepared the plates with the co-operation of Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni so far as he remembers he could not find out any with archaic *ra* and *ha*. As for advanced forms, *ka* occurs in No. 7 and *ga* in Nos. 1, 3, 4 and 8.

In Plate IV are reproduced impressions of ten votive inscriptions on the railing of Stūpa II. Of these Nos. 2, 3 and 9 contain archaic *a* ; No. 10 contains archaic *bha* ; and most of the inscriptions contain advanced *ga* and No. 7 contains advanced *bha*. Professor Mazumdar gives only one single instance of the suppression of unfavourable evidence. His statement bears repetition. "He (Chanda) seems entirely to omit others which

abound in earlier forms, e.g. the middle pillar of the additional rail attached to the eastern gate." An unwary reader may think that this example must have been discovered by the Professor himself. But it is not so. Dr. Mazumdar's sentence is but a paraphrase of the following sentence on page 5 of the Memoir: "The inscription on the middle pillar of the additional rail attached to the east gate is engraved in archaic script." This archaic script is very well represented in Plates III and IV. So one might reasonably hope that the readers of the Memoir would have no difficulty in visualising the characters of the inscription in question. Dr. Mazumdar has also failed to notice that the impression of a bigger inscription on the eastern gateway which also contains archaic characters is published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, on the plate facing page 368; and this fact is duly noted in the *Sāñchī Memoir* (p. 5, note 1).

After the prefatory remarks Dr. Mazumdar proceeds to examine the grounds on which the inscriptions on the railings of Stūpa I and II at Sāñchī are assigned to the second century B.C. in the Memoir. The dated history of the Brāhmī alphabet begins with the edicts of Asoka. In these edicts that occur over a very wide area and most of which are lengthy, there of course occur varieties of form of the same letters. In order to determine which among the varieties of a letter is the most archaic form it has to be viewed from the standpoint of the beginning of the alphabet. The beginning of the Brāhmī alphabet has been a subject of discussion for a long time and divergent views have been put forward. In the *Sāñchī Memoir* the present writer adopted Bühler's theory of the Semitic origin of the Brāhmī alphabet in connection with the test letters *a, ra* and *bha* with an "if". On this point Dr. Mazumdar writes:—

"But speculations on this line are of no use, as the derivation of Brāhmī alphabet from the Phœnician, far less the derivation of the individual Brāhmī character from those of the Phœnician alphabet, as suggested by Bühler, are far from being conclusively proved as yet. Quite recently the theory has been vigorously challenged by Professor D. B. Bhandarkar

and he has produced facts and figures which go a great way towards demolishing it" (p. 331).

In a separate note on the discovery of Neolithic Writing in India (J.B.O.R.S., 1926, p. 262) I have discussed the "facts and figures" produced by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar "which go a great way towards demolishing" Bühler's theory. Even if we admit for the sake of argument that the theory has been demolished, it is not impossible to follow the history of the Brāhmī alphabet stage by stage with the help of test letters taking the edicts of Asoka as the starting point. The test letters of an alphabet correspond to the characteristic traits that serve as the basis of classification of species into varieties in the field of biology. Test letters may very well be taken to indicate contemporary varieties unless their chronological significance is attested by independent chronological landmarks. The absence of such landmarks between Asoka's grandson Dasaratha Maurya and the beginning of the Gupta era five centuries later render the chronological classification of the Brāhmī inscriptions a hazardous task. Bühler, following Bhagawanlal Indraji, believed that the Hathigumpha inscription of Khāravela was dated in the year of the Maurya era corresponding to 165 B.C. But a closer examination of the date-bearing passage of that inscription has led several epigraphists to abandon the theory. To the present writer the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros, ambassador of Antialcidas of Taxila, appeared to furnish the landmark, and he set about his work with that inscription as typical of the second century B.C.

Professor Mazumdar has criticised the use of the four test letters for distinguishing the Maurya Brāhmī alphabet from the early Śuṅga (second century B.C.) alphabet. With a view to test the tests he has analysed the forms in the Girnar version of the fourteen Rock Edicts. But I am afraid without an analysis of the forms of the other versions of the Brāhmī Rock Edicts and all versions of the Pillar and the Minor Rock Edicts of Asoka no satisfactory conclusion can be arrived at. It may be added that Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji has independently used one of the

tests, *a*, for distinguishing post-Maurya from Maurya Brāhmī (*Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1913-14, Part II, page 111, note 1*). In the opinion of the present writer the first century B.C. *a* and other letters has one ornamental feature in common, the thickened top of the vertical line called *serif* which distinguishes them from earlier forms. Instead of further discussing Professor Mazumdar's criticism I shall add another test letter for distinguishing the Maurya from the second century B.C. Brāhmī. The *dha* almost uniformly used in the edicts of Asoka resembles the English **D** whereas in the Besnagar, Sāñchī, Bharhut and all later inscriptions the reversed form is used with the straight vertical line turned to the right. Line 26 of Bühler's Table II, 12 columns of which represent the edicts of Asoka, apparently does not quite support this statement. But this is due to certain inaccuracies in the table. In columns IV and V are produced letters that are cuttings from the facsimile of the Delhi-Sivalik Pillar Edicts (*Ind. Ant.*, 33, App. p. 31, note 6). In column IV *dham* is represented by a regular **D**, but in column V the reversed form is reproduced. This gives an impression that both types of *dha* are equally represented in the edicts as engraved on the Delhi-Sivalik pillar. But this is far from the case. *Dha* occurs 80 times in the seven edicts engraved on the Delhi-Sivalik pillar. 74 out of these 80 are of the regular **D** type and 6 or 4·8 per cent. only are of the reversed type. All these 6 reversed *dhas* occur in the seventh edict wherein there are 31 other *dhas* of the regular type. In columns VI and VII of the Table are reproduced cuttings from the facsimile of Jaugada rock edicts published in Burgess's *Archæological Survey of Southern India, Vol. I*. In line 26 of these columns are reproduced *dhas*, both of the reversed type. This again is not quite accurate. *Dha* occurs 35 times in the undamaged portions of the Jaugada edicts, regular *dha* 25 times and reversed *dha* 10 times. So reversed type of *dha* cannot be recognised as the type specimen or test letter, for the majority of *dhas* do not conform to this type. Starting from the hypothesis that the Brāhmī form of *dha* is based on the ancient

Semitic form, Bühler recognises reversed *dha* as the original form and writes, "The original *dha* of column V-VII appears only in Delhi-Sivalik (rarely) and in the Jaugada constantly" (p. 36). Leaving aside the question of origin as too problematic, it may be said that as the reversed type of *dha* occurs uniformly in post-Mauryan inscriptions and only very rarely in the Mauryan ones, so for the Mauryan period the regular *D* should be recognised as the contemporary monumental form and the reversed type as an advanced form rarely engraved through carelessness. A regular *D* has found place through sheer mistake in line 26 of column XVIII of the same Table of Bühler in which mainly the letters of the Bharhut Torana inscription are reproduced. There occurs only one *dha* in that inscription in line 3 and that is a *dha* of the reversed type (*Memoirs Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 1, Plate V, No. 20). So it is to be observed that Bühler's charts contain not only errors of omission in that they represent large inscriptions with one or two specimens of each letter, but also many errors of commission. The plates of the Sanchi Memoir containing reproductions of the mechanical copies of typical inscriptions are at least free from errors of commission and therefore less likely to mislead students.

The summary arrangement of the Brāhmī inscriptions in chronological order at the end of the Sanchi Memoir has also been misunderstood. Such a summary arrangement is something quite different from the chronological classification of the varieties of Brāhmī. To prevent further misconception I venture to give a tentative scheme of the chronological classification of the varieties of Brāhmī noting also the chief distinguishing feature of each variety.

1. Mauryan Brāhmī.

2. Early Sunga or second century B.C. variety of Brāhmī agreeing with the Mauryan Brāhmī in all particulars except the monumental forms of *a*, *dha*, *bha* and *ha*.

3. First century B.C. Brāhmī characterised by straight vertical lines with thickened tops called *serif*.

4. First century A.D. Brāhmī with equalised vertical lines.

The name given to each variety after the century is only provisional. The alphabet used in the Bhaṭṭiprolu relic casket inscription named by Bühler Drāviḍi and the alphabet of the ancient cave inscriptions of Southern India are excluded from this classification. The name Drāviḍi should now be assigned to the Brāhmī script used in the South Indian Cave inscriptions and the Bhaṭṭiprolu alphabet should be renamed Āndhra.

II.—Ajamilamoksaprabandha of Narayanabhatta.

By V. Venkataram Sharma Shastri Vidyabhusana.

The Champū-prabandha Ajāmilamōkṣa is a short literary work belonging to Travancore. In publishing here the above work, I am relying on a Malayālam manuscript written on cadjan leaves, which I got from Mr. Thāzhaman Śankarar Tantri of Chhenganūr in the Travancore State. A piece of poetry interspersed with prose is called a Champū-prabandha or a Prabandha¹ in the Kēraḷa country. There is evidence of so many of such Prabandhas having been extant in Travancore. Written on the basis of Puranic stories, these Prabandhas tend to propagate religious faith among the people. A Hindu sub-caste named Chākyārs,² used to present, with commendable histrionic skill, the most interesting episodes of the famous epics and Purāṇas of the Hindus through these Prabandhas. Even at the present time when national arts have become almost extinct in India, the Chākyārs, who have made it their hereditary profession preach these Prabandhas in the Hindu temples during the annual festivals, when people congregate there in thousands. But, as the encouragement which they had been receiving in the past has been steadily on the wane, they have become mere figureheads, ignorant of Sanskrit and innocent of any expository skill.

Besides being preachers of Prabandhas, Chākyārs were hereditary actors of the Sanskrit dramas, which they used to exhibit in accordance with the rules of dramatic art expounded by Bharata.

¹ Dravidians used to give the name "Prabandha" to purely poetical works also, e. g. the Dravidian Vēda of the Śrī Vāiṣṇavās named "Nālāyira Prabandham."

² By name "Kūttachchākkayan" in Tamil. The existence of these Chākyārs in the first century A.D. is evidenced by mention in the third part (Vaṇjikkaṇḍam) of the famous Tamil work "Chilappadikāram" of these Kūttachchākkayas having acted the "koṭṭichchēdam" episode in the Purāṇic story of "Tripuradahana."

Their acting has been popularly named "kūḍiyattam." The dramas, or parts of dramas which were ordinarily acted by them were the Nāgānanda, Mantrāṅka in the Pratiḥṇāyāugandharāyaṇa, Śēphalikāṅka and Svapnāṅka in the Svapnavāsavadattā Dhanañjaya, Saṃvarāṇa, Kalyāṇasaugandhika, Bhagavadajjuka, and Parnaśālāṅka, Śūrpaṇakhāṅka, and Asōkavanikāṅka in the Cūḍamaninātaka. Neither Prabandha-preaching nor kūḍiyattam was performed by the Chākyārs anywhere else than in the Temple Mandapa. The important part of their acting consisted of the hand signs and the movements of the body which might appear crude and nonsensical to the eyes of the civilised artist accustomed to the fashionable movements of the modern stage. It is noteworthy to state here, however, that I had to fill up a certain destroyed portion of this manuscript from the memory of a Chākyār.

The statements made about the life of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa the author of the present manuscript, by K. Vāsudēvan Mūttatu in the sixth volume of the Kēraḷagrandhamāla ³ and by V. Nāgamiah in the Travancore ⁴ State manual and also by T. Gaṇapati Śāstri in the preface to the 18th volume ⁵ of the Trivandrum Sanskrit series, all agree as to the time during which Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa flourished, although hold different views in many other respects.

Mātrdattasūnu Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the Prabandha in question hailed from South Malabar, at present a British Indian district in South India. He was a Nambūdiri Brahmin. He was well versed in the different branches of Sanskrit literature, such as grammar, astrology, medicine, Vedas, etc. He was a versatile author. Many books are ascribed to him in the various departments of knowledge. The Prakriyāsarvasvam, a treatise on Sanskrit grammar praised even by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita of the Siddhāntakāumudī fame; the Mānameyodayam, a work on Mīmāṃsā, the Śilpiratnam, an architectural book, the

³ Edition of Mangalodayam Company, Trichur, Cochin.

⁴ Part II Chapter—Language and Literature.

⁵ Nārāyaṇiyam by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.

Dhātukāvyam, [another important work on grammar, the Nārāyaṇīyam, the most important of his works and] one full of devotion to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, and last but not the least famous prabandhas such as the Rājasūyam, Svāhāsudhākaram, Subha-drāharaṇam, Nṛgamōkṣam, etc. are some of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's important works.

The date of the author is determined by scholars by the word "Āyurārogyasaukhyam " occurring at the end of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's devotional work and masterpiece "Nārāyaṇīyam." It was regarded that his word expresses the date on which the book was finished. That Kalidina falls on Sunday the 23rd Vṛścikam of 763 Malabar era.⁶

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa was an author in Malayālam also. The Kūṭṭappāṭhakam, Koḍiyaviraham and Candrikotsavam are considered to be his works.

The present work Ajāmilamōkṣa contains twenty poems and four prose-pieces or Chūrṇikās. It is to be inferred from the shortness of the work that it has been intended for one day's preaching by the Chākṛyār.

⁶ It is traditionally known that the Kalidina on which the composition of Nārāyaṇa was completed is indicated by the last word "Āyurārogya- 'saukhyam " in the book. This is about 1590 A.D. and the date of the author is conclusively in the latter half of the 16th century A.D.—Preface to Nārāyaṇīya.

III.—Chaksusiyam—an Arthasastra.

By A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, B.A., M.R.A.S.,
Trivandrum.

There are a number of treatises on the science of Polity, which have been quoted from in many Sanskrit works and commentaries, but which have been lost to us or, at any rate, have not yet been discovered in their entirety in manuscript form. To name but a few instances, the *Rājanīti-Ratnākara* of Chanḍeśvara, edited by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, cites verses from a work called the *Nārādīya*,¹ which appears to be different from the existing law-book of the same author. Two other works quoted from in this composition are the *Rājanīti* and the *Śukranīti*,¹ of which the latter appears to be different from the popular work of the same name available now in print.

One of such interesting works on Polity, which have not been brought to light till now, but which may lie hidden away under the crumbling moth-drilled cadjan heaps of some unexplored library, is the *Chākṣuṣīyam-Arthasāstram*, known only from the nineteen stanzas which have been quoted therefrom in an anthology called the *Sūktiratnahāra*, a manuscript of which is available in the Palace Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. This anthology² is approximately assignable to the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D., and the *Chākṣuṣīyam* must evidently have been earlier. The fact that Chākṣuṣa has been quoted by Mallinātha (fourteenth century A.D.) in his commentary on the *Raghuvamśam*, canto V. 50, namely,

अथ चाक्षुषः । लक्ष्मीकामो युद्धादन्यत्र करिवधं नकुर्व्यात् । इयं
हि श्रीयै^८ करिण इति ।

¹ Vide Introduction to *Rājanīti-Ratnākara*, p. v.

² Vide my paper on *Karuṣākara* and *Sūktiratnahāra* (Third Oriental Conference Summary of Papers, p. 15-9).

does not help us beyond giving another later limit for the *Chākṣuṣīyam*.

Culled as they have been for the lay purposes of an anthology, the extracted verses are of the ordinary 'popular quotations type', and do not deal with any interesting principles of polity; but they are nevertheless useful in informing us of the existence of a hitherto unknown *Arthasāstra* called the *Chākṣuṣīyam*, composed or compiled by an author named Chākṣuṣa,—compiled because Nos. 13, 17 and 18 of these stanzas occur in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, labelled under different authorship. Chākṣuṣa was the name of the sixth of the traditional fourteen¹ Manus, but the author of this treatise, whoever he was, must have been a mere namesake of that mythical personage. It is also not improbable that the work of an anonymous author was consciously fathered on this Manu, in rivalry to the Mānava *Dharmasāstra*, so as to invest it with a halo of sanctimonious antiquity. But all this is vain speculation when we have not more than a score of verses from this work at our disposal.

The chapter headings which have been mentioned at the tops of the verses, are those into which the collected quotations have been grouped in the anthology noted above.

एकस्य हि प्रसादेन कृत्स्नो लोकः प्रसीदति ।
 व्याकुलेनाकुलः सर्वा भवतीति विनिश्चयः ॥ १ ॥
 अतस्त्वष्टाङ्ग्या बुद्ध्या नृपतिर्नोतिशास्त्रवित् ।
 समर्थः पृथिवि कृत्स्नामपि जेतुं विचक्षणः ॥ २ ॥
 श्रीः श्लाघ्या तस्य भूभर्तुर्द्वारि यस्य न सीदति ।
 दुर्बलः करुणाक्रन्दो बलवत्पीडितो जनः ॥ ३ ॥

¹ The fourteen Manus are :

स्वायंभुव, स्वरोचिष, अत्रि, वैवस्वत, चाक्षुष, वैवस्वत, सावर्णि
 दक्षसावर्णि, ब्रह्मसावर्णि, धर्मसावर्णि, रुद्रसावर्णि, दैवसावर्णि, and
 इन्द्रसावर्णि ।

राजप्रशंसा

अराजपद्धतिः—

राज्ञो शून्यकुमारैश्च चोर भोग्याभवन्महो ।
 देवला सुरभोग्यैव सन्ध्याचन्द्रार्क वर्जिता ॥ ४ ॥
 यः स्यादराजको लोकश्चक्षुस्मानपि सोन्धकः ॥
 तं विना यन्न शक्नोति कृत्याकृत्यनिरीक्षणम् ॥ ५ ॥
 सिंहशून्यमिवारण्यं चन्द्रशून्यमिवाम्बरम् ।
 अर्कशून्यमिवाहस्या द्राजशून्यं महीतलम् ॥ ६ ॥

इन्द्रियजयपद्धतिः—

राज्ञा मदद्विपो नेय शमालाननिलोनताम् ।
 शमितः शौरिणा बाणदर्पाग्निश्चक्रधारया ॥ ७ ॥

यूतदोषपद्धतिः—

पाण्डवो धर्मराजस्तु लोकपाल इवापरः ।
 स राज्यं धनमक्षय्यं पणमेकममन्यत ॥ ८ ॥

मन्त्रिपद्धतिः—

यस्मिन् वाचः प्रस्मश्यन्ति कूपे प्रस्ताशिशला इव ।
 न वक्तारं पुनर्याति स वै पण्डित उच्यते ॥ ९ ॥

मन्त्रकालपद्धतिः—

माध्यं दिनेऽर्धरात्रे च विश्रान्तो विगतक्लमः ।
 चिन्तयेद्बर्भं कामार्थान् सार्धं तैरेक एव वा ॥ १० ॥

कोशपद्धतिः—

शोकं क्रोधं भयं कामं व्यसनं देशविभ्रमम् ।
 निग्रहानुग्राहौ राजा सर्वं तरति कोशवान् ॥ ११ ॥

अविश्वासपद्धतिः—

स्त्रीषु राजसु सर्पेषु स्वाध्याये शत्रुसेविषु ।
 भोगे चायुषि विश्वासं कः पुमान् कर्तुमर्हसि ॥ १२ ॥

यो रिणासह सन्धाय विश्वतः स्यात् मिच्छति ।
 स सुप्त एव वृक्षाग्रात् पतिः प्रतिबुध्यते ¹ ॥ १३ ॥
 न विश्वसेद्दृष्टभावमासन्नं शत्रुसेवितम् ।
 स्त्रियं बालं च मूर्खं च नीचञ्चासत्प्रलापिनम् ॥ १४ ॥

राजवृत्तपद्धतिः—

गृध्रदृष्टिर्वकालीनः श्वचेष्टः सिंहविक्रमः ।
 अनुद्विग्नः काकशङ्को भुजङ्गचरितं चरेत् ॥ १५ ॥
 बकवच्चित्रयेदयान् सिंहवच्च पराक्रमेत् ।
 वृकवच्च विलुपेत् शशवच्च विनिष्पतेत् ॥ १६ ॥

सामान्यनौतिपद्धतिः—

यं प्रशंसन्ति गणिका यं प्रशंसन्ति गायकाः ।
 यं प्रशंसन्ति कितवास्तमाहुः पुरुषाधमम् ² ॥ २७ ॥
 आपत्सु मित्रं जानीयाद्राणे शूरं रहः शुचिम् ।
 भार्यां च विभवे क्षीणे दुर्भिर्क्षे च प्रियातिथिम् ³ ॥ २८ ॥
 यस्य पुत्रो वशे भर्तुर्भार्या धन्दानुवर्तिनी ।
 विभवे सति सन्तोषः स्वर्गस्तस्य इहैव हि ॥ २९ ॥

¹ Subhāṣitāvali No. 2756 (Dr. Peterson's Edition)—

योरिणा सह सन्धाय सुखं स्वपिति विश्वसन् ।

स वृक्षाग्रे सुप्त इव पतितः प्रतिबुध्यते — एते वेदव्यास
 मुनेः at the end of No. 2791.

² Same idea expressed in No. 2750—

यं प्रशंसन्ति कितवा यं प्रशंसन्ति चारणाः ।

यं प्रशंसन्ति बन्धक्यो न स जीवति मानवः ॥

³ This is either anonymous or a quotation from Kāhlaṇya Subhāṣitāvali No. 2739.

B

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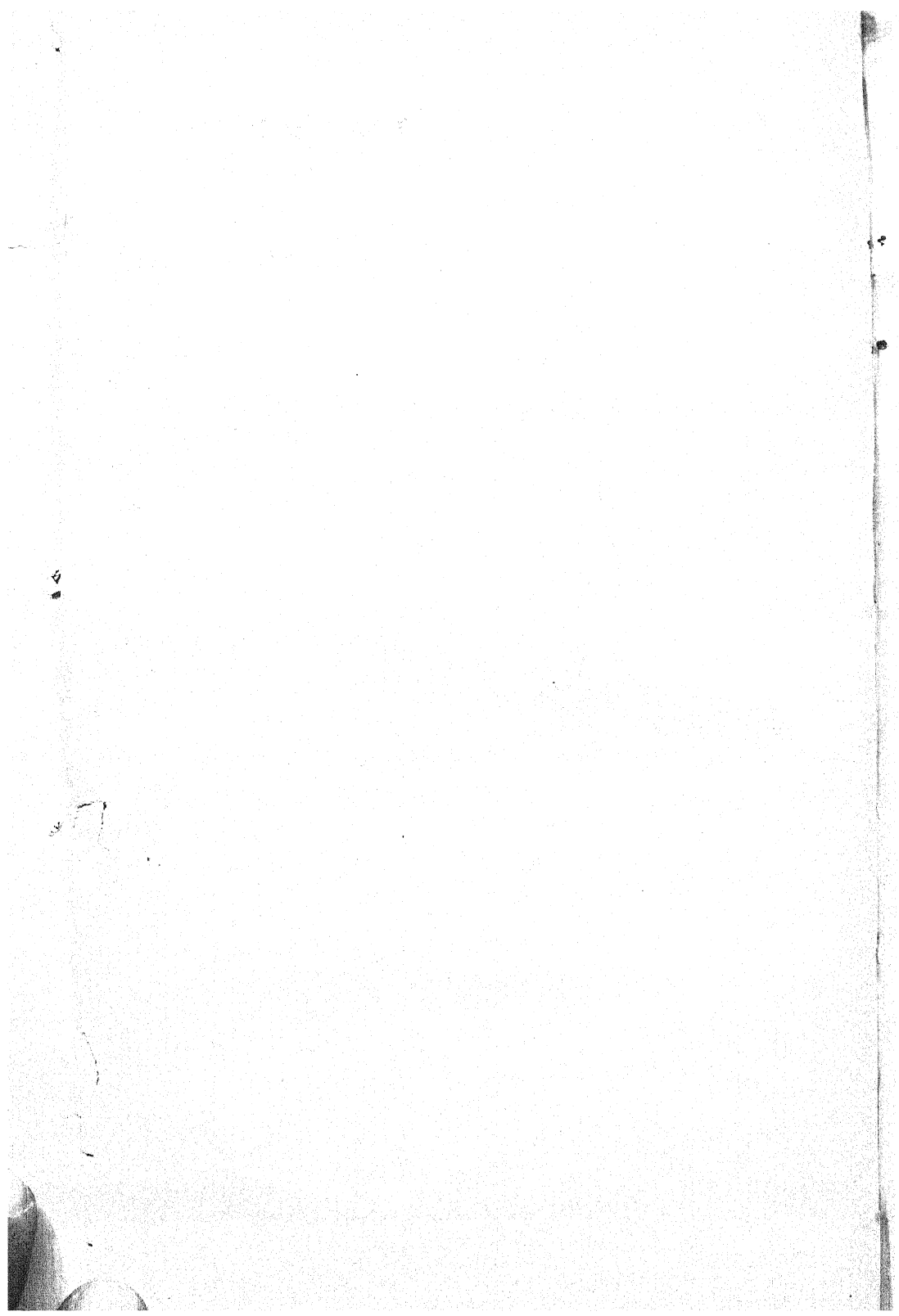
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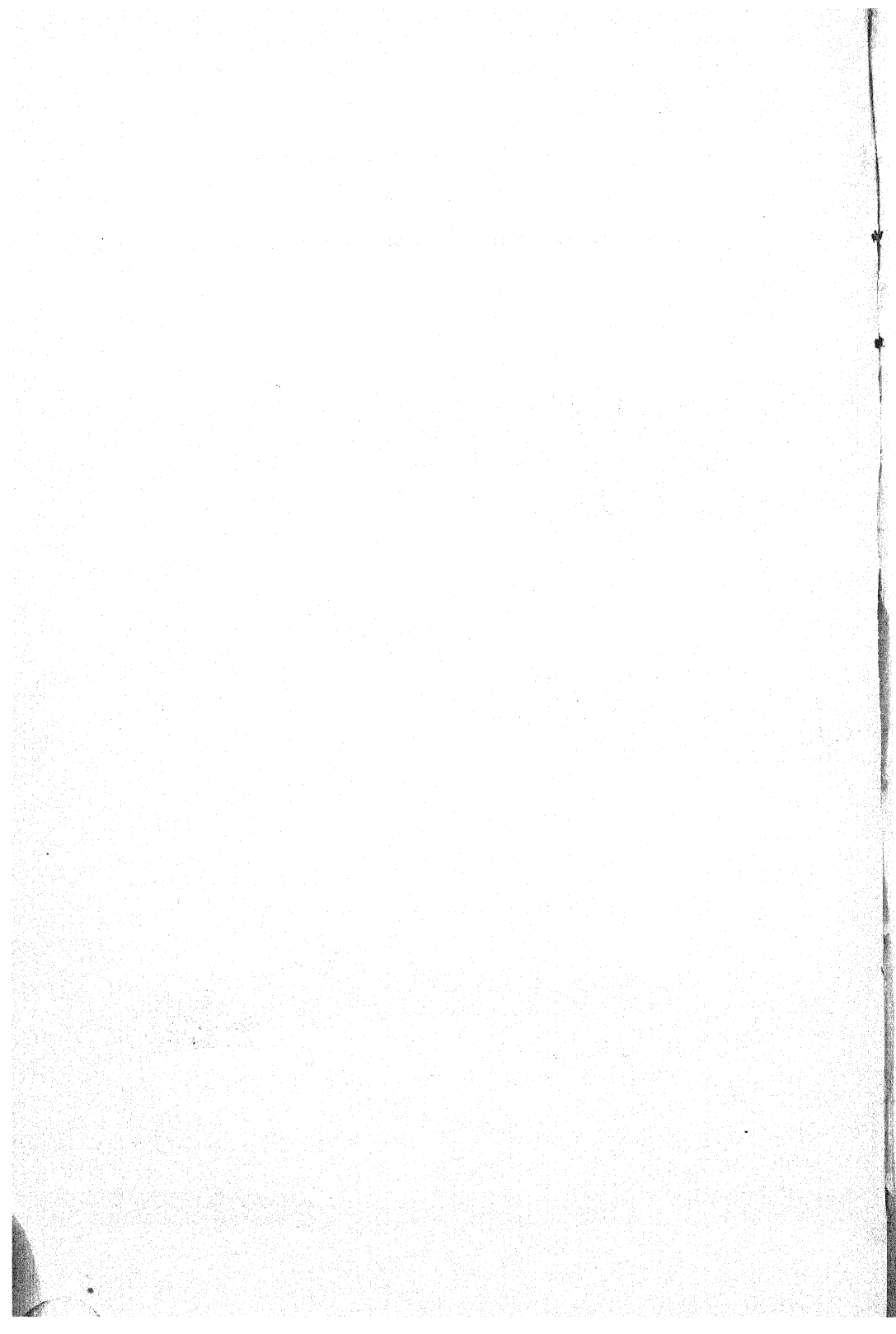


O., CALCUTTA.



[FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE RECORD-ROOM OF THE DISTRICT JUDGE'S COURT.]





IV.—The River Front of Patna at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century.

By J. F. W. James.

In the course of the examination of the old records of the Judge-Magistrate of Patna and of the Provincial Court of Appeal, which have survived in very imperfect condition in the District Judge's office, a plan of the bed of the Ganges as it existed at some time between 1812 and 1816 was found last year. It will be remembered that in Dr. Buchanan's time the main stream of the river above the custom-house flowed at a distance from the high bank, leaving a great bed of sand and *diara*, with the result that the place was almost insufferable in hot weather. From the fragmentary record of which this map formed a part, it appears that the plan was prepared in connection with a suit relating to the *diara* land ; and the main purpose of the surveyor was to make a map of the bed of the river rather than to give a descriptive plan of the bank. But in order to define his position in the river bed, the surveyor from time to time made pictorial sketches of houses on the bank, many of which can be identified with existing buildings. His plan of the Patna bank has been reproduced on a reduced scale for the *Journal*. It should be remarked that the surveyor did not attain to anything approaching accuracy in drawing to scale ; and that he evidently did not attempt to include all the buildings and objects of interest on the bank.

While the reproduction of this plan was under preparation for the *Journal*, Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham had been preparing traces of a plan which he found among the Buchanan manuscripts at the India Office. This plan, which also has little pretension to accuracy in scale, is now reproduced in the *Journal* with the plan of the river bank. It is evidently the plan to which

Buchanan refers in his Journal (*J.B.O.R.S.*, vol. viii, page 344). It is proposed to discuss this plan only so far it describes houses in Bankipore, or is of assistance for elucidation of the plan of the river front.

In the plan of the river front the surveyor begins on the west with the gola. This landmark is naturally prominent in the Buchanan map. The inaccuracy in detail of the Buchanan map becomes at once apparent in the position assigned to Chhajju Bagh, and in the enormous area assigned to the maidan. It will be observed that the gola compound is described as covering the ground between James Lindsay Ross's house (the present Collector's house) and Company Bagh. The great enclosure then and afterwards known as the burying ground of the Nawab Jahangir Quli Khan is ignored.

North-west of the gola is the house known as the Nepali kothi. I do not know how the name became attached to this house and to the house west of it. The *bara Nepali kothi* has a strong resemblance to other buildings of Garstin's designing ; and it would naturally be supposed that Garstin built it for himself while he was erecting the gola. This supposition is confirmed by the description of the house as Garstin's house in the Buchanan map.

In Buchanan's time Captain Peach was beginning to build the house which is now the Commissioner's bungalow. Captain Stuart's house, now occupied by the District Judge, had been acquired by the Collector of Bihar for a local *kachahri* in 1811. Both of these buildings are omitted in each of the maps. Buchanan's map describes the whole area of their compounds as *Bagh Raja Murlidhar*, a piece of interesting and comparatively ancient history.

It is possible that the building shown by the *diara* surveyor, left undescribed by him, is Captain Stuart's bungalow ; but it may be the house now occupied by the Civil Surgeon, which we know to have been occupied by the Opium Agent in 1811. Mr. Oldham would identify this latter house with the *kamra*

Brooke Sahib of Buchanan's map ; but that may represent the Court of Appeal.

With the *diara* surveyor's Court of Appeal we are on certain ground. This was built by William Augustus Brooke in 1787, on the site of the present Collectorate ; in Buchanan's time it was occupied by the Provincial Court of Appeal ; and it was here that Bishop Heber preached in 1824.

East of the lane which now bounds the Bankipore Club compound is *Company Bagh*. The large building shown in each of the maps is evidently the Company's Commercial Factory, built by Captain Watson for the Commander-in-Chief in 1763-4, and taken for the Factory in 1767, now utilised for Munsif's Courts. East of the great house is the tomb of Randfurlic Knox, beyond which is the house of the Commercial Resident, described by the *diara* surveyor as that of Mr. Farquharson, who was Resident at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. This is probably the house, with its appurtenant bungalow (now used for Pirbahor police station), which is shown on the east of Company Bagh in Buchanan's map. The compound of this house was the original Company Bagh, acquired by the Company early in the eighteenth century ; but, as has been described in the Patna District Gazetteer, the name came in course of time to be applied to the area on the west, which was used as a camping ground by Coote and Clive in 1757 and 1758, and occupied afterwards by Army Headquarters, and subsequently by the Factory. The name appended in Buchanan's map to the house of the Commercial Resident may possibly be a corruption of Ellis, whose name may well have been associated with the house.

The *diara* surveyor has omitted all the houses between Company Bagh and Patna College, except one which is left undescribed, which may be the Muradbagh house. Buchanan's plan here gives more details. The first house beyond what is probably meant for that of the Commercial Resident is described as *kamra Kin sahib*. This was originally a Factory assistant's house, encroaching on the land beyond the western boundary of

Company Bagh ; it was occupied by Christopher Keating at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The house was known in more modern times as the Patna Law College.

The Patna College house is clear on the *diara* surveyor's map ; but the name attached to it is difficult to decipher. This may be the house described in Buchanan's map as that of Mr. Mercer, who had recently been Judge in Patna ; but it may be the building west of this described as the house of Basinan or Basitan sahib, which, Mr. Oldham thinks, may represent Vāṁsittart, possibly Robert Vansittart, Collector of Customs at Patna from 1808 to 1813.

The *diara* surveyor shows two *pakka* houses in Afzalpur, without description. The western house is probably that now occupied by the Principal of the Engineering College. After what is apparently the Rani Ghat temple, we come to the Pathri house of Mir Ashraf, gumashta of the English Factory in 1771. The word Afzal in Buchanan's plan is here probably a mistake for Ashraf. Then comes the great house of Raja Mitarjit Singh of Tikari, east of which is the house of John Ham, the army contractor, ex-paymaster of the second Brigade, who settled in Patna in 1774.

The *diara* surveyor next shows three *pakka* houses :—those of Nurul Hasan Khan, Mr. Nicholson(?), and Baqir Ali Khan. The houses can be identified with tolerable certainty at Colonelganj. One of the first two is apparently the house of William Young, a prominent member of the Revenue Council from 1775 to 1780, and afterwards Agent to the Opium contractors. He figures in the *Sair Mutakharin* as Mr. Neek, owing to a mistake in transliteration which could easily be made in reading Buchanan's map. The third house is evidently that mentioned by Buchanan ; and it is almost certainly the house now occupied by the Superintendent of the Drawing Office at Gulzarbagh.

The next building in the *diara* map is the Opium Factory, the great fortified warehouse with the round tower, the main building of the old Factory, built by the East Indian Company

early in the eighteenth century at a cost of forty thousand rupees. When the Factory was transferred to Bankipore after the fire in 1767, this building was utilized for military stores. It was then known as the Grand Magazine, until the Bankipore gola was taken for the military stores, when the old Factory building was made over to the Opium Agent.

Buchanan's map shows the Haveli Begaman, but otherwise it shows little detail between the Factory and the Fort. East of the Factory the *diara* surveyor shows the *matāni* and the great bastion erected by Mir Kāsim, which was destroyed in 1857, beyond which is the Nauzar Ghāt. The next building is the house of Shitāb Rai (makān Maharājā Kallīān Singh) of which one stone no longer remains on another, though some of the outbuildings still stand. After Maharājā Kallīān Singh's ghāt comes a small bungalow unnamed, and the houses of Mir Ashraf and Ibrahim Ali Khān. Then comes the Dutch Factory (*kothi Hollandez*), built by the Dutch in 1752, of which the last traces have vanished in recent years. The place is still known as *poshta Hollandez*, and the old revetment still remains, in ruinous condition.

The next building shown on the map is the Haveli Begam wherein the unfortunate Khālī Rām was confined in 1781. After Khwaja Kalān Ghāt, and some unnamed houses, we come to Maharājā Rāmনারain's Ghāt and house. After Chimni Ghāt is the *Masjid Madrasi* (Saif Khān's mosque), and the fort, described as *kila Bādshāhi*, where the picture of the Patna bank ends.

Buchanan's map shows a house close to the Madrasa mosque occupied or built by a man whose name is apparently Blake, but possibly standing for William Burke, a resident in Patna in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Beyond the Fort the plan shows the Danish factory, which stood where the Patna Ghāt railway station now is. The stationmaster now lives in the house of Jorgen Hendrich Berner, a building of remarkable solidity, whose original occupier is buried in the compound. Each of the maps is inaccurate in detail; but they may be of

assistance in elucidating and explaining local tradition, of which we know that the interpretation went strangely astray in respect of many buildings in Patna in the later years of the nineteenth century.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE PRATIMA-NATAKA OF BHĀSA, WITH COMMENTARY.—*By*
Māhamahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī. Trivandrum, 1924.
Price, Rs. 2, pp. 133+5 quarto.

MM. Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstrī is revising his now well-known Trivandrum Series Bhāsa with painstaking commentaries. He sticks to his pre-Pāṇinean date of Bhāsa. Recently in the J.R.A.S., October 1924, pp. 668, 669 he has adduced further evidence about Bhāsa's antiquity in two citations found in *Bhāvaprakāśa* (12th century) and *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa* (11th century). It is to be hoped that the learned scholar will take note of some fresh light, which may militate against an *ante*-Pāṇinean attitude, viz. (i) *kāśīrājñe* (*Avi.* p. 110) and *Sarvarājñah* (*Dūtavā* p. 32) might have been in use in Patañjali's time. The Śuṅga Inscription from Ayodhya bearing Pushyamitra's name and palaeographically not later than the first century (published with plate by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in J.B.O.R.S., September 1924, pp. 202-208) contains the word *Dharmarājñā* or *Dharmarājñah*. The following points require reconsideration : (ii) *tamaugham* as a possible masculine word in the first edition of Pratimā, 1915, p. 113, has been treated as an *ārsaprayoga* in the present book (*Ibid.* 1924, p. 130). Why? (iii) The order of words *Śatrughna-Lakṣmaṇa*, etc., in Pratimā, 1924, p. 19, and Lakṣmaṇa as Bharata's younger brother in contrast to the current *Rāmāyaṇa* (Gorresio, p. 101 ; Bomb. Ed. Parab, Part I, p. 55 xviii, pp. 21-22) might indicate an earlier version. (iv) The implied *pūrva-dharma*, Pratimā, 1924, p. 71, seems pre-Manu : was there a Mānava-Dharma-sūtra, like the sūtra-sources of other *sūtra* works? or an earlier edition of the Mānava-Dharma sūtra? (v) What is the *Mānavīyaṁ Dharmasūtram*, Pratimā, 1924, p. 99? Kauṭilya quotes a school on the "Mānavas" evidently connected with a work

on politics. Bhāsa's priority to Kauṭilya and Pāṇini, more debatable than ever, awaits solution of many incidental issues of which the above-mentioned are only a few.

Both as a drama and as suggesting a mass of ancient historical information, Pratimā is interesting, and the Commentary is likely to facilitate a further and fuller study.

A. B.-S.

THE ARTHASAŚTRA OF KAUTALYA.—*Edited with his commentary Śrīmūla by Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Śāstrī. Parts I. and II. 1-7 Adhikaraṇas. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series Nos. LXXIX, pp. 11+359+8+368, quarto. 1924.*

The Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya was first published by R. Shama Sastri in 1909 (Mysore), translated by the same already in 1905 in the *Indian Antiquary*, revised and published in 1915 (Bangalore) and a revised edition of the text in 1919 (Mysore). A new edition appeared in 1923 at Lahore by Drs. Jolly and Schmidt, of which the second part containing notes are not yet to hand. From 1905 to 1923 various scholars like Fleet, Hillebrandt, Jolly and Jayaswal have been working at it with varying success. The results so far have not been exhaustive. The fog of misconceptions is thinning away but the light of comprehension is slow to come. The 1924 edition of MM. Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstrī is a distinct step forward as an attempt to utilise more fully the Sanskrit Commentary of Bhaṭṭasvāmin on the Second Adhikaraṇa called *Pratipada-panchikā*. Pandit Śāstrī's own commentary the *Śrīmūla*, uniformly ingenuous and scholarly, however intrudes too much on and obscures the view-point of the older commentator. To narrow down the interpretations it is necessary to separate the new from the old, wherever possible. The publication in the present issue, March 1925, of a critical edition of the commentary will, as expected, by Pandit Gaṇapati, Part I. Introduction page 3, substantially supplement all previous studies.

In the Introduction to Part I. is a recapitulation of the traditional view of Kauṭilya's date, circa third century B.C.; in the Introduction to Part II. is an able refutation of adverse

criticisms by Drs. Winternitz, Keith and Jolly (Arthasāstra, 1923, Introduction, page 54). In this he has been followed by the penetrating discussion by Jayaswal in his *Hindu Polity*, 1924, Part I. Appendix C, p. 4. There are a few suggestions of the Mahāmahopādhyāya that seem dubious and unnecessary. (i) The name *Kauṭilya* he says is a mistake for *Kauṭalya* because (a) the latter is the form in all the MSS. (Introduction Part I. page 4 and Introduction Part II. page 4) and (b) *Kauṭala* means a Gotraṣi and an ornament, the form *Kauṭilya* is a misnomer. (a) is not accurate in as much as Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary, MS. No. 5-5-47 iv-e-36 of Madras Government Library has the form *Kauṭilya*, not *Kauṭalya*. (b) is unnecessary as the question of "ornament" or disparagement does not arise: most of the quoted predecessors in the *Kauṭilya* have similar names—of. Piśuna, Kaupapadanta, Vāṭavyādhi and Bāhudantiputra (Introduction Part I. page 10). The text at II, 21; 39 ग्रन्थ &c., might have been corrected, see *Hindu Polity*, Part II. page 168.

The commentary *Śrīmūla* evinces both erudition and vision. The interpretations are marked by plausibility. A study by Dr. Gaṇapati Śāstrī is welcome.

A. B.-S.

THE INDIAN BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY MAINLY BASED ON THE SADHANAMALA AND OTHER COGNATE TANTRIC TEXTS OF RITUALS.—By Benoytosh Bhattacharya, M.A. (Calcutta). Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, with 283 Illustrations, Double Crown pp. xxii + xxix, 220. 1924.

The publication in 1914 of Gopinatha Rao's *Hindu Iconography* quickened Indian scholars' interests in a scientific study of the Icons of India. The attempted classification and description in that book were not and could not be satisfactory for want of previous critical estimates of individual branches—Buddhist, Jain and Hindu. Such an estimate would presuppose not only an eye for art but a training in texts. Occasional and sporadic flashes and treatment like those of Foucher and Grünwedel lit up the way, but followers were few. And

Birdwood's abhorrence (V. Smith, *History of Fine Art of India and Ceylon*) and Coomarswami's high appreciation of the selfsame Buddha were a mystery to the man in the street no less than to the ordinary student and artist. Denicker was the first to construct a systematic account in his *Gods of the Northern Buddhists*. Mr. Bhattacharya, under MM. Hara Prasad Śāstri's guidance, has carried the study much further. Full of industry and initiative, his is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject.

The history of Indian thought will never be rightly read until her stories in letters be supplemented by her stories in stone, and in colours (frailer than either). Hence a book like Mr. Bhattacharya's has a claim to consideration for itself, and also for others to follow.

It will also appeal to the lay mind. Visitors to Ajanta generally return with a perplexed impression that had they not prepared themselves beforehand to detect religion in the subjects depicted there generally from the Jātakas, they would hardly associate, with the all too human joyousness of painted life therein, any austere sombreness—an appenage to Buddhism as popularly conceived. Mr. Bhattacharya is right in saying "that the images do not represent objects of worship." (Page viii.) It would be interesting to discuss how under the probable influence of the rejuvenated Hindu Pantheon the Buddha fell from his easy familiar pose of earlier times to a lonely figure of respected deification. Without assigning any cogent reasons, V. Smith regards the halo-encircled Buddha in the niches at Ajanta as later than the genial crowds on the walls. (*History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 285, 286). In this, as in so many others, his historical instinct was his guide but verification is awaited with interest.

The contents deal fairly exhaustively with theories as well as identifications mainly on the basis of the *Sādhnamālā*. The treatment generally adequate, still has scope for improvement. A study of the separate series should be followed

up by an analysis of sequence. Buddhist Iconography must be made to reveal the vicissitudes not only of Buddhism, but of Hinduism and Jainism as well.¹ Mr. Bhattacharya's book is a great guide in that direction.

A. B.-S.

DER HINDUISMUS.—*Religion und Gesellschaft Im Heutigen Indien.* Helmuth v. Glasenapp. Mit 43 Abbildungen. Kurt Wolff Verlag. München. 1922.

Dr. Helmuth v. Glasenapp, a Lecturer on Indian Philology at the University of Berlin, owes his initiation in Indian subjects to the words of a venerable Brāhmaṇa at Bonn—"In Indien ist alles Religion" (Vorwort, p. ix). The present book on "Religion and Society in the India of To-day" is a work of considerable industry and insight. The first four Chapters (I. Basis; II. Object of Religious Thinking; III. Religious Literature; IV. World and Problem of Life) show a remarkable depth of reading. About the last three (V. Social Life; VI. Sects and VII. Influence of the West) there might be differences of opinion, specially about current topics (cf. pp. 384-98), but the book is a welcome and helpful contribution to all discussion on Indian religious questions.

A. B.-S.

THE GLORIES OF MAGADHA.—By J. N. Sammadar, B.A., Patna University Readership Lectures, 1922; F + 144 + 20 pages.

The book begins with a conundrum: a quotation from Rabindranath—"Thine the skies where dawned the first bright morn. The hermitage thine where the earliest sāmas were

¹ In closing down that remarkable book of Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, one feels as if page after page of that most-debated chapter of European culture, unfurling itself before the fascinated gaze of posterity, from the introduction of Christianity to Europe, through Mediaeval uncertainties to the steady fulfilment of the dawning Renaissance and Byzantium's end at the hand of the Turk. The cultural history of Brahmanism, Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism as revealed in art, specially in stone, has yet to be written.

sung, etc.” Historically or otherwise, the passage has no bearing either on Magadha or her glories. The author here forgets that Magadha was outside the orthodox Aryāvarta and that the first hymns of the Vedas were composed not in Magadha but in the Punjab. As a matter of fact, the olden times had a decidedly anti-Magadha bias. How the *Pāṇḍava-varjita* land of Magadha lived down its evil odour *Aṅga-Baṅga-Kaliṅgeṣu Magadheṣu tathā, Tīrtha-yātrāṁ vinā gatvā punassamśkāramarhati* and rose to be the centre of Northern Indian culture is a story revealed in the three principal literatures of India—Brāhmanical Sanskrit, Jaina Prākṛt and Buddhist Pāli. It is a story less showy but more substantial. Babu Jogindra Nath Sammadar has probably found it tedious. Instead, he has filled his glories with random pickings from heterogeneous sources—Rabindranath, pages 3, 140; Koppen, page 95; Scott’s Lay of the Last Minstrel, page 141, etc. One is puzzled from beginning to end whether his *motif* is historical or journalistic. Nor do the opinions printed in the book add to the dignity of a University Readership lecture and especially so when they partake of the nature of testimonials.

There is a Foreword,—by Dr. A. B. Keith—“despite divergence of view on not a few points,” page viii. The points, however, are not indicated. But the following are the only two in which the author has attempted originality :

(1) An appreciation of slavery in ancient India—“pretty satisfactory” (page 60). The subject, though irrelevant, has such a strong appeal to the author that even as “a digression” (page 60) he has included it in his glories.

(2) The second point is still more interesting. The author interprets *Pativedaka* as a “spy” (page 79). His predecessors, Messrs. V. Smith and Jayaswal, had offered only tentative renderings and doubts—as “ushers” (page 79). The real difficulty is that neither in Sanskrit nor in Prākṛt, the word means anything more than a mere informant or usher. Further, the word for “spy” mentioned in Bhaṭṭasvāmin’s *Pratipadapañchikā* on the Kauṭīliya Artha-

Śāstra gives the recognised term as *Satri*, corroborated by other references in the St. Petersburg Dictionary (1875, p. 575.) Nor do the functions of a *Pativedaka* bespeak espionage. But the author under discussion knows no difference as he never goes near original sources — “Persons appointed to give information could not be any other than spies” (page 80).

Having thus established a *glorious* realm of spies and slaves, the author hastens to add an absolute autocracy that *heard* but heeded not the council of ministers (pages 74 — 79). This interpretation is as imaginary as his treatment of Sanskrit expressions. Artha-Śāstra I. 7 says “*Sṛṇuyānmatam*” (listen to their, i.e. ministers’, counsel). The author explains—“*hear* their opinion” (page 76), therefore “clearly and categorically” (*ibid*) the king was above the ministers! Such reasoning needs no comment.

Archæological results touching Magadha by scholars like Bloch and Jackson (Bodh-Gaya and Barabar Hills) are unknown to the Reader of the Patna University (page 19), while granny’s tales (e.g. from an unnamed Hindi manuscript, of unknown date and unknown authorship and unknown place of deposit, pages 52 — 55) are put forward, apparently as original research. The author betrays a very poor knowledge of Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Pāli : cf. *Mahāmātras* explained as “Wardens of the Marches” (page 83), *Nagala-vohālakas* as “Town clerks” (page 84), *Tāranātha* spelt as *Tārā-nātha* (pages 99, 100), *Āmra-ṭikā* as *Āmrabāṭikā* (page 103), etc.

The rest of the book is a string of quotations. In short, Babu Jogindra Nath Samaddar’s “Glories” presuppose an acquired taste. Its appeal is not to discrimination but to temperament. It contains no new data.

A. B-Ś.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held at the Society's Office on the 18th January 1925.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson, Vice-President (in the chair).

Mr. V. H. Jackson.

Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

„ E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 30th November 1924.

2. Elected the following new members :—

Mr. S. Sultan Ahmad, Bar-at-law, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University.

Mr. Sarangdhar Sinha, M.A., B.L., c/o Khadgavilas Press, Patna.

Mr. C. Krishnaswami Rao Garu, B.A., L.T., Seetha Park, Basavanagudi P.O., Bangalore City.

Mr. Bhavaraju V. Krishna Rao, B.A., B.L., Vakil, Rajahmundry.

3. Considered the agenda paper for the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the 7th February 1925.

Resolved that, as usual, the General Secretary present the Annual Report; the Treasurer, a statement of accounts for the complete financial year 1923-24; and the actuals for the current year up to the 31st January 1925; and the Hon'ble Vice-President a review of the work of the Society during the past year.

Resolved, further, that the Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick be requested to move, on behalf of the Council, that the following be elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for 1925-26 :—

President—His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I.,
K.C.I.E.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E.,
C.S.I.

General Secretary—E. A. Horne, Esq., M.A.

Joint Secretary—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer—D. N. Sen, Esq., M.A.

Librarian—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President,
General Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian).

The Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick, Kt.

The Hon'ble Sir John Bucknill, Kt., K.C.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha, Bar-at-Law

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.

G. E. Fawcett, Esq., M.A., O.B.E.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Dr. Harichand Sastri, D.LITT.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Professor Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, M.A.

Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri, M.A., PH.D.

Resolved, further, that a suitable reference be made in the Annual Report to the services rendered by Mr. W. V. Duke, the retiring Treasurer.

4. Resolved that Mr. V. H. Jackson be appointed a member of the Journal Committee in place of Professor Surendranath Majumdar Sastri, who has left Patna, this committee being constituted as follows for 1925-26 :— Mr. K. P. Jayaswal (Editor), Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri and Mr. V. H. Jackson.

5. Considered letter No. 3827-E., dated the 28th December 1924, from Government in the Ministry of Education, on the subject of the re-employment of Pandit Viswanath Rath for the cataloguing of palm-leaf manuscripts in the Puri district.

Resolved that the Society have no objection to bear the contingent charges (e. g. for stationery, postage, etc.) of the Pandit, as in the past; but the Council do not think it necessary to employ (at the Society's expense) an assistant to the Pandit.

6. Read and recorded memo. No. 12700-03B., dated the 18th December 1924, from the Under-Secretary to Government in the Public Works Department, on the subject of the allotment of rooms in the High Court Chambers to the Society.

7. Considered letter, dated the 21st November 1924, from the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, on the subject of exchange of publications.

Resolved that the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, be informed that the Society will be happy to exchange current publications; and that he be asked to furnish a list of his Society's previous publications, which he is prepared to offer in exchange for a complete set of this Society's Journal.

8. Considered letter, dated the 11th December 1924, from Dr. S. A. Khan, University Professor of Modern History, Allahabad, with reference to the *Journal of Indian History*.

Resolved that Dr. Khan be informed that this Society are not prepared to take over and conduct the *Journal of Indian History*.

9. Considered letter, dated the 12th November 1924, from the Librarian of the University of Bombay, asking that the University Library may be supplied with the Society's Journal (including back numbers) gratis.

Resolved that the Librarian of the University of Bombay be informed that no free copies of the Journal are presented to University Libraries; but that the Society will be happy to enrol him as a member of the Society, in which case he

will be able to obtain the Society's Journal (both current and back numbers) for his Library at half the rates chargeable to non-members.

E. A. HORNE,
Honorary General Secretary.

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held on the 7th February 1925 at 6 p.m. at Government House, Patna, the President of the Society, His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, presiding.

1. Mr. E. A. Horne, Honorary General Secretary, presented the Annual Report of the Society for 1924-25, which was taken as read.

2. Mr. D. N. Sen, Honorary Treasurer, presented the Annual Statement of Accounts for 1924-25, which was taken as read.

3. On the motion of Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Dr. Hermarn Jacobi (Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Bonn) was unanimously elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

4. The Hon'ble Sir John Bucknill moved, on behalf of the Council, that the following be elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for 1925-26 :—

President.—His Excellency Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.S.I.,
K.C.I.E.

Vice-President.—The Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E.
C.S.I.

General Secretary.—E. A. Horne, Esq., M.A.

Joint Secretary.—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer.—D. N. Sen, Esq., M.A.

Librarian.—Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, General Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian)—

The Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick, KT.

The Hon'ble Sir John Bucknill, KT., K.C.

The Hon'ble Mr. S. Sinha, Bar-at-Law.

V. H. Jackson, Esq., M.A.

G. E. Fawcus, Esq., M.A., O.B.E.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar, M.A.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Dr. Harichand Sastri, D. LITT.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Bar-at-Law.

Professor Surendranath Mazumdar Sastri, M.A.

Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Dr. A. P. Banerji Sastri, M.A., PH. D.

5. The Vice-President (the Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson) reviewed the work of the Society during the past year.

6. His Excellency the President introduced Professor Dr. Sten Konow, an Honorary Member of the Society, who addressed the Society on the subject, "Om Mani Padme Hum."

7. Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhuri proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society held at the Sinha Institute on the 8th March 1925.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson, Vice-President (in
the chair).

Mr. V. H. Jackson.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Mr. G. E. Fawcous.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray.

Rai Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the
Council, held on the 18th January 1925.

2. Elected the following new members :—

Babu Dwarka Prasad Pathak, B.A., B.L., Bankipur.

Babu Ajodhya Prasad, B.A., B.L., Patna City.

Babu Beni Krishna, Patna City.

Mr. H. Wardle, Patna.

Librarian, University of Bombay.

Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L., Muktisvaram,
Tottaramudi P.O., Godavary District.

3. An informal meeting to discuss the question of a site for
the proposed new premises for the Museum and Research
Society, at which the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha, Rai Bahadur Bishun
Swarup and members of the Managing Committee of the
Patna Museum, were present, having been held immediately
before the present meeting of the Council, it was resolved that

the following be recorded as the considered views of this Council:—

- (a) The Research Society should be provided with a building of its own, consisting of a two-storied block adjoining the Sinha Institute and containing, besides the necessary office rooms, a library and a picture gallery.
- (b) The site which they favour for the Museum is the Hardinge Park site.
- (c) Rai Bahadur Bishun Swarup may be asked to prepare detailed plans and estimates for both buildings.

4. Resolved that authority be given to the Library Committee to spend up to Rs. 4,250 on the purchase of books for the Library during the current financial year, exclusive of the amount (Rs. 1,420) earmarked for the purchase of the Hakluyt Society's publications.

5. The following were elected members of the Library Committee for the year 1925-26 :—

The Librarian (Convener), the Editor, the General Secretary, Mr. V. H. Jackson, Professor Jadunath Sarkar and Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

6. The General Secretary submitted an estimate (furnished by the Government Press) of the cost of printing and binding the Buchanan Reports (printing, as in Martin's "Eastern India"; cloth binding), which is as follows :—

			Estimated number of pages (including portions omitted by Martin),	For 500 copies.*	1,000 copies.*
Purnea	Report...	...	650	Rs. 1,972	Rs. 2,791
Bhagalpur	do. ...	...	541	„ 1,645	„ 2,346
Patna-Gaya	do. ...	...	750	„ 2,250	„ 3,168
Shahabad	do. ...	...	310	„ 1,027	„ 1,501

* Including cost of paper and binding materials.

Resolved that steps be taken immediately (1) to have copy made (from the Buchanan MSS. in the India Office Library) of the portions omitted by Martin in the Purnea Report; (2) to complete the copy prepared by Mr. Jackson of the portions omitted in the Bhagalpur Report; and (3) to obtain a photographic reproduction of Buchanan's map of the Purnea district.

Resolved, further, to keep a separate account (crediting to this account the Maharaja of Hathwa's donation of Rs. 5,000) of receipts and expenditure under the head of "Buchanan Reports".

7. Read and recorded a letter, dated the 13th February 1925, from Mrs. D. B. Spooner.

8. Considered a letter No. 614, dated the 23rd January 1925, from the Director of Public Instruction, with reference to the publication "Man in India."

Resolved that the Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department be addressed on the subject.

9. Read and recorded Memo. No. 2546-49-B, dated the 12th January 1925, from the Under-Secretary to Government in the Public Works Department on the subject of the allotment of rooms in the High Court Chambers to the Society.

10. Adopted the following proposals for exchange of publications :—

- (a) with the Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore ;
- (b) with the Oriental Societies of Holland, Denmark and Norway (joint publishers of *Acta Orientalia*); and
- (c) with the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences), Batavia, Java.

11. Resolved that the next Quarterly Meeting of the Society take the form of a lantern lecture by Mr. P. C. Manuk on the Ajanta Paintings, to be held on the 20th March (if possible) at 6-30 p.m. in the Sinha Institute.

12. Resolved that the very grateful thanks of the Society

be tendered to Rai Bahadur Ram Ran Vijaya Singh for his gift of some valuable specimens of eighteenth century illuminated manuscript to the Society.

Resolved, further, that, for the present, these specimens be loaned to the Patna Museum for exhibition.

13. Resolved that, with effect from the 1st April 1925, the pay of the office peon and the General Secretary's peon (who, in addition to their duties as peons, do daftari work) be raised from Rs. 10 to Rs. 11 per month.

E. A. HORNE,
Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a Quarterly Meeting of
the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
held at the Sinha Institute on the
20th March 1925.**

1. The Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson, Vice-President of the Society, occupied the chair ; and there was a large attendance of members and visitors.

2. Mr. P. C. Manuk delivered a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on the Ajanta caves and paintings—being an account of the impressions which he had formed on a recent visit to Ajanta.

3. The chairman expressed the thanks of the Society to Mr. Manuk for a fascinating and highly instructive lecture and Mr. K. P. Jayaswal proposed a vote of thanks to the chair.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

Bhatta-Svamin's Commentary

on

KAUTILYA'S ARTHA-SĀSTRA

Edited by K. P. JAYASWAL

and

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

भट्टस्वामिनः

प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायाम्

द्वितीयाधिकरणेऽष्टमोऽध्यायः ।*

सिद्धीनामित्यादि¹ । सिद्धीनां द्रव्याणामसाधनमनुत्पादन-
AS. p. 66² मुत्पन्नानां वा ऽनवतारणमनुपहस्तिकरणमुपहस्ति³-
कृतानाञ्च तेषामप्रवेशनमनुपनयनमित्ययं त्रिविधः प्रतिबन्धः ।
तत्रेति, प्रतिबन्धे प्रतिबन्धद्रव्यदशबन्धो दशभागो दण्डः ।
प्रयोगमाह—कोशद्रव्याणामिति, तत्प्रवेश्यानां वृद्धिप्रयोगः ।
वृद्धार्थं प्रयुज्य तां वृद्धि [] स्वयमुपजीव्य कालान्तरेण मूलद्रव्यदानम् ।

* MS., No. 5-5-47, IV-e-36 of Madras Govt. Library.

1 Bh. S. does not read the 7 lines of the printed text at the beginning of the Chapter (p. 65).

Reference to the *Artha-Sāstra* pages is to the 1909 edition of Dr. Shama Sastry.

3 Sorabji (Taraporewala) reads wrongly. अपहस्तः.

व्यवहारं व्याचष्टे, प ण्य व्व व हा र इ ति कोशद्वयै^१र्वाणिज्य-
करणम् । त त्वे ति प्रयोगव्यवहारयोर्द्वयोरपि फलद्विगुणो दण्ड्यः ।

अवस्तारमाह । बहिलब्धव्यस्यार्थस्य सिद्धं कालं पूर्णमवधिपूर्णा
इति करोत्युक्तोचयाचनकादिभिर्नाम तथान्यस्य प्रद्वेषाद्^२प्राप्तमपि
कालम्प्राप्तङ्करोति तदेव प्राप्ते कालस्याग्रहणाद्राजार्थहानिरप्राप्त-
कालस्य ग्रहणात् प्रजापीडनङ्कोशक्षयहेतुरित्ययमुभयप्रकारोऽवस्तारः,
त त्व च^३ पञ्च व न्धो द ण्ड इति ।

परिहापणमपि द्विविधमाह—कल स मा यं प्रसिद्धामुत्पत्तिम्परि-
हा प य ति, न्यूनीकरोति व्य यञ्च महानसादिपरिव्ययं वर्धय ति,^४
प्रसिद्धादधिकं करोतीत्येतत्परिहापणम् । त त्वे त्यायपरिहापणे व्यय-
विवर्धने च यावन्मानं नाशितं तच्चतुर्गुणो दण्डद्विविधमेव ।

उपभोगमाह—स्व य म न्यै र्वा रा ज द्र व्या णां रत्नसारादीना-
मु प भो ज नं यथेष्टविनियोग उ प भो गः । त त्वे त्या दि ।
सुबोधं । त च्चे ति सर्वशेषः ।

परिवर्तनमाह — रा ज द्र व्या ना मि त्या दि निगदव्याख्यानं ।

अपहारं त्रिविधमाह—नि ब द्ध मा य म्^५ उत्पन्नमर्थस्प्रवेशयति ।
नि ब द्धं लेख्यकारोपि तं व्य यं हिरण्यादिकं, राज्ञा कस्यचिदत्तं
न प्र य च्छ ति, न ददाति प्राप्ता मुपहासीभूतां, नी वी मुक्तलक्षणां,
वि प्र ति जा ना ति^६ नाद्याप्युपहस्तिभवतीत्यपहृत इत्ययमपहारः ।
त त्वे ति, त्रिविधेऽप्यसिद्धादशगुणो दण्डः ।

1 S. T. misquotes ०व्यैवा० ।

2 ०वि० in Ms.,

3 चकाररहितः पाठो मूले ।

4 “वि” सहितः पाठो युक्तः ।

5 “श”-“य” प्रकाशितयोः “सिद्धमायमि”ति पाठः ।

“स”-मतो “निबन्ध”मिति पाठो युज्यते “निबन्ध”पुस्तकस्य प्रागेव
ग्रहणात् ।

6 “श”-“य”-योः “विप्रतिजानीते” ।” “अपहृते ज्ञः” “इति पाणिनीयसत्रा-
दात्मनेपदं समीचीनम् ।

इत्येवं कोशवृद्धिक्षयावभिधाय ततः कोशक्षयशेषभूतान् पौरजान-
पदारा जायविषयानध्यक्षाणां हरणोपायानाह—ते वां ह र णो पा य-
श्च स्वा रिं श त् ए ते वा मध्यक्षाणां हरणोपाया अर्थापहारनिमित्तानि
चत्वारिंशद्वक्ष्यमाणानि, परिज्ञातानामपरिहारसौकर्यायैमपहृतप्रत्यानय-
नार्थञ्च तेषामुपन्यासः ।

तानाह पूर्व सिद्धं, पश्चादवतारितमित्यादि, पूर्वं
अवेष्टव्याश्शालयः, पश्चिमसस्येन गोधूमादिना, सहप्रवेशिताः
कार्तिकमासपिण्डकोपाचैत्रमासपिण्डकेन सार्थमन्तरले तदुप-
जीवनस्य पश्चात्सिद्धम् । पूर्वमवतारितमिति, गोधूमादि-
धान्यकरः किञ्चिदतिस्वरितं राजप्रयोजनमपदिश्य शाल्यादिग्रहणे सह
गृहोतं साध्यं, न सिद्धमिति लवनप्रीत्या वा राजादेशोयमिति
करदायिरूढः करदोक्तम साध्यं सिद्धमिति, देवब्राह्मणाद्यकरदं
करदोक्तं तच्च स्वयं गृह्णाति सिद्धमसिद्धं कृतमिति, करदायिना प्रवे-
शितमप्रवेशितमिति, अपहृतं प्रभूतदातव्यत्वात् किमप्यादाय तदपलापो
वा ऽ सिद्धः^१ । सिद्धं कृतमिति सहस्रदायिना करदेनाध्यक्षोभिहितो-
लञ्चार्थमात्तमपि दत्तमिति लिखति, अल्पस्सिद्धम्बहुकृतमिति,
पञ्चशतानि प्रविष्टानि चञ्चलादिना सहसहस्रमपि लिखितम्बहु-
सिद्धमल्पङ्कृतमिति, सहस्रे प्रविष्टे मत्सराह्लभ्यार्थं वा स्वयं
पादमपहृत्य पञ्चशतानि प्रवेशेकृतानि, अन्यत्सिद्धमन्यत्कृतमिति
शाल्यादिसिद्धं, कोद्रवादिदत्तम्, अन्यत्सिद्धमन्यकर्मकृत-
मिति देवदत्तान्प्रविष्टं, यज्ञदत्तान्नवद्धं देयं, न दत्तमदेयं दत्त-
मित्येवायं राज्ञा कस्यचित्सुवर्णहिरण्यादिकं देयं दत्तं तसुस्तस्यनैव
दत्तकृशयित्वा कालेन फलं, कुप्यादि कङ्कालेन दत्तमकाले
दत्तमित्ययमपेक एव यज्ञविवाहादिनिमित्तम् राज्ञा कस्यचिदातव्य-
मित्यादि, इष्टं, तदानीं न दत्तमतीते काले कृशयित्वा लञ्चेन हिन्यस्तं

१. “स” श्रुत C मूले न दृश्यते ।

दत्तम् । अ ल्पं द त्त म्ब हु कृ तं परं दूतस्य सहस्रं दीयतामित्यादिष्टे
तच्छतोत्तरं कृत्वा, तच्छतमात्मना गृहीत म्ब हु द त्त म ल्प कृ तं सहस्रं
दीयतामित्यादिष्टेऽष्टौ शतानि दत्त्वा शतद्वयमात्मना गृह्णाति, अ न्य द्-

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त्त म न्य त् कृ तं यथा दत्ता गोधूमाः कृत्ताश्शालयः

अ न्य तो द त्त म न्य तः कृ तं देवदत्तादादाय यज्ञ-
दत्तात्कृत म्प्र वि ष्ट म प्र वि ष्टं कृ त म् । गोष्टागार-महानस-प्रवेश्य-
कुटुम्बिकादिभिः प्रवेशितमपि सर्वमेकदेशपानप्रविष्टमित्युक्त्वा हृतम् ।
यद्वा दिष्टोऽध्यक्षो यच्छब्दव्यञ्जालसग्रहणमुद्गृह्यानीयतामिति तत्प्रविष्ट-
मपि तस्य नाद्याप्युद्ग्राहयतादिति वदन् कालहरणेनोपजीवति ।

अ प्र वि ष्ट म्प्र वि ष्टं कृ त मि ति हिरण्यादिकरोद्ग्रहणकाले
दुर्गतः कुटुम्बी लञ्चन्दत्त्वा कालहरणार्थं प्रविष्टमप्यप्रविष्टं कारयति ।

कु प्य म द त्त मू ल्यं प्र वि ष्ट मि ति—वस्त्रास्तरणादि स्वाम्यादेशा-
दुद्धारकेण गृह्णाति क्लेशयित्वा च मूल्यैकदेशं ददत् पूर्णं तल्लिखति, द त्त-
मू ल्यं न त त्प्र वि ष्ट मि ति कूप्यमिति वर्तते, कालादन्तर्धण सकल-
मर्मान्तरं वा गृह्णाति यद्वाल्पमूल्यं प्रवेश्य महामूल्यं स्वयं गृह्णाति,
सं क्षे पो वि क्षे पः कृ त इ ति, सहस्रकपिण्डकरदायिनि ग्रामे
विप्रकीर्णकरं कृत्वा तद्ग्रामोद्देन राजार्थं ग्रामश्चोपजीवति वि क्षे प स्सं-
क्षे पो वा कृ त इ ति वर्तते विक्षिप्तकरदायिनः पिण्डकरादानेनोपजीवति,
धान्यपशुहिरण्यकूप्यविण्यभिक्षिप्य संवत्सरावधि सहस्रकरदायिनि ग्रामे
तत् सहस्रमेकदेव पिण्डीकृत्य गृह्णन्पूर्ववदुपजीवति म हा र्घे मु त्पा र्श्वे ण
प रि व र्त्तित मि ति युगशतपूर्णायां श...भ्रकायां पञ्चाशत्फणिकं
युगमभिक्षिप्य त्रिशतमूल्यं स्वयं गृह्णाति । अ ल्पा र्घं म हा र्घे ण वा
प रि व र्त्तित मि ति, तद् यथा पण्याध्यक्षः पण्यक्रयविक्रयकाले महा-
र्घेण सैन्धवलवणादिनाल्पविक्रयविषयेणाल्पार्घं सामुद्रादिकां महा-
विक्रयविषयं पण्यप्रतिपण्यविनिमयेन यथार्थं गृह्णाति तत्रस्थाप्य-
भाण्डेन शोघ्रविक्रयपण्यलाभं फलं स मा रो पि तो र्घं इति धान्यादि-
विक्रये स्थितादर्वादधिकारोप्य क्रेतूनुपजीवति प्र त्थ व रो पि तो वे ति

अर्घ इति वर्तते धाम्यादिक्रये स्थितादर्घाधोनमर्घं कृत्वा विक्रेतृनुप-
जीवति । रात्रयस्स मा रो पि ता इति रात्रिग्रहणेनाहोरात्रग्रहणं
भृत्यकर्मकरादीनां सप्तदैवसिकभक्तवेतनदानेऽष्टदैवसिकं दत्तमिति वदन्
भृत्यादीनां दैवसिकमर्थमपहरति । प्रत्य व रो पि ता वे ति, रात्रय
इति वर्तते तेषामेव भृत्यादीनामष्टदैवसिकभक्तवेतनदाने सप्तदैवसिकं
दत्तमित्येकदिवसद्वापनेन दैवसिकं राजार्थमपहरति । संवत्सरो मा-
स विषमः कृतं तु दि मा सो दि व स वि ष मो मू ले ति सम्पूर्ण-
मपि पक्षनिर्दिष्टोऽनेन कथयन्ति । स मा ग म वि ष म इ ति दृष्टव्यमभ-
वेतनदाने कदाचित्परोक्षमपि द्रष्टव्यं । कृत्वा स्वयं गृह्णाति । मुख वि ष-
म इति । आयमुखान्तरोत्पन्नं द्रव्यमन्यमुखाधिकृतेन लब्धं दानपूर्वं
प्रार्थितस्तदीयामुखोत्पन्नं श्रावयति । धा मि क वि ष म इति पुरो-
हितस्तत्पुरुषो वा लब्ध्वेन ब्राह्मणान्नित्यकपिलान्तस्प्रयच्छति । निर्वर्त-
न वि ष म इति वर्णान्तरोत्तारणेऽपि नावध्यक्षो ब्राह्मणा एवा-
द्योत्तीर्णा इति तदैवसिकवेतनं भुङ्क्ते सौवर्णिकादि पणिकं वैषम्येण
वा तदनन्तरमुपजीवति । अ र्घं वि ष म इति कटकादौ प्रत्यहमर्घस्यान-
वस्थितत्वात् क्रयविक्रययो राजार्थमुष्णाति । मान वि ष म इति
मानन्तुलाद्युपलक्षणार्थं मानतुलावैषम्यं हि तैर्दाने महद्भिश्चावर्णं
मा प न वि ष म इति हस्त वैषम्येण क्रयविक्रये यदुपजीवति स
तस्य लाभं भा ज न वि ष म इति घटसाहस्रं सर्पिषो दीयतामित्यादिष्टे
लघुतरघटसहस्रदानात्तदन्तरोपजीवनम् इति शब्दः समाप्तौ । हर णो-
पा या इति वर्तमाने पुनस्तद्वग्रहणदेशकालादिभेदभिन्ना अप्येते
एतावन्त एवेति ज्ञापनार्थम् । तदपहारदण्डास्तु पूर्वप्रकरणोक्ता
वक्ष्यमानाश्च यथाभिहितं योजनीयाः ।

त त्वे ति तेषां हरणोपायानामन्यतमशङ्कायामेतानेवपुरुषा ने के क शः

1 “स”-धृतो ‘दृष्टव्य’ इति पाठो भ्रमात्मकः ।

2 “लब्ध्वा” उन्कोचार्थः, हेम० अभिधा-चि० ७२७ ; हलायुधः, १-२. २७६ ;
नीलकण्ठः ।

3 “वर्णान्तरोत्तरणे”—स । 4 “एवोत्तीर्णा”—स, समीचीनम् ।

प्रत्येक म नु यु ङ्ज ति किलैतदमुनाध्यक्षेणाष^१ हृतः न वेति पृच्छेत्
त त्वा प यु क्त औपरिकः नि धा प क स्था प कः, मन्त्रयुक्तस्य
बुद्धिसहायः वैयाप[पु]त्यकरः^२, कर्मकाशेषाः प्रदेशान्तरे व्याख्याताः ।

मि ध्या वा दे चै षा मि ति । एषामुपयुक्तादीनास्मिध्यावादेऽन्य-
थाकथने युक्तस्समोऽर्थापहारिणा युक्तस्य यो दण्डस्स एवेति
प्र चारं चेति प्रचारे जनपदेऽवघोषयेत् । पटवाहरणधोषेणैव
ब्रूयात् अमुना ऽमुकनामधेयेन प्रकृतेन युक्तेन उपहृता
अर्थापहारादिना पीडिताः प्रज्ञापयन्त्वावेदयन्त्विति । प्रज्ञापयतो
यथोपधातं यदन्यायेनापहृतं तदापयेत् । अनेकेषु
स्मिथो गे ष्विति^३ यदानुभावो वेदयितारो भवन्ति, तदासौ
युक्तौ पर्य^४ यमा णो मिथ्याकुर्वाणः सकृदेव परोक्त एकेनाप्यभि-
योक्त्रा साक्ष्यादिसाधने भावितः । सर्वं भजेत, सतेति
हि अनेकार्थाभियुक्तेन सर्वार्थव्यपलापिना भावितैकदेशेन देयम् 'यदभि-
यज्यत इति, 'वैषम्य इति, अनेकेष्वभियुक्तो यदा क्वचित् सम्प्रति-
पत्तिं करोति तदा सम्प्रतिपत्तिविषये यथोचितं दापयेदित्युक्त एव
विधिः । प्रतिपत्तिविषये तु, सर्वत्रानुयोगं साक्ष्यादिप्रश्नावकाशं
दद्याज्ज्ञानपदा अप्याहितपूर्वमेतसरा विपक्षप्रयोजिता वा, कदाचिदन्यथा
कुर्युरिति । महत्यर्थापहारे^५ चेति एकेनैवाभियोक्त्रा यदा प्रभूत-
हिरण्यादिनिमित्तमभियुक्तो भवति तदाल्पेनापि सिद्धेनैकदेशेनापि
विभावितेन सर्वं यथाभियुक्तं^६ यजेत दद्यात् । "कृतप्रतिघाता-

1 Ought to be "प" ।

2 "श", "य"-धृतो "वैयावृत्यकरः" नारदीये तथा कल्पसूत्रेषु कृत
प्रयोगोऽत्रापि युज्यते । "वर्मवैयावृत्तं कर्होति" Burn. Intr. 273, No 2 : ०कर, Mahā-
vyut p. 203. व्यापृतं शब्दादपि "वैयापृत्य" शब्दस्ततो "वैयापृत्यकरो" लभ्यते ।

3 "प" इति मूले पाठः ।

4 Ought to be "अपव्ययमानो" ।

5 "अर्थापचारे"—स ।

6 Ought to be "भ".

व स्थ इ ति” अनेन सूचकविधिमाह कृतो गृहीतप्रतिघातनिमित्तम् ।
शरीरद्रव्योपघातप्रतिषेधार्थमस्थः प्रतिभूर्येन, सः कृतप्रतिघातावस्थः
यथा अहं पुनरध्यक्षवचनात् त्वया विनाशयितव्यः नु निगृहीतप्रतिभूः
सूचको नि ष्य त्ता र्थः । ष ष्ट मं शं ल भे त द्वा द श मं शं ह” त कं
इति, हृतकोनुजीवी, प्र भू ता मि यो गा दि ति, यदा सूचकेन प्रभू-
तार्थावेदनं कृतं स च वानर्थो न सञ्जातः स्वल्पो निष्पन्नः । तदा
निष्पन्नस्यैवांशं लभेत अनिष्पन्नार्थस्तु एकान्तमृषावादी शा री र मे कं
वधादिकम् हैरण्यं वार्थहरणलक्षणं, देशकालाद्यपेक्षया दण्डं ल भे त
न चा नु प्रा णो मिध्याभियोगेनाध्यक्षेणोपहन्यमानेन रक्षणीय इति ।

अधुनाध्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकमाह । नि ष्य त्ता वि त्या दि नि ष्य त्तौ
सूचितार्थसंसिद्धौ नि क्षि पे दन्यत् दूष्यादौ सञ्चारयेत् लाभं सूचक-
त्वापवादमा त्मा नं वा प वा द ये त् । अहमेतस्मिन्काले विषये-
अनासमिति । प्रख्यापयेत् “अ मि यु क्तो प जा पा दि ति” यदा स
एवाभियुक्तोऽध्यक्षः, सूचकं वदति किमर्थं त्वया षड्भारनिमित्तं राज-
कुले समावेदितमहमेव तवार्थं प्रयच्छामि, पूर्वावेदितन्तु यथोपसंहरति
राजा तथा क्रियतामित्येवमुक्तो यदा स एवाद्यथा राजानं ब्रूयात् ।
तदासावभिपुक्तोपजापात्सूचको वधमाप्नुयात् । वधेन योजयितव्यो
न क्षन्तव्य इति ।

इ ति भ दृ स्वा मि नः प्र ति प द प श्चि का या म र्थं शा स्त्र-
टी का या म ध्य क्ष प्र च्चा रे द्वि ती ये धि क र णे ऽष्ट मो-
ध्या यः । समुदयस्य युक्तापहृतस्य प्रत्यानयनमादित
एकोनत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥

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1 “श”-“य”-योः “अवस्थसूचकः” ।

2 Ought to be “भू”.

3 “श”-“य”-योः भृतकः । हृतकः—स ।

उपयुक्तपरीक्षेति सूत्रम्

उपयुक्ता, औपरिका युक्तानामुपरिनियुक्ताः प्रत्ययितपुरुषाः यत्न
चैते विपरीक्ष्यन्ते, तत्रान्येषामपि युक्तादीनान्दण्डा-

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पूपिकन्यायात् परीक्षणमागृहीतं परीक्षा च तत्तदध्य-
क्षाणां दोषान्वेषणमिति सूत्रार्थः। सम्बन्धस्त्वर्थापधाशुद्धान् समाहर्त्तृ-
सन्निधात्रादिकर्मणि सुस्थापयेदित्युक्तम्।

नचार्थोपधाशुद्धिमतापि जानपदादिगुणरहितानाङ्कुस्मिंश्चित्
कर्मणि, नियोगदानमयुज्यत इति तत्प्रतिपादनार्थमाह। “अ मा त्या
स म्प दो पे ता” इत्यादि। अमात्यसम्पदुक्ता, जानपदोभिजात इत्येव-
मादिका तयोपेताः स र्वा ध्य क्षाः श क्ति त इति यस्य यत्र शक्तिस्स
तत्र नियोक्तव्य इति, ते षु क र्म स्वे वा मध्यक्षाणां नि त्यं सततं
परीक्षां कारयेत्” कस्मात् पुनः पूर्वपरीक्षितानां पुनः पुनः परीक्षा-
वचनन्तदाह चि त्ता नि त्य त्वा न्म नु ष्या णा मि ति, एतच्च
स्वाभाविकमनित्यत्वं वैशेषिकन्तु दृष्टान्तेन दर्शयितुमाह अ श्व स ध-
र्मा ण इ ति, तत्राश्वेन बहवो धर्मा ऊर्ध्वस्वा पादयः। तत्प्रतिषे-
धाथमाह नि यु क्ताः क र्म सु वि कु र्व ते इति, अश्वा हि यदैव
रथपृष्ठवहनध्यापारे नियुज्यन्ते तदैवावश्यं कियन्तमपि विकारम्
दर्शयन्ति तद्वन्नियुक्ता अपि यत एवं हि स्यात्तत्तत्क र्तादीन् [स्यात्तत्त-
त्कर्ता तान्] सम्यग्विद्यात्।

कर्ता ध्यक्षः क र णं धर्मादिकरणादि देशः स्थानीयादिः
का लो ऽहोरात्रादिः दु र्भिक्षा को ऽ ण्डु हि र्वा [दुर्मिक्षकालादिर्वा]
कार्म्यं कर्त्तव्यं दुर्गसंध्यादि प्र क्षे पः कर्मकरादिपरिध्ययः
स मु द यो! लाभः। इत्येतत् सव ज्ञानीयात्। ते ऽ ध्य क्षा

यथासं देशं स्वस्वामिना यथादिष्टमसंहताः परस्परमकृतसंविदः
अविगृहीताः परस्परानुपवातिनः कर्माणि समाहर्तुं सन्निधातु-
व्यापारप्रभृतीनि कुर्युः । सङ्घातविप्रदु[ह]योश्च तेषां दोषमाह
संहताः परस्परदोषप्रच्छादनेन भक्षयेयुः कर्माणीति वर्त्तते,
अत्र कर्मशब्दश्च कर्मफले वर्त्तते, विगृहीताः परस्परव्यवद्वमत्-
सराः कर्माणि विनाशयेयुः अफलान्यर्थफलानि, अर्द्धफला वा
कुर्युः । न चानिवेद्य भर्तृरनाख्याय किञ्चिदारम्भक्रियाविशेषं
कुर्युः । एतच्च यथादिष्टस्यैव प्रतिप्रश्नार्थवचनमिति केचित् । अपूर्वा-
रम्भार्थमित्यपरे । अस्यापराधोऽन्यत्राप्यत्र तीकारेभ्य इति
आपदोग्न्युदकादिकास्तत्र न पृच्छेत् प्रमादस्थानेषु च त्र्योमय-
गेयादि ष्वे पा म त्य यं दण्डं राजा स्थापयेत् । नियोगकाल एव स्था-
पनं श्रावणं कुर्यात् । प्रभक्तस्याध्यक्षस्य कर्माकरणे यदि य स वे त नं
दत्तं तद्विगुणमादेयं व्ययद्विगुणमिति च यावती हानिः करणे
जाता सा द्विगुणा दापनीया । व्ययशब्दश्च व्ययनिमित्ते फले वर्त्तते ।

यश्चैषामध्यक्षाणां यथादिष्टं पूर्वप्रसिद्धः सविशेषं
समधिकं वा विकल्पेन कुर्यात् उत्पादयेत् स स्थानमानौ लभे-
तेति । स्थानमधिकारान्तरं मानः पूजा ।

अत्राचार्यमतेनानुमानिकम्परीक्षणप्रकारमाह । अल्पायतिश्चे-
दिति । अल्पायतिरल्पागमः चेच्छब्दो यद्यर्थे महाव्ययः
प्रभूतोपभोगः तत्राथरहितस्य व्ययस्यासम्भवात् व्यक्तं राजार्थं
जानपदं वा भक्षयतीत्यनुमीयते, विपर्यये तु प्राभूतायतिरल्पव्ययो
यथायतिव्ययश्चानुरूपव्ययो न भक्षयतोत्येवमाचार्याः
मन्यन्ते ।

तदपवादार्थमाह अपसर्पेणैवेत्यादि, पवकारोऽवधारणे, अप-

1 'पूर्वाचार्याः शास्त्रस्यास्येति याकोविना व्याख्यातम् । श्यामशास्त्रिणो
कौटिल्यगुरुनाम निरर्थकम् ।

सर्पेण त्रयाणामेकवाक्यतया निश्चितमुपलभ्यत इति कौटिल्यः ।
इति ।

करुमादायव्यग्रलिङ्गस्य नैकृतिकेषु व्यभिचारदर्शनादिति, स मु द य-
मुत्पत्तिं परिहापयति, न्यूनीकरोति स रा जा र्थं भ क्ष य ति,
अन्यथासिद्धोत्पत्तेः कथञ्चेन्न्यूनत्वं ^२ स चे द ज्ञा ना दि भि रि ति
अज्ञानालस्यप्रमादभयकामकोपदर्पकाद्यैरष्टाभिर्निमित्तैर्हा प य ति तदेनं
यथागुणमिति ।

द्विगुणत्रिगुणाद्यपक [द्विगुणत्रिगुणन्दापयितव्य] उत्पादयति
स ज न प द म्भ क्ष य ति, अन्यथा हि समुदयद्वैगुण्यं नोपपद्यते
इति सचेद् द्विगुणादिकं निरवशेषं रा जा र्थं मु प न य ति राज्ञः
प्रवेशयति ततोऽल्पे प्रजापीडया प रा धे नैव पुनरेवं कर्त्तव्यमिति वाचा
वा र यि त व्य म ह त्य प रा धे प्रजापीडया निर्विशेषानुपनयने
च य था प रा धं द ण्ड यि त्त व्यः । अभिहितञ्च, यथान्नकर्शनाः
प्राणाः कर्शन्ते ^३ सर्वदेहिनां । तथा कोशा नरेन्द्राणां क्षीयन्ते
राष्ट्रकर्शनादिति द्विगुणशब्दोत्ताधिक्यमात्रोपलक्षणार्थम् ।

यस्समुदयं व्य य मु^४ प न य ती ति द्विकर्मको निदशः । व्ययं
व्ययनिमित्तं द्रव्यं कर्मकरादिभ्योऽनुप्रयच्छति समुदये प्रवेशयति
स^५ पु रु ष क र्मा णी ति पुरुषे कर्मशब्दो जातिवचने पुरुषा
कर्मकरादयः कर्माणि तत्साध्यानि पुरुषान्कर्माणि च द्वयेपि
भ क्ष य ति विनाशयति स क र्म दि व से ति कर्मार्थो दिवसः तेन निष्पा-

1 'स'-धृत - C-मूले कौटिल्यः ।'

2 करोतीति पाठो मूले ।

3 "स"-धृत "ज्ञे (ज्ञी ?) यते" पाठो गरीयानन्यथा "कृशतन करणे" कृश-
न्तीति रूपं समीचीनम् ।

4 "स"-धृतोऽपनयतीति पाठो भ्रान्तः । "श" स्य 'लाभरहितो व्ययस्तथैव ।

5 "स"-धृत C मूले 'स'-स्याभावः 'पुरुषकर्माणी' त्यतः प्राक् ।

दितं द्रव्यं कर्मदिवसद्रव्यं तस्य मूल्यं कर्मदिवसद्रव्यमूल्यं पुरुषाः कर्मकरा-
व्यः तेषां वे त नं पुरुषवेतनं कर्मदिवसद्रव्यमूल्यश्च पुरुषवेतनानि च
कर्मदिवसं द्रव्यमूल्यपुरुषा वेतनानि त द प हा रे षु य था प रा धं
दण्डयितव्यः कर्मकरस्य भृते तदा[द]नाद्वकरणेन कर्मणो यावती हानिस्स-
आता यावन्मात्रश्च तस्य न दत्तन्देशकालाद्यपेक्षया तदनुगुणं दण्डयितव्य
इति । यतश्चैते समुदयपरिहापणादिव्यभिहिता दण्डास्त स्मा द स्य वि
जिगीषो यो य स्मि न्न धि क र णे ऽ धिकारे शा स न स्थो ऽ धि
कृतः स तस्य कर्मणो याथातथ्यं यथावस्थितिं, आचव्ययौ च
शब्दा, र्णवीञ्च व्या स स मा सा भ्या मा च क्षो तावेदये न्मू ल ह रा-
दींश्च प्र ति षे ध ये त् कर्मभ्यो वरोऽपयेत् [अपसर्पयेत्] ।

तांश्च मूलहरादीन् स्वयमेव व्याचष्टे यः पितृपैतामहमित्यादि ।

निगद्व्याख्यानो[नं] गूढः [ढम्] ।

स प क्ष वां श्चे दि ति स इति मूलहरादीनामन्यतमं पक्ष-
सम्बन्धानुबन्धो यदि भवति तदा ना दे यो न ग्राह्यः । तत्पक्षकोप-
प्रतिषेधार्थं वि पर्यये पक्षरहितं प र्या दा त व्यो गृहीतसर्वस्वः
कार्यः ।

यो^२ म ह त्य र्थं स मु द ये ऐश्वर्ये स्थि त स्स निधत्त इ त्या दि
तल सन्निधानादीन् स्वयमेव व्याचष्टे, स निध र्त्तो स्व वे श्म नि
खननादिप्रकारेण स्थापयत्यु^३ प नि ध त्त इति पौरजानपदेषु यो
निक्षिपति, अप^४ स्ता व य ति यश्शत्रुविषयेऽर्थसञ्चारं करोति तस्य^५ स्त्री-
म न्त्रि प्र भृ त्या दि पक्षं द्रव्याणामागमनं गमनञ्चोपलभेत जानीयात् ।

1 “स”-धृतः “च शब्दादीर्घी च” इति पाठो युज्यते ।

2 “स”-धृत C मूले ‘य’ इत्यस्याभावः ।

3 “शय” यो स्तथा “स”-धृत C मूले “अवनिधत्ते” इति पाठो न युक्तः ।

4 Ought to be “व”

5 “श” “य” योः “सन्नि”-पाठो वर्जनीयः । “ग”-रूप “सन्नि”-गूढ-
पुरुषप्रतिधिः ।

यश्चास्य कदर्यादि र प र वि प ये । द्रव्यसञ्चारद्वयान्तम्भृत्यादिभावे-
ना तु प्रा वि श्य स त्वं म न्नं वि द्या त् कदर्यादिरहस्यं जानीयात् ।

सु वि दि ते सम्यग्विज्ञाते श त्रु शा स ना प दे शे ने त्य भि व्य क्तं
गृहीतं शत्रुलेखदास्था [शत्रुलेखवाही] गुल्मपालो वा राज्ञ उपनयेत् ।
तत्र च लेखे कदर्यादि न लिखितव्यं प्राप्तोऽयं यस्त्वया [स्या] र्थो मागन्तव्य-
मित्यादि तदभि विख्याप्येनं कदर्यादिकमभिव्यक्तञ्च घा त ये त् ।

एते द्रव्यापहारिणो दोषा भवन्ति त स्मा द स्य राज्ञो ऽ ध्य क्षाः
सं ख्या य का दि स मे ता क मा दि कु र्युः । त त्व सं ख्या य को
गणकः ले ख क प्रतीतः रू प दर्श नी वि ग्रा ह कः सन्निधातृपुरुषः
उ त्तरा ध्य क्षा औपरिकाः, तानाह—

उ त्तरा ध्य क्षा इत्यादि, ह स्त्य श्व र था रो हाः प्रतोतास्तेषां
निवार्थक्यास्सङ्गमेवापि कलितानामनु विनियोगः ये ते पा म न्ते-
वा सि नः शि ल्प शौ च यु क्ताः शिल्पं हस्तिशिक्षादि शौचमभ्यु-
पेतस्याप्यभिचारः । अपसर्पा युक्तादीनां वृत्तान्तोपलब्धये गूढ-
पुरुषास्स्युः ।

व हु मु ख्य म नि त्यञ्चेति बहु मुख्यं बहु प्रधानं बहवोऽपि
परस्परशङ्कया न भक्षयन्ति अ नि त्य ङ्चे ति,^१
अनित्यस्य निर्व्यपेक्षा जानपदा यथावस्थितं पृष्टा
कथयन्ति न च ^२ मैत्रीभावं भयञ्चोपगच्छन्ति ।

एवं यथोक्तेनापि प्रकारेणार्थानामप्रविष्टानां सम्यग्रक्षणं न शक्यं
कर्तुं किमदूरस्थितानाम्, एतत्प्रतिपादनाय तद्रक्षायतटातिशय-
प्रतिपादनार्थं चाध्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकानाह—

1 “स”-धृत C मूले ‘अपरविषयतया ।’

2 गूढपुरुषलक्षणं ‘सत्र’ शब्देन गम्यते । महाभा० XIII. 4873. ‘मूलानामा-
च्छादनवद्वन्नकः’ नीलकण्ठः ।

3 “श” स्यानुवादोऽ‘नित्यं मुख्यं’ मिति प्रामादिकः ।

4 “स”-धृत ‘मैनि’ पाठो निरर्थकः ।

यथा ह्यनास्वादयितुमित्यादिमधुवाविषंवेति मधुविष-
द्रष्टान्तो नादानं परिणत्यामविरुद्धस्य वा विवेचनप्रतिषेधार्थं जिह्वा-
तलस्वग्रहणं विनापि भावदोषेण स्तोकस्यापि अवश्यमास्थादनार्थम-
शक्यपरिहारार्थञ्च तत्र येन द्रव्येण यावतावभक्षितेनापि न दूष्यते तत्-
पक्वान्नहरितशाकादिकमल्पमूल्यञ्च मधुस्थानीयं विपरीतं रत्नसारादिमहा-
मूल्यञ्च बध्नपरिकृष्टादिदण्डनिमित्तं विषस्थानीयं तत्र परिणतिमवि-
गणय्य भक्षयन्त्येवाधिकृताः अथवा यथा कश्चिन्मधुभक्षो व्रतभङ्गभया-
दनिच्छन्नपि, जिह्वातलस्थितमध्वास्वादयति तथा च मरणभीरुद्रष्टा-
द्रष्टदोषमविगणय्य राजार्थं भक्षयत्येवाधिकृत इति ।

मत्स्या यथान्तस्सलि ले चरन्त्येतच्छ्लोकद्वयं भक्षणस्य
दुर्विज्ञेयतातिशयज्ञापनार्थं रक्षाशैथिल्यार्थञ्च निगदव्याख्यानं ।

श्लोकत्रय^२ एवं सति का प्रतिपत्तिरित्याह । आस्त्रावये-
दित्यादि । आस्त्रावयेद्यथोक्तेनापहतप्रत्यानयनप्रकारेण प्रत्या-
नयेत् । उपचितान् प्रभूताहतवित्तान् विपर्ययेच्च कर्मस्विति
स्थानान्तरविपर्यासङ्कारयेत् तथा च गूढपुरुषादियोगैः कुर्यात्
यथानभक्षयन्त्यर्थान् भक्षितांश्च निर्व्वमन्ति प्रत्यर्पयन्ति,
इत्ययमशुद्धानामभिहितः प्रकारः ।

शुद्धानान्त्वभिधीयते न भक्षयन्तीत्यादि । नन्वभिहित एवायं
यथा ह्यनास्वादयितुं न शक्यमित्यभक्षणस्यासम्भव एव तत्कथमुच्यते न
भक्षयेत्त्वर्थानिति । भक्षणद्वैविध्यात्, द्विविधं हि भक्षणं विरुद्ध-
मविरुद्धञ्च, तत्राविरुद्धभक्षणमभक्षणमेव तदधिकृत्याह, न भक्षयन्ति
ये त्वर्थानिति न्यायतः प्रजानामवाधादिनाऽस्थानाभिपरिहारेण च
वधेयन्ति स्थितिङ्कुर्वन्ति नित्याधिकारा^१ स्ते तस्या इति बहु-

1 Ought to be “स्य”

2. Ought to be नित्याधिकाराः कार्यास्ते ।

मुख्यमनित्यञ्चाधिकरणं स्थापयेदित्यस्यापवादार्थं मेतद्वचन-
मिति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः कृतौ प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायामर्थशास्त्र

दोकायामध्यक्षप्रचारिके द्वितीयेऽधिकरणे -

नवमोऽध्यायः उपयुक्तपरीक्षा आदि-

नखिंशोऽध्यायः ।

उपयुक्तपरीक्षा, आदितस्त्रिंशोऽध्यायः

[शासनाधिकार इति सूत्रम्]

शा स ना धि का र इति सूत्रं तत्र शासनमारोपिताधिकारो विधिरिति सूत्रार्थः । कथमुपरिधिकारशब्दो विधिमभिधत्ते, ज्ञापकाद्वक्ष्यति हि—'कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शासनस्य विधिः कृत इति, एवं शासनं विधिरिति वक्तव्येऽधिकारग्रहणं सर्वाधिकाराणामपि शासनप्राधान्यज्ञापनार्थं । सम्बन्धस्तु द्विविधः राजशासनं वाचिकं पत्रलिखितञ्च, तत्र वाचिकं दूतप्रणिधावुक्तम्, शासनमेवं वाच्य इ[मि]त्यादिना, लिखितञ्चाभिधीयत इति, अथवार्थगुणहीनः शासनहर इत्युक्तं तच्छासनमभिधीयत इति अयं वा सम्बन्धः ।

कस्मात्पुनः शासनविधिस्प्रतिमहान्यत्न इति, तदाह शासने शासनमित्याचक्षते इति । अत्र वक्ष्यमाणो हि शब्दसम्बध्यते, यस्माच्छासन एव तालतालीयादि पत्राणामन्यतमस्मिन् यदभिलिखितं तदेव शासनम्भवति, अव्यभिचाराद्वाचिकन्तु शासनमेव न भवति, इङ्गिताकारमदप्रमादसुप्तप्रलापादिभिर्मन्त्रभेदसम्भवादिभ्यो वमाचक्षते ब्रुवते, शुकवृहस्पतिप्रभृतयः आचार्या इति वाक्यशेषः । किञ्च शासनप्रधानकाराजानः तदायतन्त्रावापगतसमस्तव्यापारा हि यस्मात्तस्मादित्याह तन्मूलत्वादिति तन्मूलत्वाच्छासननिमित्तत्वात् सन्धिविग्रहयोरिति सन्धिविग्रहणं षाड्गुण्योपलक्षणार्थं यतश्चैवं भूतं शासनमतस्तस्य लेखनास्यापि प्रधानेन भवितव्यमित्यादि ।

तस्मादमात्यसम्पदोपेत इत्यादि अमात्यसम्पद्जान-

पदादयः पञ्चविंशतिर्गणाः । तथा समस्तया समन्वितः ।

AS'. p. 71

तथा सर्वसमयपरिज्ञानादिभिश्चतुर्मिरित्येवं संक्षेपे-

पैकोनत्रिंशद्गुणो लेखको भवति । तत्र सर्वं सम य वि त् सर्ववर्णा-
श्रमाचाराभिज्ञः सर्वलिपिज्ञः इति केचित्, सर्वभाषाभिज्ञ इत्यपरे आ शु-
ग्र न्यः सहस्रदुक्तग्राही शीघ्रकविरिति केचित् । लघुहस्तत्वाद्द्वुतलेखी-
त्यपरे । चा र्व क्ष र इति, असंसक्तलिखितत्वात् सुबोधानि समुदाय-
शोभीनि चाक्षराणि यस्य लेखवाचनसमर्थं इति विस्पष्टमधुर-
करणसुविभक्तार्थपदवर्णाभिधायी न्यूनातिरिक्ताक्षरप्रतिविधानाभिज्ञा
इति केचित्, प्रकाश्याप्रकाश्यलेखाभिज्ञो जिताक्षरश्चेत्यपरे स एवम्भूतो
लेखकः स्यात् । सो व्य ग्र म ना अनाकुलचित्तो यथोद्दिष्टस्य सम्यगव-
धारणार्थं तच्चानाकुलचित्तत्वमुत्तरोत्तरसत्कारनिमित्तकं सर्वेपि ह्यध्यक्षा
उत्तरोत्तरसंस्कारोपगृहीता सम्यक् सर्वकार्याण्यनुतिष्ठन्ति, उक्तं हि
“नीचोपि नृपमानयोवाच्छ्रेष्ठत्वमायाति तदाश्रितानां.....ह मानहोना
स्नेहं विना दीपशिखेव तूर्णमिति” राजस्वन्देशं श्रुत्वा निश्चि-
त्यार्थं पौर्वापर्यक्रमेणावधार्या इति, यद्वा विस्तराभिहितस्य सङ्क्षेपार्थं
विनिश्चित्य ज्ञात्वा ततो लेखं विदध्यादिति, आह च श्रुत्वा नरेन्द्र-
वाक्यं परभावं चावधार्य परलेखाल्लेखः खलु कर्तव्यो गुणदोषविनिश्चय-
ज्ञेन । देशैश्चर्यं त्यादि, लेखं विदध्यादिति व्रतंते देशाद्युपचारैश्चतुर्भि-
रीश्वरस्य राज्ञो लेखं विदध्यात् । तत्र वंशोपचारो यत्र स्थितः तद्
यथा मध्यदेशमलंकुर्वाणमित्याद्यैश्चर्यम् भूमिकोपः दण्डसम्पत् तद्यथा-
मध्यदेशाधिपः परिमाणकोपराशिमसंख्याताप्रतिहतदण्डक्षपिताशेषरिपुवर्ग-
मित्यादिवंशोपचारे यथा सोमान्वयमलंकुर्वाणमित्यादि नामधेयोप-
चारो यथा महाराजाधिराजश्रीशूरवर्मदेवमित्यादि देशनामधेयोपचारं

1 “स”-धृतो ‘लीपिज्ञ’ इति पाठोऽनर्थकः ।

2 “श”-“य”-योः “देशैश्चवंश” इति पाठः । “स”-धृत C मूले तथा टीकायां
“देशैश्चर्यवंश” इत्येव समीचीनम् ।

3 “स”-धृतायां टीकायां ।

4 “स” “कोपं शं ।”

द्विविधमनीश्वरस्यामात्यादेस्तथा कान्यकुब्जमलंकुर्वाणं श्रीसोमदत्त-
मित्यादि ।

भूयोपि जात्यादिना एकादशल्लेखविधौ समीक्षणीयानर्थानाह
जा ति कु ल मि त्या दि, तत्र जा ति ब्राह्मणादिः । तद्यथा ब्राह्मणो
ब्राह्मणस्य वयशश्रुताद्यपेक्षयाभिवादनपूर्वकमाशीःपूर्वकं वा तथा
क्षत्रियादेस्सस्यादिपूर्वकं क्षत्रियादि[र्ब्र]ब्राह्मणस्य प्रणतिपूर्वकमित्येवं
सर्वत्र योज्यं कु ल मभिधानमभोज्यादि स्था ना धिकारः सन्धि-
विग्रहप्रतीहारादिः । व यो यौवनादि श्रु तं शास्त्रसंस्कारः कर्म
निन्दितमनिन्दितश्चानुष्ठानञ्जीविकेत्यपरे ऋद्धिः समृद्धिः शो ल-
माचारः दे शो निवासः का ल स्तदात्वमायतिर्वा के चि तु
देशकालमित्येकमेव पठन्तः कार्यनिबन्धनं परमात्मनोरवस्थाभेदमा-
चक्षते यौ व ना नु ब न्धो वैवाह्यसंबन्धः एतानि जात्यादीनि
स मी क्ष्य सम्यङ्गनिरूप्य का र्यं लेखनीयकार्यनिमित्तं पु रु षा नु रु पं
पुरुषाणां हीनमध्यमोत्तमापेक्षया ज्ञापनसम्बोधनपूजादिभिरनुरूपं ले खं
वि द ध्या त्तथा च “वित्तं बन्धुर्वयः कर्म विद्या भवति पञ्चमी
एतानि मान्यस्थानानि गरीयो यद्यदुत्तरम्” ॥—इत्यादि ।

साभ्रतमर्थक्रमादिकां षड्विधां लेखसम्पदमभिधाय स्वयमेव व्याचष्टे
त त्रे त्या दि, त त्रे ति निर्धारणे, य था व द नु पू र्वं क्रि ये ति, यथा-
भिहितजात्यादिनर्हितत्वात्^३ पूर्वमभिलिख्य पश्चादितरेषां लेखनं
प्र धा न स्या र्थ स्य पूर्वंमभि नि वे श इ ति हस्तिनं प्रेषयाञ्चक्रेति
प्राधान्यात्पूर्वं हस्तिनो निवेश इति, अयञ्च क्रमो नाम लेखगुणः ।

स[म्ब]न्धमाह प्र कृ तस्येत्यादि प्र कृ त स्य^४ प्रक्रान्तार्थस्य साध्य-

१ “स्वस्त्य” इति संशोधनीयम् ।

२ “श”-“य” योः “यौनानुबन्ध” मेव युज्यते । अत्र “व”कारो वर्जनीयः ।

३ Ought to be जात्यादीनभ्यर्हितत्वात् ।

४ “श”-“य”-योः ‘प्रस्तुतस्य’ ।

स्यानु प रो धा द विघातादु त्त र स्या नु वि धा नं । पश्चाद्लेखनं
आ स मा से रि ति, बहुष्वपि प्रयोजनेषु लेखनीयेषु यथा परस्पर-
लेखनीयपूर्वस्य पूर्वस्य व्याघातकञ्च भवति तथा लिखेदिति, अयं
सम्बन्धः ।

परिपूर्णतामाह अर्थ प दा क्ष रा णा मित्यादि तत्रार्थादीनां त्रयाणा-
म न्यू ना ति रि क्ता प्रत्येकमहिनाधगतार्थस्य हस्तिनो प्रयच्छेति
वक्तव्ये हस्तिनमिति यथा लिखति तदा तदेव पदं तावन्त्येवाक्षराणि,
अर्थस्य तु हीनता भवति प द न्यू न ता कलिङ्गहस्तिनं प्रयच्छेति
विशेषेण वक्तव्ये यदा विशेषणरहितं करोति तदा पदन्यूनता भवति
वैपरीत्यात्पदाधिकता भवति तथा क्ष र न्यू न ता यथा वारिशब्दे
प्रयोक्तव्ये गोशब्दं प्रयुङ्क्ते तदा वर्णन्यूनता भवति, स एवार्थः
तदाधिकापि वारिशब्द एव प्रयोक्तव्ये सलिलशब्दप्रयोगे सतीति
केचित्, अपरे तु चित्तव्यापेक्षादिदोषादशसु लिखितव्येषु यथा नवैका-
दश वा लिखति तदार्थस्य न्यूनातिरिक्ता भवति एवम्पदानामपि
किञ्चित्पदमेव न लिखतीति लिखति । एवमक्षराणामपि योजनीयमिति ।
तथा हे तू दा ह र ण दृ ष्टा न्तै रिति हे तुः कारणं, उ दा ह र णं
शास्त्रोक्तार्थनिर्दर्शनं दृ ष्टा न्तो लोकप्रसिद्धार्थप्रदर्शनमेभि रर्थो प-
व र्ण ना । अश्वा न्त प द ता वाक्यार्थे पदवचनं सन्धिं विग्रहं वा
कुर्विति वाक्ये प्रयोक्तव्ये सत्स्वपि ग्रहाण वेतिपदप्रयोगादश्रान्त-
पदता भवति एवमेवा परिपूर्णपदता नाम लेखगुणः ।

मा धु र्य मा ह सु खो प नी ता नां शोभनार्थानां य द मि धा नं
तन्माधुर्यं नाम लेखगुणः ।

“औ दा र्य माह” अ ग्रा म्ये त्या दि ग्राम्या अपभ्रंशप्राकृतादि-
शब्दास्तैरनभिधानं, साधुशब्दप्रयोगः तदौदार्यं नाम लेखगुणः ।

1 “श”-“य”-योः ‘विद्यानं’ ।

2 “श”-“य”-योः दृष्टान्त्य स”-धृत C मूले तु “दृष्टान्तः” ।

3 ‘सन्धत्स्व विगृह्यात्’ इति संशोधनीयम् ।

स्फुटत्वमाह प्रतीतशब्दप्रयोगः स्फुट इत्यादि । सुख-
बोधम् । इतिशब्दः समाप्तौ ।

साम्प्रतं वर्णात्मकत्वात्पदानाम्पदात्मकत्वाच्च वाक्यार्थप्रतीते-
र्वाक्यार्थरूपत्वाच्च लेखार्थस्य तत्स्वरूपावधारणायाम्—

अकारादयो वर्णास्त्रिषष्टिरिति । अत्र ह्रस्वादिभेदेन द्वाविंशतिश्च
पञ्चविंशतिस्पर्शाः चत्वारश्चत्वारोऽन्तस्थाऽयोग-
वाहायमोष्पाण इत्येवमेतत्त्रिषष्टिवर्णा भवन्ति स्वरो-
नुनासिकभेदानान्त्वग्रहणम् भाषायां तत्प्रयोगनियमाभावात् ।

स्वामिधेयावधिपरिच्छिन्ना वर्णा एव पदव्यपदेशभाजो भवन्ति ।
तच्च पदञ्च तु विधम् नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपातभेदेन ।

तेषां च स्वरूपमाह तत्रेत्यादि तत्र तेषु नामसत्त्वाभिधा-
यीति । सत्त्वं जातिगुणद्रव्याणि तदभिधायि तद्वाचकत्वात्प्रती-
पदिकम् । आख्यातमाह अविशिष्टलिङ्गमाख्यातं क्रियावा-
चीति, अविशिष्टलिङ्गमाख्याते लिङ्गभेदो नास्ति, तत्प्रतिषेधा-
न्नाह स्त्रीपुंनपुंसकभेदेन त्रैविध्यं दर्शयति । क्रियावाचिधात्वर्थाभि-
धायीति । उपसर्गनाह क्रियाविशेषका इति । क्रियाप्रकर्षा-
दिवाचकास्तद्गोतकाः प्रादयः प्रपरा-अप-समित्येवमादय इति
उपसर्गसंज्ञा, अव्यया इत्युभयोर्वस्तेनोपसर्गाव्यया भवन्ति । निपाता-
नाह, अव्ययाश्चादयश्च निपाता इति । तत्राव्यया अविद्यमान-
लिङ्गसङ्ख्याविभक्तिका विधागतयश्चादय, च, वा, अहह, इत्येवमादयो
निपाता इति ।

पदसमूहो वाक्यमार्थपरिसमाप्तेरिति, एकार्था-
वधिक एकप्रयोगावधिकश्च पदसमूहो वाक्यम्भवतीति । एकपदा-
वर इति निकृष्ट एकपदः पर उत्कृष्टस्त्रिपदः । ननु सुप्सुपेति

वचनादेकस्य पदस्य समासो नास्ति तस्मान्निकृष्टः पदद्वयस्य परः
 पदत्रयस्य वा वर्गः समासः कार्य इत्यर्थः । ततोधिकपदसमासे
 तु पूर्वोक्तमाधुर्यादिगुणहानिः । उक्तञ्च “माधुर्यमभिवाञ्छितप्रसादञ्च
 सुमेधसः । समासवन्ति भूयांसि न पदानि प्रयुज्जत” इति । केचित्तु
 वर्गो विरामोवसानं यतिर्विच्छेदः इतिपर्यायानाहुः पदपदेषु । वर्गो
 विश्रान्तिः चिह्नकार्यं सुखानुवाचनार्थमिति परपदार्थानुरोधे-
 नेति, यथा परेण पदेन सहार्थविरोधो न भवति, तथा विच्छेदः
 कार्यः “पुराणस्मानवो धर्मः, तथा वेदश्चिकित्सितम् । आज्ञासिद्धानि
 चत्वारि”, इत्यत्र विरम्य न “न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभि”रिति—[अ]वश्रीय-
 माने परपदार्थविरोधो भवत्येव यथा पुनराज्ञासिद्धानि चत्वारि
 नेत्यत्र विरम्य हन्तव्यानि हेतुमिरिति पठन्ति, तदा विरोधो भवत्येव,
 अतः परपदार्थानां विरोधे लेख्यस्य परिसमाप्तिचिह्नं द्विविधमाह
 लेखपरिसंहरणार्थः । इतिशब्दो वाचिकमस्यैवेति
 लेखपरिसंहरणार्थो लेखपरिसमाप्त्यर्थः इतिशब्दो लेखान्ते प्रयोक्तव्य
 इति । वाचिकमस्येति वाच्यं तत्र, निःशेषिते लेखनीयार्थे, इति
 शब्दः सावशेषे तु वाचिकमस्येति समापनीयमिति ।

साम्प्रतं लेखाभिलेखनीयात् [सम्भावितान्त्र]योदशनिन्दादीनर्थान-
 भिधाय स्वयमेव व्याचष्टेः—

“तत्रेत्यादि” तत्रेति, निर्धारणे सप्तमी, अभिजनं कुलं
 तस्य दोषवचनं अकुलजत्वोल्लङ्घनं शरीरं कायः तस्य दोष-
 वचनमिन्द्रियोपधातः, चित्रकुष्ठादिवचनमप्रशस्तलक्षणाभिधानं वा, क म
 क्रिया तस्य दोषवचनं मधार्मिकत्व-यत्किञ्चनकारित्वादिवचनं ।

गुणवचनं गुणग्रहणमेतेषामेवाभिजनादीनां प्रशंसा,
 तद्यथा, विशुद्धसोमान्वयोत्पन्नोऽनुपहतसर्वेन्द्रियः सर्वलक्षणोपेतोज्ज्वल-
 शरीरो भव्यशक्यकल्याणारम्भीत्यादि ।

१. ‘पर्यायादुपपदेषु’ इत्येव पाठः कल्पनीयः ।

पृच्छा माह कथमेतदिति किञ्चित्कथमेतदिति सुहृद
तन्मन्त्रिपरिवद् वा सकर्तव्यं लेखनं यत्पृच्छति सः पृच्छा ।

स च पृष्ठो यद्वक्ष्यत्येवमेतदिति तदा ख्या नम् ।

अर्थनामाह यदा कश्चित्सामंतं होनसन्ध्यादौ मित्रं वातमोय-
मनेनार्थेन कोशदण्डादिकं किञ्चिद्देहोति प्रार्थयते सार्थना ।

स एवार्थितो यदा न प्रयच्छामोत्याह तत्प्रत्या ख्या नम् ।

उपालम्भमाह, अननुरूपमनुचितमेतद्भवत इत्युपालम्भः ।

“प्रतिषेधमाह” अकार्यप्रवृत्तसुहृद लेखेन कश्चिन्न वारयति
माकाषीं रित्ययमप्रतिषेध इति ।

चोदनामाह इदं सन्धिविग्रहं क्रियतामित्येषा चोदनेति ।

सान्त्वमाह यो हं स भवान्यन्मम द्रव्यं तद्भवत इत्यनेन
शरीरद्रव्ययोरित्यनानात्वोपदर्शनपूर्वको य उपगृहस्तत् सान्त्वम् ।

अभ्युपपत्तिमाह “व्यसने परिभवादौ साहाय्यादिनानुग्रहो-

AS . P. 73 अभ्युपपत्तिः ।”

अभिभर्त्सनमाह, स दोषमिति रथबन्धाद्यनर्थोपेतमायति-
प्रदर्शनमागामिकालावेदनं तद् यथा न तिष्ठति भवांस्तावदचिरा-
न्निगडपूर्णचरणं कारागृहे निक्षिप्त[०त्तं कारयेयम्] इत्येवमाद्यभिभर्त्सनं ।
अनुनयं त्रियिधमाह अर्थं कृताविति, अर्थः कार्यं, कृतिः करणं,
निमित्तसप्तमी चेत्यमथंकृतावर्थकरणं निमित्तम् । तद्यथा सामवायिका-
देर्दातव्योर्थो मित्रेण वा याचितो, न दत्तस्तन्निमित्तमसावनु-
मीयते¹ तथातिक्रमे च नोल्लङ्घनादिके, पुरुषादिव्यसनेषु पितृपुत्रमात्य-
मरणादिष्वनुग्राह्यो यदा नानुगृहीतस्तदा स कार्यवशात्पुन-
रनुमीयते ।

(1) Ought to be “अनुनीयते”.

(2) As in I.

भूयोप्यष्टौ प्रज्ञापनादिच्छासनभेदाज्जलोकेनोद्दिश्य श्लोकैरेव व्याचष्टे
प्रज्ञापनेत्यादि सुबोधम् ।

अनेन विज्ञापितमित्यादि केनचिन्महामात्रादिना शत्रुमित्राद्युप-
लब्धये राज्ञो गूढवरप्रणिहितो यथोपलब्धं केनावेदयति तद् यथानेन
देवदत्तेनोत केनचिद्वा, विज्ञापितं राज्ञः सप्तावेदितं यथा किल त्वया
प्रभूतार्थकं निधानमुपलब्धमिति, एवमाहेति तेन विज्ञापिते सति राजा
एवमाह वक्ष्यमाणश्चेच्छब्दोत्र सम्बध्यते यद्यसौ स्वयमेव दाशोभनं ?
अन्यथा स्वयमेव बहुतरमाहरिष्यामीत्येवमाह चेत्तद्दोषतामिति गूढ-
पुरुषवचनम् । यदि तन्निधानकं तत्त्वं निश्चितमेतद्भवता अ वि सं वि तं
राज्ञः प्रेष्यतामित्याद्यसुहृद्विषयवार्ता ।

साम्प्रतं सुहृद्विषयवार्तामाह—राज्ञः स जी प इति अयं विष्णुमित्रो
राज्ञस्समीपे वरकारं शोभनकारं त्वदीयसर्वमाह सर्वदा गुणप्रग्रहणपर
इत्यर्थस्तद्भवता तदुपरि तादृशेनैव भवितव्यमित्येवमादिका वि वि-
धा बहुप्रकारा उपदिष्टा अधीता । आज्ञामाह भर्तुं राज्ञा भवेद्
यत्र, भर्तुः स्वामिनो, यत्र यस्मिन्लेखे, निगूहानुगूहौ प्रत्याज्ञा भवति
तद् यथामुकनामा कश्चिद्गूहीतसर्वस्वः कारायां प्रक्षेप्तव्य इति निगूहः,
यथा अमुष्मै शतसाक्षं देपित्यनुग्रहः, विशेषेण दाहुर्येन भृत्येषु
राजानुजीविषु दुःश[दुर्ग]राष्ट्रान्तपालादितद्विषयेण तदाज्ञालेखस्य
लक्षणं ।

परिदानमाह—यथा हे गुणसंयुक्तेति यथोक्तगुणसमन्विता
यत्र यस्मिन्लेखे उपलभ्यते अप्याधौ मनोदुःखे बन्धुमरणार्थनाशादि-
निमित्ते परिदाने शरीररक्षणादिके अपिशब्दाद्विपरीतेषु पुत्रजन्मादौ
विशेषेण गूहणमत्ताप्यनुवर्तते । विशेषेणाधौ परिदाने वा यदुपगृही,
उपगूहनिमित्तौ लेखौ भवतः उपगूहस्वीकार[हेतु], परिदानलेखौ अत्र च

परिदानशब्दो व्याख्यानाद्विरावर्तते । तत्रैकः परिदानशब्दस्तत्प्रत्यन्तः
स्वर्थाभिधायकः, द्वितीयस्तु द्विवचनान्तो लेखविशेषसंज्ञावाचक इति ।

परिहारमाह जा ते वि शे षे ष्वि त्या दि जातिविशेषादयः प्रती-
तास्तेषु विषयभूतेषु तद्वयथा राजा समाहर्त्तादिलिखति, अमीषां ब्राह्मणानां
दण्डकरावनुग्राहौ पुरेषु यथामीषां वणिजां भाण्डमूल्यनिमित्तमेता-
वद्देयमेतावन्ति वर्षाणि शुल्कादि च न ब्राह्मणमिति तथामुष्मिन् ग्रामे
नवागतानां कुटुम्बिनां विभज्यते निमित्तमेतावद्देयं न च वर्षं करमुचितं
ग्राह्यमिति, एवं देशेष्वपि योजनीयम्, अ नु गृ हः उपकारः, स कदा-
चित् स्ववित्तदानेन कदाचिदुचिताग्रहणेन कदाचिदुभयथा नृ प ते -
नि र्दे शा द्रा जा ज्ञ या, त ज्ञः राजशासनाभिज्ञः । प री हा र -
मि त्ये वंसंज्ञकलेखं व्य व स्ये त् जानीयात् ।

निसृष्टिलेखमाह नि सृ ष्टि स्था प ने त्या दि नि सृ ष्टिः प्रमाणी-
करणम् तस्मात् स्थापनाकरणं तद्वयथा राजा लिखति विषमयाप्ततमः
प्रहितो यदनेन कृतमभिहितं वा तत्सर्वं न प्रमाणमिति, एष इति
यत्र वचनं प्रमाणीक्रियते स वाचिकलेखः यत्र क्रिया स नैसृष्टिकः ।

प्रावृत्तिकमाह वि वि धा मि त्या दि वि वि धां दैवसंयुक्ताम्
वृष्टिपातादीपूरणादिसंयुक्तामग्निभरकाद्यपेताञ्च तत्त्वजां सुनि-
श्चितां मा नु र्णी मित्रयातव्यसमुच्छेदादिकां परचक्रचोराविकादि-
कृतराज्यविभ्रमादिकाञ्च, तामेव वि वि धां व्यवस्थन्ति,
कथयन्ति, प्र वृ त्तां कुशलरूपां शा स नं लेखन्ति ।
AS', P. 74

प्रतिलेखमाह “दृ ष्ट्वा ले ख मि ति” परस्मादागतं, य था -
त त्व मन्थूनातिरिक्तपदपदार्थादिकम्प्रति प्र त्य नु भा ष्य, अनुवाच्य
ततः प्र ति ले खो भ वे त् का र्यो य था रा ज व च स्त थे ति ।

स्वमनीषिकापरिहारार्थं सर्वलगमावा[मनाय] य त्रे श्व रांश्चेत्यादि
ईश्वरा दुगराष्ट्रान्तपालादयः, अ धि कृ ता स्स माहर्त्तादयः, रक्षोपकारा-
र्विति ; रक्षासहायेषूपधिषु सहायदानादिना, उपकारो भक्त्यवसन्धना-

दिदामेन, उचितस्याग्रहणेन च तौ रक्षोपकारौ पथिकार्थमध्वगसार्था-
दिभिर्मित्तं राजा यत् लेखे समादिशति सचञ्चलौ देशाद्देशान्तरगमने
दशे च विविगीपुद्देश एव सर्वत्रग्रहणमुभयत्र निषिद्धत्वज्ञापनार्थमिति ।

साम्प्रतं शासनविधिमभिधाय तन्मूलत्वात् सन्धिविग्रहयो रिति
शासनमूलत्वं षाड्गुण्यस्योक्तस्य च षाड्गुण्यस्य प्रयोग उपाय-
पूर्वकस्तुपायप्रयोगोऽपि लेखेनागन्तव्य इति, तत्प्रतिपादनार्थ-
माह उ पा या स्ता मो प प्र दा न भे द द र डा इति, उ पा या स्ता-
धनानि ।

तत्रेति, तेषूपायेषु नाम्नो गुणकीर्तनादीनाञ्च प्रमेदानभिधाय
स्वयमेव व्याचष्टे ।

‘तत्रेति’ तेष्वपि गुणसंकीर्तनं तावदुच्यते तत्राभि-
जनशरीरकर्माणि प्रतीतानि, प्रकृतिः स्वभावः, श्रुतम्
शास्त्रसंस्कारः, द्रव्यं द्विपदचतुष्पदादिपरिग्रहः आदिग्रहणं
बन्धुव्यतिवासादिपरिग्रहार्थमेतेषां गुणग्रहणप्रशंसास्तुतिरिति,
गुणानुच्चाय तद्वर्णनद्वारेण स्तुतिरिति केचित् । अन्ये तु गुण-
ग्रहणम्भूतानुवादः प्रशंसा किञ्चिदधिकार्थवचनं स्तुतिरविद्यमानगुणा-
ध्यारोपः स च यात्रविशेषेण प्रयुज्यत इति । अपरे स्तुति
शब्दान्नाधीयन्त एवेत्येतद्गुणसंकीर्तनम् ।

सम्बन्धोपाख्यानमाह ज्ञात्यादीनां सप्तानां संकीर्तनं
सम्बन्धोपाख्यानमिति, तत्र ज्ञातिस्सकुल्यः, यौनो वैवाह्यः,
मौलः शिष्याचार्यसम्बन्धः, सौवो याज्ययाजकसम्बन्धः, कुलम-
नन्तरागीतपितृपितामहादिपुरुषाः, हृदयं स्नेह शौर्यत्यागादीत्यपरे,
मित्रमुपकारकमपकृतश्चेत्येषां यत्सङ्कीर्तनं तत्सम्बन्धोपा-
ख्यानम् ।

परस्पररोपकारसन्दर्शनमाह स्वपक्षपरपक्षयोरिति ।
उभयत्र पक्षग्रहणं तदाश्रितानामपि परस्पररोपकारित्वख्यापनार्थम् ।

ABBREVIATIONS IN THE FOOTNOTES TO BHATTASVAMIN'S COMMENTARY.

- श—Shama Sastri, R.—Arthasastra of Kautilya. Mysore, 1919.
- स—Sorabji, I. J.—Some Notes on the Adhyaksha—Pracāra, Book II of the Kautiliyam-Arthasāstram. Allahabad, 1914.
- य—Jolly, J. —Arthasāstra of Kautilya. Lahore. Vol. I, 1923.
- ग—Ganapati Śāstri, Mahāmahopādhyāya. The Arthasāstra of Kaṭalya. Trivandrum, 1924.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	Read.	For.
२	1	°व्यवहार	°व्यवहार
८	24	°शास्त्रिणः	°शास्त्रिणो
१२	24	भूतानाम्	मूलानाम्
१५	24	कौटिल्य°	कौटिल्य°



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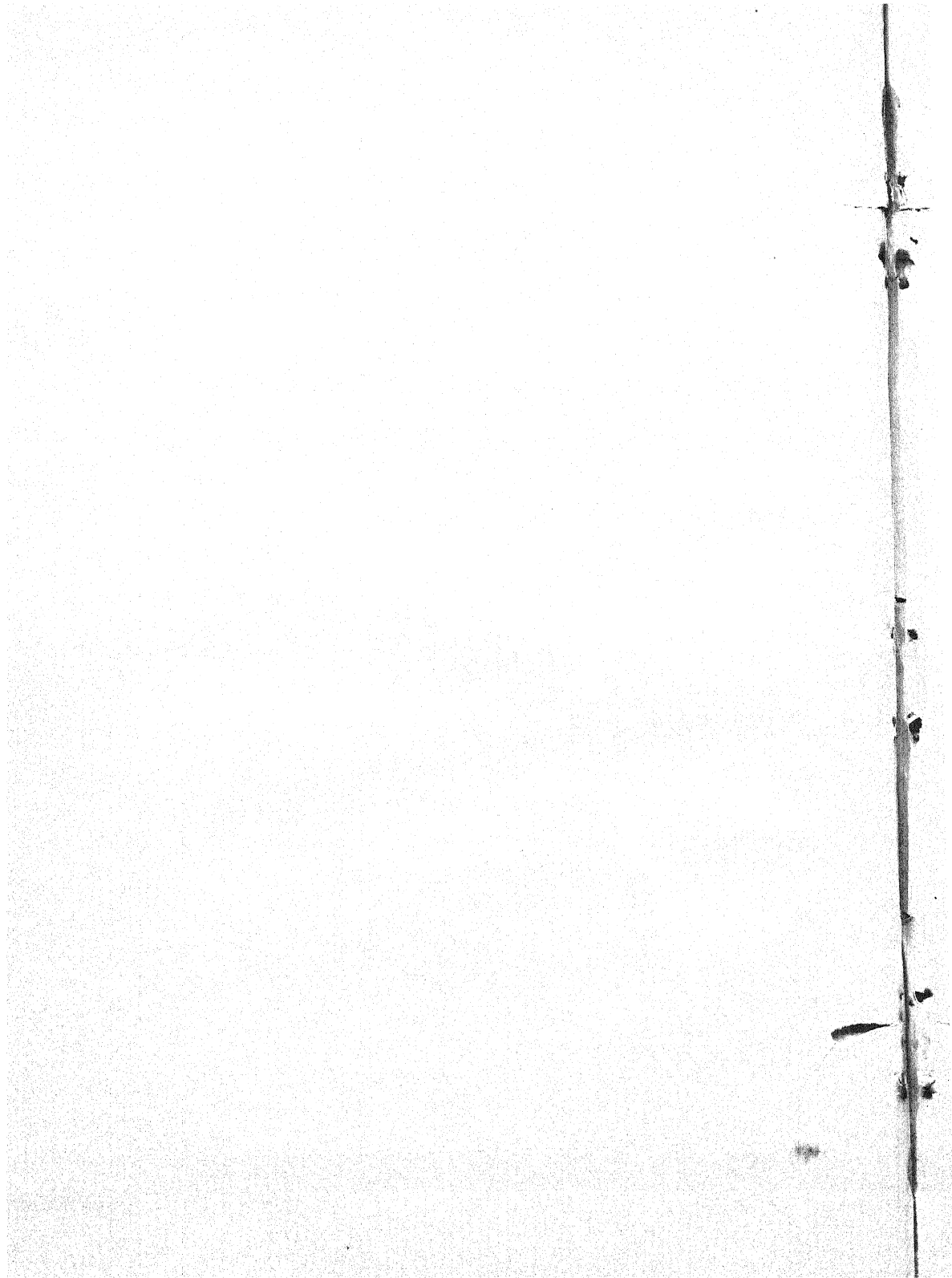
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[PART II.]

LEADING ARTICLES.

I.—Ajanta.

By P. C. Manuk, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.

The caves of Ajanta unlike those of Ellora do not lie in an exposed situation. So, Pilgrim, take the path which must have been taken by the pilgrims of yore, pass along the sides of the low hills, ascend, descend, cross the shallow streams gurgling through their pleasant valleys, avoid the many boulders lying across that path, and if you persevere but a short hour from the plateau below the Ghats you will be amply rewarded. Suddenly the track ends in a pleasant valley broader than those already traversed. Through it a considerable streamlet flows along its rock-strewn bed. Avoid the steps which modern civilization has cut for a quick ascent to the goal. Follow, rather, the bed of the stream, cross it, and recross it and behold the panorama of the famous caves, temples of worship or monasteries of priests—now deserted—but still the Shrine of India's ancient Pictorial Art. Climb Ajanta's famous hill, a short climb and not too steep, for these monks were practical men: they sought seclusion, but they appreciated the value of near running water in constant abundance. Had they learnt a lesson from Ellora not very far distant? For there, no pleasant running stream provides a fresh

water-supply, with the result that water was collected in reservoirs cut out of the rock, water from hill springs of doubtful abundance. The climb negotiated and arrived on the ledge giving access to the caves, you will see them to right and to left—all of them—26 of them hitherto opened. Opposite—a tree-studded hill projecting into the valley, below—the cool limpid water. Now look above—was it accident or design that the cliff above the caves rises in sheer sharp precipice—a formidable barrier against wild animals, leopards and panthers, which still infest these hills? Traces still exist here and there of wide deep steps from the ledge to the stream. Were these the only approaches to the caves? If so, they could also be easily barred to preying animals. Why again did those who conceived both projects—Ellora and Ajanta—turn their caves to the setting rather than the rising sun?

No authentic record of their origin has as yet been traced, but there is a general consensus of opinion that the oldest date from about the 2nd century B.C. and these show no sign of pictorial decoration. Caves 9, 10, 11, which are probably the earliest decorated caves and represent the Himayāna form of Buddhism, may be said to date from the 1st to the 3rd century A.D. Next in order of time, of the painted caves, come Caves 16 and 17 about 500 A.D. and finally Caves 1 and 2 possibly 100 years later. I find it difficult to accept the theory, based on no tangible evidence, that the figure subjects on the pillars of Caves 9 and 10 were executed some two or three centuries after the general frescoes on the main walls of these two temples. *Prima facie*, it is more likely that these caves, which were temples of worship and not monasteries, would be first decorated with figures of the founder of the religion and later with the more elaborate works on the walls, depicting (as in Cave 9) the scene which I shall hereafter describe of Buddha preaching to the multitude or (in Cave 10) of Buddha and worshippers. It may be noted that this assumption is more in consonance with the well-accepted view that Buddha was not an object of worship till a late

period in the history of that religion in India; and there is nothing in the figure paintings themselves to suggest that these were objects of worship. The nimbus would by itself indicate only the saintly character of the subject portrayed. Moreover, the single figures on the pillars are characterised by an extreme simplicity, as is to be expected in the earliest of these cave paintings. It is noteworthy that in both these Chaityas there is circumstantial evidence of the original frescoes on 'chuaam' plaster having been laid over with mud plaster on which new scenes were depicted. What period intervened between these two sets of frescoes must be a matter largely of speculation.

I believe there is no record to show that the Ajanta caves were known in the period of the Grand Moghuls. They appear in fact to have lain in oblivion, hidden away from human ken, till accidentally discovered in 1819 during the manœuvres of a company of British troops.

In 1829 the first description of the caves appeared in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, and in 1838-9 they were visited by Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Fergusson who wrote an account of "The Rock Cut Temples of Ajunta". In 1844, at the instance of the Society, the East India Company directed facsimile copies of all the paintings to be made. Major Robert Gill of the Madras Army was given this congenial task and for several years, both before and after the mutiny, sent paintings and drawings to the East India Company's Museum in Leadenhall Street, London. All but five of these, most unfortunately, perished in the 1866 fire at the Crystal Palace where they were on exhibition. The five which escaped are still to be seen at the South Kensington Museum. Between 1875 and 1885, Mr. Griffiths of the Bombay School of Arts made numerous copies, but most of these also suffered destruction by fire in the latter year. From the survivors, Mr. Griffiths published his well-known work "The Paintings in the Buddhist Caves at Ajunta" (1896). His original copies are now at the Victoria and Albert Museum. In 1879 Dr. Burgess left us a record of his inspection in "Notes on the Baudha Rock

Temples of Ajanta". In the first decade of this century, Lady Herringham visited the caves and the fruits of her work are embodied in "Ajanta Frescoes" (1915). In 1914 the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam undertook the task of preserving these artistic treasures of a bygone age and subsequently engaged expert Italians to restore, where possible, the paintings which had been liberally varnished, with laudable object though ill-advised method. Some five years ago the eminent Buddhist scholar Professor Foucher of the Sorbonne University spent laborious hours in his attempt to identify the depicted scenes. The result of his investigations was published in French in a brochure entitled "Rapport Préliminaire Sur L'interprétation des peintures et sculptures D'Ajanta" (Times Press, Bombay, 1920). Many of the subjects which Dr. Burgess had failed to identify in 1879 were successfully located by Professor Foucher; many errors of previous identification were also corrected. Thanks to his efforts, the Jataka paintings may now be better appreciated, for it is a truism that one can but partially appreciate and inadequately describe what one does not understand.

At present the caves are in charge of Mr. Syed Ahmad, the Curator appointed by the Nizam's Government. A better choice could hardly have been made, for Mr. Syed Ahmad is himself an artist of very marked talent. Deeply interested in his work, he seems to have absorbed the very spirit of the bygone masters who a thousand years ago and more, left this magnificent legacy of sculptured and pictorial art to mankind. I had occasion to study many of Mr. Syed Ahmad's outline drawings and a few finished coloured copies of the paintings. As these drawings were from actual tracings, with the damaged portions (if any) filled in, one was able more fully to appreciate the wonderful power of the line as displayed so consistently in the faces and figures of the comparatively small portion of the paintings that now survive. "More fully" I say, because the caves themselves are dark, especially those with the most and the best paintings, which have therefore to be examined

with the aid of a strong incandescent lamp perched on the head of one of the many peons on duty.

The first feeling is one of melancholy disappointment that so little remains and that little, more often than not, scarred with disfiguring patches and lines of grey plaster carefully laid on to prevent the old plaster from further crumbling away, unfortunately a necessary precaution. There follows a dull resentment against the man who, with the best of intentions, applied a coat of common varnish to the frescoes, thereby not only diminishing the available natural light but also producing a glazed surface, which reflects back the artificial lamplight and effectually prevents a view from the same standpoint of more than a small portion of the surface. Too often is one constrained to shift one's position to avoid the glare. But when the rays of the afternoon sun stream in and the paintings are seen to better effect, more particularly those on the back walls, disappointment and resentment are forgotten in the glories revealed. Especially is this the case in Cave 1, where the roof has not been varnished and the paintings stand out clearly, not only those delightful studies, in all but their pristine beauty, of fruits and flowers and birds, and animals and human beings in the small panels of the ceiling itself, but also the larger paintings mostly varnished on the walls.

Few who have visited the caves will be disposed to agree with that eminent critic Mr. Laurence Binyon "that the art of Ajanta has not passed the primitive stage", but in fairness to this undoubted connoisseur it should be said that he modestly concedes, "it is a kind of impetuness in one who has not seen the original frescoes to write about them". As for the remark of the expert joint authors of "Indian Art at Delhi 1904" that the frescoes "can hardly be classed among the fine Arts", it suffices to say that never was so sweeping a criticism made with less justification or with more irresponsibility. As against this, Mr. Griffiths, who spent several years in close study of the pictorial work at Ajanta writes: "I cannot help ranking it with some of the early art which the world has agreed to praise in Italy", while Professor

Lorenzo Cecconi, himself an Italian, asserts that the Ajanta artists "permit of a comparison in many respects with the two great artists of the Italian Renaissance, Correggio and Michael Angelo". Personally, I cannot conceive how anyone who, without any prejudices, has spent even a few days in an intelligent study of the originals could fail to be impressed by their accomplished execution, their variety of design, their beauty of form and colour, their complete command of posture and movement expressed mainly by the power of their line or of the modelling, and finally by their surprising vitality. They express in short, as Professor Rothenstein so well put it, "the perfect combination of material and spiritual energy which marks the great periods of Art".

It is idle to approach these paintings with the conventional rules of comparatively modern European Art writ large across your mind's eye and then to apply these rules by way of destructive criticism to an art of a different continent and of a different age. "Overcrowded" says one critic, unmindful of the fact that any incident of interest and more particularly such scenes from the Life of Buddha or the Jātaka legends will, in India, even to-day draw the same large crowds which are present in the frescoes. Crowded, many of them undoubtedly are, but is it fair to add the deprecatory prefix, merely because an artificially cultivated modern taste may prefer wider "spacing" of figures on a canvas? The Ajanta artists with a perfectly correct natural instinct perpetuated life as they saw it, and not as they thought a generation of foreigners a thousand years later might like to see it. The 20th century critic, with a formula in one hand, and a tape measure in the other, could hardly have been anticipated by these exponents of their own Art. "Bewildering repetition of the same figure" exclaims another. "Repetition" there undoubtedly is, but again is the adjective justifiable? Hardly, if observed in the light of Professor Foucher's recent elucidation of the subjects depicted. Nor could there have been any bewilderment at all when the paintings were fresh and undamaged. What would these critics have

said of Leonardo da Vinci's Last Supper if half the forms and faces had fallen away or been hopelessly damaged. Where the modern artist would have a series of different canvases in their gilded frames with the same central figure repeated in each to show the separate incident, or the modern fresco painter would divide off his wall space for the same purpose, the artists of Ajanta preferred to show the various phases of a single episode in a single area uninterrupted by the artificial barrier of a frame for each phase. The result is a cinema-like effect of continuous movement by no means displeasing to the eye. Sometimes this effect is partially lost by representing different incidents of the same Jataka one above the other. This was undoubtedly due to necessity rather than to lack of artistic perception,—the necessity of utilizing the limited surface at the artist's disposal, in order to depict thereon as many as possible of the Jatakas and of the scenes from the Life of the Buddha. "A lack of perspective" may be a comment of yet another critic. Landscapes in the strict sense are not frequent and what perspective is lacking rarely offends the eye, as it might have done in hands less skilled at vitalising the inanimate painted forms, be they forms of man or animal and thereby focussing the observer's attention on these.

A word about the animals: the elephants are, as is almost universally the case in all oriental paintings, surpassingly well drawn and lifelike, so also the bulls and monkeys. With his horses and dogs, the Ajanta artist was far less successful and it is interesting to note that this failure, generally speaking, runs right through the later periods of both Persian and Indian Pictorial Art. On the other hand, his birds are depicted with unrivalled charm and his flowers with superb delicacy—features which are characteristic also of the latter-day painters on papier-maché of Kashmir, who fail ignominiously in their drawings of animals and strange to say of human beings as well.

In drawing women's figures Ajanta displays at times a tendency to exaggerate the hips and breasts though this trait is less marked in the later paintings. It may be that the slim

waists of the women of Ajanta emphasize this fulness. Be that as it may—why be hypercritical when the *tout ensemble* is so eminently pleasing. In passing, it may be observed that a very similar departure from the Greek ideal is apparent in many of the works of the Venetian school which exaggerate the proportions of the entire form, while Boucher and even the great Rubens himself show a partiality for a type of womanhood which Praxiteles would have declared as too heavily endowed by nature.

The hands are usually well drawn with long and tapering fingers, but not quite so long and so tapering—certainly never so curled as those of the women of the Bengal school. The feet do not always show the careful execution that one would expect. On the other hand the eyes are veritable “windows of the soul”, conveying by droop of lid or sweep of lash or play of pupil, the expression appropriate to the occasion. Even when the rest of the face has gone and only a pair of eyes remain (as in the figure on the right of Buddha in the verandah of Cave 4) or a single eye (as in the verandah of Cave 16) one may read the expression—adoration, coquetry, wonderment, or mere feminine inquisitiveness and readily visualise the missing face. The European and more particularly the great English miniaturists of the 18th century often painted on ivory a single eye of the beloved for the delight of the lover, but I confess I never appreciated to the full the intriguing charm of the painted feminine eye until I observed those which have survived their fair owners on the walls of Ajanta.

Let us now take a rapid survey of the caves and the more important of their pictorial treasures. Stepping on to the verandah of Cave 1, several charming female figures in brown shaded with brick red still survive, with but little damage, to greet the pilgrim, while the verandah roof is decorated with a variety of tiled and floral designs. Entering the main hall, he will find the ceiling a thing of joy, for, as I have already mentioned, it has not been varnished. Here is a lovely panel about 4 feet by 2 feet with white flowers and a graceful white goose. Near by, two panels with a boy plucking fruit off a tree;

yet others with a monkey, a mermaid babe and other quaint subjects. Strangest of all, perhaps, is a panel depicting a Persian noble holding a cup from which he appears to have imbibed too freely, while his lady with anxious face points a warning forefinger at her lord. On either side of the central pair stands a girl carrying a flagon whose contents are not difficult to guess. At the reveller's feet a pair of repulsive negro-like males in a squatting posture offer fruit on platters. The whole is very reminiscent of 13th century Persian drawings. The same cave contains on one of its walls a larger picture representing the ceremonial reception of a Persian embassy by an Indian monarch. It is said on the strength of an Arabic record that this is an embassy from Khusru Pervaz to King Pulakesin II of the Deccan in the early part of the 7th century A.D. If this is correct, the artist who drew the Persian reveller in a panel of the ceiling was probably drawing from life and not from imagination, and the picture itself, furnishes internal evidence of this supposition. Some of the panels in Cave 1 have quaintly humorous scenes, for instance a pair of jesters, a *guru* indulging in wine with two small pupils obviously interested in, if not actually encouraging, the jolly master. The figures, fortunately, still in a state of excellent preservation and unvarnished, of two lovers in the spandril of the central ceiling panel are of a beauty and softness not surpassed by anything I saw in the Sistine Chapel itself, that gem of the Italian Renaissance. Here, too, on the back wall is the large grey figure of Padmapani (or is it a Bodhisattava?) with headdress, a lotus in his right hand, which has undoubtedly been the model taken by the artists of the modern Bengal school for their mythological miniatures, particularly those of Shiva or Mahadeva. Something of exaggeration, too much of mystic unreality have perhaps crept into the Bengal miniatures, in contradistinction to the vivid reality of the original.

On the wall of the ante-chamber to the shrine is the famous "Temptation Scene from the Life of Buddha". The conception

has been admirably carried out, the composition is of unusual excellence, though a European critic may pronounce it a trifle overcrowded. The calm dignity of the central figure with its complete absence of expression creates in the beholder a feeling almost of annoyance, when his eyes fall on the ravishing beauties with their seductive forms and piquant faces, dancing or posing before the Master in the vain attempt to awaken his manhood or at least to shake his determination to pursue Nirvāṇa. In sharp contrast to the unabashed minxes are the ugly grinning, taunting and oft fearsome figures of the ogres and demons in the upper portion of the fresco. One marvels how even the saintly Buddha remained wholly passive and indifferent to the beauty below and the horrors above, and that is just what the master-hand intended to convey! On the left wall is a charming scene of a king informing his wives of his desire to become a hermit, an episode from one of the numerous Jātakas or legends that grew around the Buddha. Here too is a delightfully simple domestic study of a humble housewife preparing the family dinner, while the little son plays on the floor near his mother. Altogether one of the richest in the whole series is this Cave 1.

Cave 2 also contains many striking frescoes. Very interesting in the right shrine is the group of figures painted in white, shaded with brick red, looking towards the sculptured group "Pancika and Hariti holding on her knee her favourite son Pingala"; on the opposite wall of the same shrine a woman's form and face were strongly reminiscent of a Roman fresco. The comic element is again not absent, for at the base of the sculptured figures there is a row of funny little children with a master at one end brandishing a stick. These are the numerous progeny of the pair above, the genii of riches and of posterity. I may here record a small but interesting fact. Of frequent occurrence at Ajanta is the human figure with the forefinger of the right hand quaintly raised to the lips in order to convey either sympathetic interest in or sorrowful sympathy with a fellow being. This method of expressing these sentiments has persisted through the ages; it reappears with striking similarity

in the Persian and Indo-Persian Art of the 16th century and continues right through the Moghul and Rajput schools to reappear once more in the Kangra school of the 18th and 19th centuries. I cannot recall any painting in the galleries of Europe with this precise characteristic, though the Life of Christ and the Lives of the Saints or rather their martyrdoms afforded many opportunities for its presence. In the left gallery of Cave 2 is "The Birth of Buddha" amongst several scenes from his life, and on the opposite wall of the entrance gallery is a beautifully executed figure en profile of a woman on her knees with bent head and flowing hair at the feet of her irate lord and master. Submissive, she awaits the falling sword and, though her face is gone, the line of the curved back and the moulding of the form leave an abiding impression of exquisite pathos. The Ajanta painters revelled in depicting the female form divine in every conceivable graceful posture. What can be more charming than the woman standing on one leg, while the other is bent at the knee and raised to allow the foot to rest against the wall behind her, or again the back view of a woman's seated figure (Cave 1)? Women peeping round pillars or out of their balcony windows abound—always animated, often inquisitive, ever attractive.

Perhaps the solitary exception to this rule is to be found in Cave 17 in the fresco now identified (thanks to Professor Foucher) as the Simhala Avadana or the "Story of the Shipwrecked Sailors", who lead a life of pleasure with the Rakhshasis or demon women and are eventually devoured, all but one, by these vampires in female form. In sharp contrast to the hideousness of the females, is the quite effeminate beauty of the males in this Jataka. Above one of the cell doors in Cave 17 is a delightful little panel depicting a delicate love scene, and another panel with six winsome female heads (life size) most artistically interspaced. The outstanding fresco, however, in this monastery (Cave 17) is that on the left wall depicting the story of the prodigal Prince Visvantara, whose one joy in life was to give. The fresco processions through his various gifts,

depicting with surprising vitality scenes familiar to all who have lived in the East and have witnessed an oriental pageant. The peeping women, the following crowds, the curious bystanders, the greedy Brahmin reminding the over-generous prince that he still has his own sons to give away (comparable with the Iscariot in "The Last Supper" at Milan), the faithful wife whom the great god Śakra decided to ask for himself in order to give her back—all these are here, interwoven with masterly composition into a perfect harmonious whole. Despite the damage and the gloom of the varnish, it requires no lively imagination to visualise the original glory of this Jātaka masterpiece. Then in the ante-chamber to the shrine, on the left hand wall, is "Buddha questioning His Disciples". On the Great Being's right is a group of nobles and prominent amongst them a dark Pathan face with Persian cap and beard, for many types of many races are portrayed at Ajanta. On His left are ranged the monks, the outstanding figure in this group being Śhāriputra who answers the Catechism, a fine study of keen intelligence. "The woman and child making an offering to Buddha" is one of the gems in this cave; "The Lady with the Mirror" being another pleasing study, not to forget the "Maid Combing Her Mistress's Hair". If you wish to see what life was like in an Indian village some 1,200 years ago, do not miss the remnant of the fresco on the left end wall of the verandah. So conservative is the East that you may be looking at a village scene of to-day. Before leaving Cave 17 I may mention the existence of an inscription in Pali (so I was told) on the verandah wall. I am not aware of it ever having been scientifically interpreted. Moreover, within the cave there appears to be a signature—possibly of an artist—in red paint. The writing, however, is so clumsily scrawled as to justify scepticism regarding its origin. I also observed that the plaster applied to the rock in this cave was about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, whereas in other caves it appeared to be about half that thickness. The roof still shows floral decoration and arabesque designs in small squares, while several human figures remain in the spandril of the central panel.

Turning into Cave 16, the masterpiece here is probably "The Dying Princess". You will not however find approaching death in her face, but you cannot miss it in the sweep of the unbound hair and the lines of the form which poignantly convey the near dissolution. (A similar subject is to be found in Cave 17.) On the right wall, amongst many scenes from the Life of Buddha, the face of Achityha is a study which would ensure the fame of any European portrait painter. On the same wall there is an interesting panel depicting the Gautama at school, which immediately recalled to memory a 17th century Rajput painting (in my own collection) of Rāma being instructed by his Guru. Was it merely the similarity of the subject or a subtle kinship of method and style which provoked the memory? The roof of the hall in Cave 16 is carried out in numberless sculptured groups of figures but there are some painted frescoes in black and white floral design on the roof of the verandah, the walls of which also show several surviving eyes of figures which have disappeared.

Caves 9, 10, 19 and 26 are all temples of worship, strongly reminiscent of the early Christian basilica of Italy and South-East France. At Ajanta the Chaityas vary in size. They have concave roofs, resting on numerous pillars which divide the interior into a centre nave with an aisle on either side. The roofs are frequently of the ribbed variety, the spaces between the ribs being in turn frequently subdivided into panels depicting the Buddha. At the extreme inner end of the temple is invariably placed the Dagoba which may perhaps best be described as a cylindrical structure supporting a sphere or globe (sometimes a hemispherical dome) while the globe or dome in turn supports a square capital. The legend is that these dagobas enshrine a relic of the Master and they may be said to correspond to the high altar of a Christian church. Numerous figures of Buddha in white, grey or yellow with the nimbus and occasionally the umbrella, on walls and pillars, sometimes framed in oval panels, instantly recalled to mind the interiors of many a mediæval church with their paintings of Christ and the saints. Behind the Dagoba in Cave 9 portions of two fine frescoes still remain : one

of Buddha standing and preaching to the multitude. Though damaged the faces are full of expression. Many types of people are again represented, all listening with rapt attention to the great Preacher. Particularly interesting are the figures of two sadhus attentive, but grudgingly so, and, near by the kneeling figure of a man with hands folded towards the Master. The other fresco represents the seated Buddha expounding his doctrines. In this group, the figures of two women vividly express the adoration they feel, while a boy with hands folded towards the Buddha, is executed with great tenderness. In Cave 10 the most interesting surviving painting is on a pillar behind the stupa. A Buddha dark of complexion is standing, a fair woman worshipper by his side, while a dark youth kneeling at the Master's feet offers a string of pearls. The whole is contained within an oval about three feet in length and breathes intense religious fervour. On the right wall, paintings of probably the 5th century on mud plaster have been super-imposed on the earlier fresco on chunam plaster. The whole of this right wall, I regret to say, has been ruined by names of vandal visitors scratched in Mahratta and other characters with the result that the Sudanta Jātaka depicted on it is virtually no more. All that remains to us of this fresco is a single record by Gill. This cave also bears three lines of inscription cut into the rock high up on one side of the main arched gate.

Cave 19 is probably the richest of this group of Chaityas as a sculptural chef d'œuvre also the most interesting from the point of view of its surviving frescoes. At its entrance is a pillared verandah and above the pillars the large horseshoe shaped arch to light the interior, which is about 30 ft. x 20 ft. The roof is supported by some twenty pillars; at the far end of the chapel is a Dagoba with a standing figure of Buddha within the niche below the dome. Above the dome are three tiers of cupolas, then a globe which is in turn surmounted by a capital. Above the pillars in the niches of the capital are the figures of Buddha standing or seated and on either side of him an infant on a pony. In this temple I observed a picture of a seated Buddha with

a woman on either side bearing a strange similarity to the history of Martha and Mary at the feet of Christ. Apart from its subject there is in the execution and composition a curious resemblance to Italian Art. An unusually pleasing study in the left gallery is the figure of Buddha, alas ! badly damaged, flanked by two obviously smiling faces, for I am sure they do smile. Incidentally there is in the Museum at Nalanda a delightful little masterpiece carved in soapstone of a similarly smiling Buddha with his smiling attendants. Amongst the many painted Buddhas in this cave, is one which might have stepped out of a Tibetan temple flag, so strong was the Chinese influence apparent in the squatting figure. A finely executed fight between two elephants in the jungle in a panel of the roof of the inner verandah seemed entirely incongruous in a temple of worship. This incongruity, apparent here and in the humorous panels of the ceiling in Cave 1, need not arouse more than passing surprise, for it must be remembered that the paintings in these caves (as also in Caves 2, 16 and 17) are probably of the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. when the intense solemnity of the pure Buddhist religion was rapidly fading and giving place to a lighter and more human outlook on life.

Can it be that Buddhism, with its austere principles concentrating on the spiritual benefits of the simple ascetic life, never really appealed to the Indian temperament and that therefore the later followers of that religion in India, still Buddhists in name, were unconsciously or subconsciously impelled to depict "the full life" of ordinary mortals? Certain it is that the paintings, as often as not, suggest the joy of the artist in the *joie de vivre* or the material as opposed to the spiritual factors of life. He was surely reproducing in his frescoes the type of people he saw around him, even though he gave them a setting in scenes from the life of the Master himself or in one of the many Jātakas woven around that Master. How else can one explain the happy, cheerful, careless throngs, the joyous women seductively clad and frequently half clad, even in the presence of the Buddha himself or of one of the many Bodhisattavas aspiring

to Buddhahood? What influence was it that introduced music and song and wine and fighting bulls (Cave 1) into the frescoes of the monasteries of those ascetics, and fighting elephants (Cave 19) into their temples of worship? These are problems still unsolved owing to the absence of any reliable literature of that bygone period in this country.

Cave 26 is remarkable for the finely sculptured "Temptation Scene" and the colossal Buddha in trance some 20 feet long and 5 feet high carved out of the rock itself. Even the fiercely malicious mutilation of the face of the sleeping Gautama serves but to accentuate the calm impassivity of the features.

Including those already mentioned there are 26 caves in all which have so far been opened to the public, many of them uncompleted. Before commenting on the latter, I must, however, draw attention to a particularly fine sculptured panel, high up on the left end wall of the verandah of Cave 23, which well repays close examination. Here we find the Gautama as a much more human and cheerful being. His wife, if it is his wife, Yashodhara, sits beside him with face and bust fully facing the observer, while the lower part of her body is turned towards the seated figure. The whole composition is supremely graceful and attractive: also, my eyes failed to detect the usual mutilation of face or form.

The uncompleted caves and more particularly 15 and 24 have an interest all their own. Cave 15 contains the usual shrine with a fine cross-legged Buddha on a pedestal with two lions. The arms have as usual been mutilated, in this instance broken off at the wrists. The guardian Gandarvas are also present, so the shrine may be said to have been completed. In the main hall however only two small sculptured panels are to be seen, no doubt the precursors of many that were to come. Cave 24 is left in an entirely different condition. In its wide pillared verandah the original pillars have been almost wholly restored, but the remains of carvings on their old capitals may still be observed. Around the doorway repeated pairs of a man and woman, each about 18 inches high, occur. The cells, one at

each end of the verandah, have been completed. On stepping into the main hall through the carved doorway, the floor is found excavated to the level of the verandah plinth but uneven and obviously unfinished; a few feet from the doorway the floor suddenly rises two or three feet, which means that the back portion of the cave was left unexcavated, except in so far as the roof and the pillars to carry that roof were prepared; but only one of the massive pillars has been carved. An uncanny feeling of depression overtakes the visitor when he stands in the presence of a stupendous task left unachieved. What dire catastrophe was it that caused the bygone hewers and sculptors of rock to throw down their tools and their chisels and fly from the scenes of so much loving patient labour in that most potent cause of all—religion? No natural upheaval such as an earthquake would account for the abrupt cessation—the circumstantial evidence in all the caves is against this possibility. Foreign invasion must also be ruled out. Was it pestilence or plague—both possible answers? Far more probable, to my mind, is the answer that a sudden change of Fortune's wheel brought about in civil strife the fall of Buddhism and the triumphant resurrection of Brahminism, scattering the devotees of the former like chaff before the wind. If the cessation synchronised, as it possibly did, with the mutilation of the sculptures, the answer I have suggested is rendered even more probable.

The mutilation of the sculptured figures has been carried out with a diabolical system and thoroughness. Not one survives in the condition in which the sculptor left it. Not one has escaped the fury of the zealot or the vandalism of the European visitors, who cut faces and often whole figures both sculptured and painted to satisfy their acquisitive ambition. Some such purloined fragments actually came under the hammer of the auctioneer at Christy's some three years ago. Time, the great Healer, has however softened many of the cicatrices; so much so, that the eye is at the first glance often deceived and the mind rejoices to find a sculpture apparently not disfigured by human ferocity. A closer inspection however discloses the omnipresent

mutilation. Who were the guilty? At Ajanta—hardly the Muhammadan iconoclast, because apart from the absence of historical record to prove that he discovered these beautiful caves in their hill-bound recesses, there is to my mind in his favour the further circumstantial evidence present in the escape of all the *painted* figures from the vandal's hands. This would not have been the case had the Muhammadan bigot of those times penetrated into these caves, for I have in my own collection several once fine old paintings of the 15th century in which the faces have been all but obliterated by vicious rubbing, the work in this instance undoubtedly of the ultra-orthodox Muhammadan, of whom Aurangzeb was perhaps the most notorious proto-type in Indian history. We must therefore look for the guilty elsewhere. Is the guilt to be laid at the door of Shivaism, when that creed triumphed over Buddhism and its zealots allowed their pent up fury to run riot in destruction of all that was *obviously* Buddhistic, viz. the sculptures. The paintings may have escaped because they did not so pointedly represent the symbolism of the Buddhistic creed. I concede that the escape of the painted figures of Buddha himself does not square with this theory. Can it, however, be that the graven and not the painted image was the symbol which aroused their fury—for the followers of Brahmanism were accustomed to worship the graven and not the painted images of the gods of the Hindu Pantheon. I hasten to add that these reflections are thrown out tentatively, more with a view to invite investigation rather than to assert a fact.

If the reader has followed me thus far, he will surely agree that Ajanta, as a picture gallery, is well worth a visit. It is equally interesting from the architectural and sculptural standpoint and bristles with problems awaiting solution from archaeologists. Here in this hilly fastness, the masters of the chisel and of the brush wrought what may truly be called the National Galleries of India's ancient art. For many centuries of internal strife and foreign incursions, that art lay dormant till the Moghul Renaissance, which gave to the world the Taj,

the Jasmine Bower and that less known but exquisite gem the Tomb of Itmad-ud-Dowlah at Agra, and the school of Moghul and Rajput painting: these paintings, and more particularly the black and white drawings, prove that the tradition of the power of the line survived through the centuries to give expression to, and even lay bare the individual characteristics of the subject portrayed, without resort to shading or other devices of the artists of Europe. Let us then pay homage to the great masters of Ajanta who have left us so rich a legacy despite the ravages of time and vandalism or of well-intentioned ignorance. Let us also acknowledge our gratitude to His Exalted Highness the Nizam for the care now taken of the irreplaceable surviving treasures locked away in the bosom of Ajanta's famous hill.

So great was the fascination, so complete the absorption, even after a short sojourn of three or four days in the atmosphere of these marvellous works of man's hand that I seemed to have lived under a spell which removed me far from the material things of our work-a-day modern world. To those who seek even temporarily the "peace that passeth understanding" I say "Follow the pilgrim path to Ajanta".

II.—Kalidasa In a Kashmir MS.*

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon).

Sanskrit literature has two special characteristics : its unity and continuity. This unity has always tended to be Pan-Indic.¹ Since its separation from Iran, successive centuries have spread it over the whole of India from Kashmir to Comorin and sea to sea, in ever-widening waves—Vedic, Epic, Classical, Mediæval and Modern. The culture of the tribal *Pañcēna janāḥ*² (Rv. III, S9, 8 ; Av. iv, 14, 8) culminating in the colonization of the south marked the achievements of the Vedic and Epic eras. Aśoka's empire knit the links closer—politically, as well as ethically. More so ethically, as his State-religion Buddhism was essentially a re-valuation of extant ethical values whose source lay in Vedic thoughts, common to Brahmanism and Jainism and later on Hinduism, the last an amalgam of all three, adapted to subsequent fresh and varied environment “a constant progress from Vedic time onwards.”³ The political expression of this ethical recognition still left the extreme south (Keralaputra, Chola, Pāṇḍya and Tamraparṇi) out of its orbit.⁴ But the cultural unity and Indo-Europeanization were complete from Kabul to Ceylon. (Aśoka, Rock Edict xiii)⁵ An “one-umbrella” suzerainty⁶ (MBh. Śānti, xxix. 39—41) as a terminology in state-craft symbolized this grown-up mentality. Individual experiments of earlier

* The MS. is in the possession of P. C. Manuk, Esq., of Patna. The Manuk collection is a treasure-house of valuable paintings, MSS. and rare objects of art.—A. B. Ś.

¹ *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. i. 39. ² Max Müller, “*India : What can teach us ?*” p. 95 ; Muir, *Skt. Texts* i, p. 176.

³ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 1903, p. 237. ⁴ V. Smith, *E. H. I*, 1924, p. 194—95 ; *Arthasastra*, Mysore, 1909, pp. 50, 70—81.

⁵ V. Smith, *Aśoka*, 1920, p. 75. ⁶ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. III., pp. 31—34.

days,—monarchy, oligarchy, republic and even no-man rule¹ are different stages of the progress of Indo-European or Aryan culture feeling its way through and in time engulfing various mentalities in this "One-ness" of outlook² (Artha-Śāstra vi. ii. 17). The eighty-one odd Indian republics³ gleaned from Pāṇinian, Buddhist, Hindu and Greek literatures are mostly local (with rare exceptions, e.g. Mālavas, Yaudheyas). Every empire from Aśoka's, e.g. Śūṅga, Gupta, Harṣa, etc., has sought to be India-wide.⁴ A republic need not be necessarily limited. The Roman Republic of yore and the French Republic of to-day are also mighty empires. In both cases the parent culture covered tracts either allied or too inferior to resist. In India republicanism has fostered local rule and diversity of language. Only Aśoka's imperial efforts partly overcame the heterogeneous South (strongly Dravidian) and had to stop on the Hindu Kush already alien in culture. He enforced political supremacy to signalize this cultural unity. Sporadic attempts at schism by isolated republics were put down without much difficulty.⁵ Classical authors learnt to care more for good and undivided government than for any particular form as an intellectual fetish.⁶ As an outward manifestation of the above process, Classical Sanskrit inexorably absorbed consecutive attempts at sectarian emphasis on particular odd aspects of the Prakrits. Hence the final disappearance of republics and concomitant varieties of cultural expression from India about the fifth century A.C. scarcely leaves a ripple of remonstrance on the placid surface of contemporary Sanskrit classical literature completely wrapt up in its contemplation of India as a whole at least culturally (*chaturanta-mahī-sapatnī*)⁷ and linguistically (*Sarasvatī Śrutamahatām*).⁸ This precious gift of an all-India outlook, of

¹ Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, pp. 97—99.

² *Kāmandaki Nṣ.* viii, 20.

³ *Hindu Polity* op. cit. Pt. I. Appendix B, 199-201.

⁴ *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III, Nos. 12, 18.

⁵ Fleet, *G.I.* pp. 58-54.

⁶ Cf. *prakṛtihitāya*; *Śakuntalā*, Act VII, last verse. "Bhāsa" etc.

⁷ *Śakuntalā*, Act IV; *Raghuvamśa*, canto iv.

⁸ *Sauntalā*, *Bharatavākyaṃ*.

the Vedic and Epic times, wrought out in the centuries preceding the Christian era,—the Classical period has nourished and bequeathed through Mediæval vicissitudes, to the present days. The following short note on an unpublished poem credited to Kālidāsa in distant Kashmir may serve to illustrate this classical phase submerging an author's personality and history in the production of works to be readable to all India.

Classical Sanskrit commences from about the beginning of the Christian era.¹ Its striking achievements are (i) dramas of

**Kalidasa—An
indeterminate
personality.**

Bhāsa, Śūdraka, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti; (ii) poetry by Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and Māgha; (iii) fables and folk-tales by Viṣṇuśarmā; (iv) philosophy by Śaṅkara. Its special characteristics are impersonal and at least India-wide. Not one of the above authors is known individually and some names, e.g. Viṣṇuśarmā, are considered fictitious.² While Śaṅkara's philosophy of the *Vedānta*, the fables and Kālidāsa have long ceased to be merely Pan-Indic but are known over a large part of the world.³ None of their works bears proof positive regarding date and authorship. Certainly no personal details. External references and internal scrutiny do not go far. The former are indecisive in the absence of all works genuine or supposed in the current inaccurate anthologies or uncritical works of contemporaries or successors. The latter are deliberately vague and eschew local touches. Thus Kālidāsa might have lived in any part of India, sometime before 634 A.C.⁴ (Aihole inscription mentioning his name) and 620 A.C.⁵ (Bāṇa, court poet of Harṣa in the middle of his reign praising him). Enthusiasts have drawn upon their imagination to supply the rest. Critics have failed to read the motive of this self-effacement. Every Vedic hymn records the names of the Deity, the Metre

¹ Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, 1909, Pt. I, p. 26.

² Edgerton, *Panchatantra Reconstructed*, 1924, Vol. 2, p. 182.

³ Hertel, *Das Pancatantra*, 1914, and Edgerton, op. cit. I, p. 451f.

⁴ Lévi, *Le Théâtre Indien*, p. 163 ff.

⁵ Bühler, *Die Indischen Inschriften*, p. 71.

and the *Seer*.¹ His family *sampradāya* is often detailed. The Epic Mahabharata seeks to describe the antecedents of its author and heroes² and does not hesitate to criticize places in India outside its sphere of influence.³ Then again the Mediæval author or commentator complacently spins out a long ancestry with many ringing testimonials to the same and self; *cf.* homilies on self by Bana⁴ and his son. Also the modest description of himself by Mallinātha.⁵ The less said about the modern craze for self-advertisement the better: *cf.* the commentator of Kādambari Siddhachandra Gani on his various titles, ancestral and conferred by the powers that be.⁶ Thus an Indian is never temperamentally averse to supplying information about himself. Why then this reticence in the classical period? The trend of the times as suggested in the opening lines, offers an explanation. The long drawn-out struggle for cultural unification had been brought to a successful close. This new comprehension helped in healing religious and political susceptibilities. Bhāsa led the way in the concluding lines of his dramas—"one-king, one umbrella." Kalidāsa followed in the fullness of his heart—"describing India and every part of it and his wonderful power of observation has recorded whatever is prominent in any part of India,"⁷ and "every part of India claims him as its own."⁸ Every part of India has its own tradition about Kalidāsa.⁹ The text printed below is from a MS. from Kashmir containing a collection of *stavas* or hymns from the Epics, Purāṇas and other celebrated poets and philosophers. It is written in Saradā characters, with some paintings of a not very high order to illustrate the text. This

¹ Pargiter, *Historical Tradition*, 1922, p. 1; Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Kultur*, 1887, pp. 17-18.

² MBh. Virātaparvan, I. 22 ff.

³ *cf.* Magadha as Pāṇḍavavarjita.

⁴ Kādambari, Pt. I, V. 19.

⁵ *Sanjivini* on *Raghuvamśam*, Intro. canto I.

⁶ End of Kādambari-*ṭīkā* by Chandragani.

⁷ Mm. H. Śāstri, J.B.O.R.S. 1915, p. 199.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Winternitz, *cit.* p. 24.

particular poem has not been so far published. Kashmir tradition and internal plausibility are the only available criteria in discussing its authenticity. If they are convincing, it would be an interesting addition to the Kālidāsa literature and its Pan-Indic appeal.

Text.

*Om Sitavarṇālakāre Sarasvatī Samastā-vāṇmayādhāre
Kamalajamānasavarale mṛgāṅkadhāvale namastyu bhyaṃ* || 1 ||
Dhanyah sa eva loka sa eva pūjyah sa eva sarva-guruh ||
Yasya mukha-kamala-kōṣe vāṇmaya-kula-devate vasasi || 2 ||
Kas-tvāṁ vinā vivekīviveka-vikalasya nisphalaṁ jñāna ||
Tasmād-bharati bhavināṁ tam-eva hetus-triloke-pi || 3 ||
Lakṣmīvān-api puruṣah surah subhago-pi kāma-sama-rūpal ||
Vṛṣa iva vivudha-sabhāyāṁ pratibhaty-amale tvayā rakṣah || 4 ||
Muni-manuja-mānonīyo mātār-mūrkhho-pi mānava dakṣah ||
Niḥśeṣasūtra-vaktā tvan-mantra-dhyānato bhavati || 5 ||
Kuvalaya-dṛṣah kva tāvad-veśmani vilasanti kuchabhāranamrah ||
Yāvadasiṭābja-nayane na tvāṁ tustā bhavasi bhavināṁ
Jitvā nara-ri-rāja-kamaga-guru-gaja vāji-puruṣa-bala-sahitah ||
Yad-upaiti tat-samagraṁ tvach-charaṇanūteḥ phalaṁ tasya || 6 ||
Ācārjitā-pi kṣṭai-riha janmany-eva muñchatī naraṁ srīḥ ||
Na tvāṁ sapta bhavesviti matrā ko nauti no bhavatīm || 7 ||
Sambhu-praputāṁ vaṇīm bhaktyā yah stauti so chiren-aiva ||
Avihata-buddhi-prasarah kavi-rājo jāyate manujah || 8 ||
Yam padma-janmāṁ ratha-rāja-haṁsah
Vṛtena pāṇau jalojena visnuh ||
Netra-trayenā-nukaroti Rudrah
Sanah prasanna-stu vacho-dhidevī || 9 ||
Vidvan-mukhe yah parivartamānā
Śiṣyāya nityaṁ hita-ācharantī ||
Abhyāsa-labhyā mama suprasannā
Sarasvatī sā hr̥di san-nidhatte || 10 ||
Iti Mahā-kavi Kālidāsa-kṛtah Sarasvatī-stavaḥ samāptah ||

Translation.

Oh thou Muse of Learning, source of all speech, white-hued
are thy graces, white as the moon, thou art the heart's desire

of the Lotus-born Lord of Creation, obeisance unto thee. 1. Blessed indeed, in the world is he, honoured ever, preceptor of all, in whose mouth, verily a lotus-treasury residest thou, oh presiding deity of the family of bards. 2. Who can become enlightened without thee? and bereft of enlightenment, life is useless. So thou art the cause that quickens to life the aspiring in the three worlds. 3. Though possessed of Prosperity and prowess, an engaging presence and handsome as Eros, a man deprived of thee, behaves like a brute in the society of sages. 4. Even a fool, oh mother, becomes clever and respected by seers and men, as by meditation on thy *mantra* (conception), he gains eloquence in endless lore. 5. What house is ever favoured with the presence of the bust-bent lotus-eyed fair unless the deserving propitiate thee, of the blue-lotus eye? The conquering hero comes with the forces swift and strong—of elephants, horses and men wrested from his rival king, a fruit it all is of worshipping at thy feet. 6. Though acquired with pains, Prosperity¹ deserts a man even in the present life, not so thou not even in seven² (i.e. a series of existences); judging of this difference, who bows not unto thee? 7. This message of the Muse, lauded by the Lord of Weal³ (Sambhu), whoever reveres with devotion, in no time, he succeeds as a laureate poet among men, his intelligence growing apace. 8. Her, born of a lotus and borne by a triumphal car of swans, Viṣṇu⁴ supports with a lotus in his hand: Rudra⁵ follows her with his three⁶ eyes, may she the spirit of speech⁷ be kind to us. 9. Evolving ever on cultured lips, conducing without fail to the learner's good, attainable by application,

¹ For an eternal feud between *Śrī* and *Sarasvatī*, cf. *paraṣara-virodhinyoh, Śrī-Sarasvatyoh*, Kathās. 18.204, Rāja-Tar. 5, 425; R. I. 1, 32 (34 Gorresio).

² Cf. *Sapta-prāṇāḥ*, Satapatha Br. VI, 5, 3, 11; VII, 5, 2, 9.

³ As equivalent to *Sarasvatī*, cf. *Sambhu-mayobhū*, Kauś. 9, 18, 43.

⁴ The wives of Viṣṇu are Aditi and Sinivālī, later *Śrī* and *Sarasvatī*, cf. Böhtlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Vol. VI, 1871, p. 1263.

⁵ Rudra, a form of Viṣṇu, hence connected with *Sarasvatī*; cf. R. VI. 102. 19.

⁶ Past, Present and Future.

⁷ For *vaco ... devī Sarasvatī*, cf. Varāh. Brāh. S. 26, 2ff. 46, 98.

may she the flowing Stream of Knowledge, gracious to me, in my heart be guarded. 10.

Here ends the hymn to Sarasvatī composed by the great poet Kālidāsa.

MS.

It is a bound volume, consisting of 1,130 pages, size 8 + 5½. The material is paper, language Sanskrit, and characters, Kashmir variety of Śāradā, closely resembling the script in the Deccan College 1875—6 MS. No. 192 described in Table VI "Alphabet in Northern Hand-writing" of Bühler's Charts (Siebzehn Tafeln zur Indischen Palæographie, 1896). The MS. is probably a hundred years old. Pp. 1—1122 are in the same, pp. 1122—30 in another, handwriting. The binding in thick cardboards covered with rough red velvet, and specially the sewing of forms, both seemingly contemporaneous with the preparation of the MS. appear to be of the last century.

It is a comprehensive collection of hymns from celebrated Sanskrit sources. They cover practically every period. Ancient : Vedic, Epics (Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa) and the Purāṇas. Classical : Kālidāsa, Bhartṛhari, Saṃkarācārya, etc. Mediæval : Tantras, etc. Individual hymns number 83, of which some are from the same origin. Their description follows in pp. 138-140. The writer's name is not given, not of the author of any particular hymn whenever the same is doubtful. It is essentially a Hindu anthology. It begins—

*Om, svasti Śrī-Gaṇeśāya namaḥ ! Om gurave namaḥ,
om namas-to-Anantāya sahasramūrtaye Sahasra-pādākṣi-siro-
ruru-vahāve.....Gaṅgā-Prayāga-Gayā-Naimiṣa-Puṣkarāṇi
tīrthāni ;.....follows the Gāyatrī from the R̥gveda and
praise of Om Brahman-Agny-ādayaḥ. It ends—*

*Namo Brahmanē tat-phalam. Pūjito-simayā
bhaktyā puna-rāyāsi Saṃkara.*

There are 28 paintings in colours accompanying the text in the MS. They are of an inferior artistic merit. A scrutiny shows their all-India choice.

No. Deity.

Page of MS.

1. Brahmā	...	...	...	...	1
2. Gaṇeśa	...	...	...	...	48

No.	Diety.	Page of M ³ .
3. Bhavānī	80
4. Mahārājñī	112
5. Devī	119
6. Pārvatī	124
7. Sarasvatī	200
8. Tripura-sundarī	205
9. Sitalā	218
10. Devī	220
11. Dhūmrākṣī	375
12. Kṛṣṇā	379
13. Bhairava	381
14. Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna on Kurukṣetra battlefield	532
15.	553
16. Viṣṇu—Fish incarnation	572
17. Kṛṣṇa's Universal form	604
18. Viṣṇu—Ananta-śayana	608
19. Viṣṇu—Boar-incarnation	683
20. Viṣṇu—Fish-incarnation	686
21. Churning of the Ocean	687
22. Viṣṇu slaying Hiranya-kāśipu	688
23. Viṣṇu—Dwarf incarnation	690
24. Paraśurāma fighting Kārtavīr്യarjuna	693
25. Rama fighting with Rāvana	695
26. Vasudeva taking away new-born Kṛṣṇa	697
27. Viṣṇu—Buddha incarnation	698
28. Viṣṇu—Kalki incarnation	699

From Brahmā to Kalki runs the whole gamut of recognized Hindu cultural harmony, embodying its origin, growth and degeneration.

The manuscript also contains some beautiful specimens of illumination, pages 533 — 51 border and script, page 573 border, page 635 designs in colours.

Authenticity.

Kalidāsa is essentially classical, an all-India figure. He is the literary exponent *āsamudra-ksitī-sānām* (Raghu) of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa ideal (viii. 4, 1). Daṇḍin (sixth—seventh century, *kāvya-darśa*, I, 45), Bāṇa

External evidence.

Tradition.

Harṣacharita, (seventh century), Aihole inscription (634 A.C.), Vāmana (eighth century), Ānanandavardhana (*Dhanyāloka*, ninth century), Abhinavagupta (*Abhinavabhāratī* cited by Raghavabhaṭṭa on *Śakuntalā*, tenth — eleventh century), Mammata (*Kāvya-prakāśa*, p. 2, eleventh century) Bāghaṭa (*Alaṃkāra-tilaka* p. 2, thirteenth century), Mallinātha, (commentary *Taralā* on Vidyādhara's *Ekavālī*, fourteenth century), Viśvanātha (*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, p. 128, fifteenth century), Jagannātha a Paṇḍita (on *Kumārasambhava* in the seventeenth century) all testify to his age-old popularity in every part of India. His geography is equally India-wide. It admits of no frontiers between early settlers and later colonizers. Raghu's *digvijaya* extends to the Kālingas and Prāgiyotiṣa in the East, to the Keralas to the South, Aparānta and Pārasikas to the West, and the Kailāsa Mountain on the North — beyond lay the land of Yavanas, Hūnas, Kambojas and Kirātas. Kālidāsa's repudiation of a geographical centre of gravity coincides with Classical the Indo-Aryan cultural unity. (*Raghu* canto iv.) The passage of the Cloud commences from Amarakantaka on the Vindhayas and ends at the Mānasa Lake in the Kailāsa. (*Meghadūta*, *pūrva-megha*.) Puṣyamitra's horse-sacrifice (*Mālāvikāgni-mitra*) typifies similar classical seals on cultural consciousness (J.A.S.B., LIII, part I, page 175ff., plate ii, No. 9; Archaeological Survey West Indies, Volume II, page 37f., plate vii, No. 4; Fleet's *Corpus Inscr. Indic.* Samudragupta Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II, p. 5, Bilsad Stone Inscription of Kumārgupta, l. 2). It was thus inevitable that every part of India should have its own tradition about some works of Kālidāsa probably lost to other parts. To fix his domicile at one place in preference to others seems equally hazardous. Thus MM. Pandit H. Śāstri¹ essays to locate Kālidāsa's residence near about Daṣapura in Malwa. His materials are some fancied local touches in the *Meghadūta* reinforced by an exhaustive topography and seasonal details in the *Rtusamhāra*.²

¹ J.B.O.R.S., Vol. I. Pt. II. 1925, p. 203.

² Ibid. pp. 204—10.

But Nobel¹ has equally elaborately sought to prove that the *Rtusamhāra* is not by Kālidāsa at all, in spite of Kielhorn and Maedonell, and later on Keith.² It reminds one of the inspiring anecdote of Sir Walter Raleigh's chivalry in spreading his mantle over a puddle to help Queen Elizabeth to pass on, and an irreverent critic demonstrating its impossibility by force of his researches establishing the fact that the gallant knight had pawned over-night that same article of wear to pay off some gambling debts. About Kālidāsa's works convention and tradition disagree. The former regards as genuine—three dramas, *Śakuntalā*, *Vikramorvaśī*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*; four poems *Raghuvamśa*, *Kumārasambhava*, *Meghadūta* and *Rtusamhāra*. But MSS. mention a larger number to his credit. Even reputed authors cite others. Cf. (1) a verse from "*Kuntasvaradantya* of Kālidāsa" in Kṣemendra (eleventh century). The same verse is ascribed to a poet named Kṛidāchandra in *Bhojaprabandha*, p. 22. (2) Kṣemendra mentions another verse from Kālidāsa in *Kavikarṇābharaṇa* (ed. Kāvya-mālā, p. 129) *raktas tvam*, etc., attributed by the anthology *Subhāṣitāvalī* to Yasovarman. (3) A study in astrology entitled *Jotirvidābharaṇa* (Bengal recension—Works of Kālidāsa). (4) The *Subhāṣitāvalī* (fifteenth century) Nos. 1674, 1678, cites two verses from the *Rtusamhāra* of Kālidāsa, VI, 16, 19. Nos. 1703, 1704 also cite two others (I. 13, 20) from the *Rtusamhāra*, but the author's name is omitted.

It is clear from the above that it is extremely difficult to decide what works attributed to Kālidāsa are genuine and what others are not. The only workable criterion would be to accept them as the master's unless there are strong objections to the contrary. In the case under discussion, a suggested Kālidāsa text in a Kashmir MS., there are no such objections. There are even points in its favour, viz. Kālidāsa's well-known familiarity with Kashmir and his abiding popularity there. The first is borne out by Raghu's conquest commencing from Kashmir (*Raghuvamśa*

¹ Z.D.M.G., Vol. LXVI, pp. 275—82.

² J.R.A.S., 1912, pp. 1066—72.

canto iv): The second is certified to by Vamana. Vāmana is quoted as an authority by Hemachandra (twelfth century) *Alaṅkāraśūdhāmaṇi* (Kavyamā p. 17), Vidyādharma (thirteenth-fourteenth century), *Ekāvalī* (Bomb. Sansk. Series p. 51) and Viśvanātha (fifteenth century) *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (Bibl. Indica, p. 6) among others. He was minister of Jayapīḍa, king of Kashmir¹ (c. 779—813 A.C.). This Kashmir tradition placing Vāmana in the eighth century has been accepted by Bühler.² According to Stein,³ Kashmir tradition about the date and authorship of works are on the whole reliable. In Kashmir alone, of all parts of India, an historical sense approximating the modern scientific method developed in the person of Kalhana; cf. his colophon.⁴ Kashmir would be an unlikely place for an unknown poem—no matter whether superior or inferior to be fathered on to Kālidāsa.

(a) Verification of References.—The manuscript volume besides the one attributed to Kālidāsa, contains seventy-five other hymns. They profess to be from well-known books
Internal evidence. (chapter and verse referred to) and by celebrated authors. In case of doubt

no author's name is mentioned. Most of the texts in the MS. have been carefully compared with the extant versions of those books and authors and found to be genuine. *Primā facie* this is in favour of the ascription to Kālidāsa being also correct. This supposition is further strengthened by the fact that the texts make a distinction, as already pointed, between works of which the authorship is certain and of others not so and of which no author is cited from imagination. Moreover, the texts are from books and authors of established repute.

The following will show the extent of the collection in time and scope.

No.	Subject.	Page of MS.
1.	Gāyatri from Rg-V.	2
2.	One thousand names of Bhavāni from Nandi-keśvara-saṁvāda.	105

¹ Rājatarāṅgiṇī, IV, 497. ² Bühler, Detailed Report of a tour in search of Skt. Mss. in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India. Bombay, 1877.

³ Stein, Rājatarāṅgiṇī, Introduction. ⁴ Ibid.

No.	Subject.	Page of MS.
3.	Maharājñi-Kavacham from Rudra-Yamala Tantra	112
4.	Vajra Pañjara-stotram	118
5.	Pañchastavi	132
6.	Saundarya-lahari by Saṅkarācārya	200
7.	Sarasvati-stavah by Kalidāsa	202-205
8.	Tripura-Sundari stotram	205-206
9.	Vitastā-stotram	210
10.	Gangāṣṭakam	210
11.	Skandapurāṇe Śitalā-stotram	218
12.	Kilaka-stotram	240
13.	Madhu-kaiṭabha-badha in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	255
14.	Mahiṣāsura-badha in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	270
15.	Śakra-di-stutih in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	288
16.	Dūta-Saṁvāda in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	296
17.	Dhumra-lochana-vadha in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	314
18.	Chandamunda-vadha in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	319
19.	Raktaviṣa-vadha in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	325
20.	Nisumbha-vadha in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	331
21.	Śumbha-vadha in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	336
22.	Nārayaṇi-stutih in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	343
23.	Halanki-stutih in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	349
24.	Suratha-Vaiśya-varapurāṇam	353
25.	Devī-sukta in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	369
26.	Devī-rahasyam in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	371
27.	Dhumrākṣi-stotram	375
28.	Kṛṣṇa-saṁvāda	406
29.	Surya-kavaca in Tantri-Devī-rahasya	414
30.	Indra-mantrah	432
31.	Mahimnah Stavah	454
32.	Laṅkeśvara-Dinakuñchana stotram	359
33.	Bhairava-stotram by Abhinava Gupta	361
34.	Vetāla-Bhairava-stotram	365
35.	Hanumat-kavacham	470
36.	Stava-Chintāmaṇi by Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa	489
37.	Lalita-svachohhandam	492
38.	Śiva-nirvāpapa-stotram	510
39.	Aparādha-munchanam by Saṅkarācārya	516
40.	Śiva-stotram	517
41.	Maheśvaraṣṭakam	522
42.	Līṅgaṣṭakam	525
43.	Prārthanā-stotram of Ravana	531

No.	Subject.	Page of MS.
44.	Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇam	533
45.	Adhyātma-Ramāyaṇa-Uttara-kāṇḍa Rāma-gītā ...	551
46.	Bhagavadgītā	565-581
47.	One thousand names of Viṣṇu in Padma-purāṇa...	683
48.	Mukunda-mālā	722
49.	Nārāyaṇopaniṣad in Atharva-veda	725
50.	Rāmāṣṭakam	726
51.	Bhāgavatam	729
52.	Govindāṣṭakam	731
53.	Devaki-nandanāṣṭakam	735
54.	Lakṣmī-suktam	743
55.	Bala-kṛṣṇāṣṭakam	744
56.	Kṛṣṇāṣṭakam	747
57.	S'ri-charanāra-vindā-ṣṭakam	748
58.	Viṣṇu-pūja	750
59.	Brāhmi-Vidyā	756
60.	Narakodddharaṇa-stotram	759
61.	Mahopaniṣad in Atharva-veda	763
62.	Aparsajita-Vidyā in Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa	866
63.	Ut-phala-deva-stotram	883
64.	Vairāgya-śatakam in Yoga-vāsiṣṭha	972
65.	Aṣṭavakra-saṁhitā	983
66.	Ātmabodhah by S'āṁkarācārya	1020
67.	Vairāgya-S'atakam by Bhartṛhari	1024
68.	S'uka-stutih in Bhāgavata	1028
69.	Govinda-bhajanam	1041
70.	Viṣṇu-pūjana-vidhih	1087
71.	Jaṭāyuh-stutih	1095
72.	S'uka-stutih	1121
73.	Prahlāda-stutih in Skanda XVII of Bhāgavata...	1122
74.	Tantric formulæ	1130
75.	S'āṁkara-stavah. End	

Specially noteworthy and verifiable are verses from the Purāṇas, the Bhagavadgītā, and those attributed to Sāṁkarācārya, Bhartṛhari and Bhattachārya. (*Stavachintāmaṇi* No. 36—Report XXXIII BP. 21, quoted by Ratnakāṇṭha on *Stutikūsumāñjali*, 2, 1 cf. Aufrecht, *Catal. Catalog.*, 1891, Pt. I p. 743 and extant versions of the same). As an instance of

the importance of the other texts, may be singled out the *Rudrayāmala-tantra* No. 3, noted as MS. in the Oxf. 88, Camb. 73 (fr.), L. 292, Bik. 601, Radh 28 (fr.) Burnell 205b, Oppert 6658, etc. and largely quoted in other Sanskrit works.

(b) Resemblance to Kālidāsa's known works.—The composition is undoubtedly of a very inferior quality. Only the last two verses show any merit. They are in the *upajāti* metre in which Kālidāsa excelled (cf. Raghu, canto ii.). Both the subject-matter and conventional expressions connected therewith have been so hard-worked *ad infinitum* as to leave no scope for any originality. The following however seem to remind one of Kālidāsa :

- (i) Text v. 9 l. 1.—*Netra-trayen-ānukaroti Rudrah*. Kumāra canto V, v. 69, l. 1. *Tri-netra rakṣaḥ sulabham*, etc.
- (ii) Text v. 5 l. 1.—*Manuja-mānauḥyo*. Raghu. cant. iv. 7, l. 1.—*Manu-prabhṛtibh r-mānyaḥ*, etc.
- (iii) Text v. 10, l. 2.—*Sarasvatī sā hṛdi sannidhatte*. Raghu canto iv, v. 6. *pari-kalpita-sāmnidhyā.....Sarasvatī*.

It must, however, be borne in mind that individual turns of expression and figures of speech like the above and many more could be picked up from other poets besides Kālidāsa and hence are not decisive. In all probability the text under discussion is a distorted and incomplete fragment of a bigger poem.

In these circumstances it is not expected that scholars will readily accept it as Kālidāsa's. But the importance of the text lies not in its artistic merit but its provenance and incidental suggestions. The object of the present note is to point out—(i) that Sanskrit is the only medium of the classical conception of cultural unity in India, (ii) that Kālidāsa is the ablest exponent of that unity, (iii) that every part of India has its own tradition about Kālidāsa's works and (iv) that the authenticity or otherwise of a composition traditionally attributed to Kālidāsa may not always be judged solely on the ground of literary merit.

III.—Recent Discoveries and the Sumerians.

By H. Bruce Hannah.

For some time past—perchance encouraged by the theorizings of Mr. H. R. Hall, admittedly based on little direct evidence—students of Indian antiquity have taken a more or less sustained and lively interest in the Sumerians—the one remotely ancient community with regard to whom specialists in antiquarian lore frankly acknowledge that they know hardly anything, but who undoubtedly possessed certain characteristics—e.g. their agglutinative type of language—which prevent us from regarding them as in any way akin to Gondwānaland, i.e. Dark Humanity. Vaguely—and, since the discoveries recently made in Sindh and the Punjab, less vaguely—an *idée fixe* has obsessed some Indianists that, both ethnically and culturally, there was once a *liaison* of some sort between Sumer and Ind; and, on that assumption, it has even been concluded that ancient Ind was the original home of the Sumerians. The possibility that (assuming anything in common, ethnically or culturally, between the two countries) it was Sumer which gave to Ind, not Ind to Sumer, is rejected, unhesitatingly, and with becoming disdain. Mr. H. R. Hall goes the length of countenancing these views to some extent—though he really commits himself to nothing. He speaks of the face-type of what he calls “the average Indian of to-day”—hurriedly transmuted into a remotely ancient “Dravidian ethnic type”, and that in turn into the “Southern Hindu of the Dekkan (who still speaks Dravidian languages)” —and he says that it is to this Indian type that “the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance, so far as we can judge from his monuments.” He pictures this Dravidian community dwelling, countless ages ago, in their Indian home (perhaps the Indus valley!) speaking

there their *agglutinative* language, inventing there their pictorial writing, and generally developing their culture. Eventually, they migrated west—Elām and the Elāmites being a throw-off by the way. True, the Elāmites were a hill-people, as their name indicates; and for this reason their language has been classed as “Ālārōdian,” which means “hill-race.” But otherwise it was quite different from Sūmerian, save that (like Sūmerian) it also was agglutinative, i.e. it was so originally, and so continued until the Kāssī adopted Āryan. Apparently, however, these little distinctions do not trouble Mr. Hall. Another upholder of Indian views in this connexion is the Director-General of Archæology in India, who, in a recent communication to the press on the subject of the Sindh and Punjāb discoveries above referred to, writes thus—

“Indians have always been justly proud of their age-old civilization, and, believing that this civilization was as ancient as any in Asia, they have long been hoping that archæology would discover definite monumental evidence to justify their belief. This hope has now been fulfilled.”

It is a curious statement—apparently venturesome. By many, indeed, it has been seized upon as confirming a belief they fondly cherish that somewhere in North-West India lay the original homeland of the *ethnos* that once “intruded” into Sūmer. The finds at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro are supposed to resemble certain objects of material culture unearthed many years ago in or near Sūmer; and, as these finds are allegedly assignable to c. B.C. 3000 and are said to show that at that time *some* denizens of Sindh and the Punjāb were living in well-built cities and were otherwise tolerably civilized, Sir John Marshall suggests a possibility that North-West India was the cradle of Sūmerian life, especially in view of the “intrusive” *ethnos* alluded to *supra*. True, Sir John’s subsequent remarks do seem to encourage this vision—but only as a *possibility*. What he really stresses is the now “justified” hope or belief that Indian civilization

(by the way, what is "Indian" civilization?) is "as old as any in Asia." This may be freely granted, understanding, of course, by "Asia", Asia of the Great Central Land-Zone, presently referred to, not as including the continental area, called "Angara," of the very much older Great Northern Land-Zone. Secondly, though some of the Sumerians may have been "intrusive" immigrants into Sumer, their place of origin remains questionable. Certainly, it was not necessarily India, whether Southern or North-West. Thirdly, possibly, and quite probably, the Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro finds are vestiges of DASYUAN CIVILIZATION. The Dasyus of those regions, in so-called Vedic times, admittedly dwelt in *puras*—a fact which doubtless implies a certain degree of civilization, at least superior to the civilization of the surrounding Niṣādas. This has long been known. And who were these Dasyus? The word, as applicable to Śapta-Sindhavaḥ times, is quite different from the word *Dāśas*—though later on (say from Kuru or Madhyā-deśa times) a tendency arose to confuse the two. Indeed, to-day some scholars use them indifferently. The Dasyus were diffused representatives, east of the Indus, of the far-flung and extremely ancient Dahyus of Airyo-Tūrān, or Central Asia—a multitudinous but barbarous folk who called themselves the Tokhs, or "People of the Snowy Ranges"—also known as the Kūśa Race, Kephēnians, or Kaffs, progenitors of the Kāssi of the Zagros, the Kushites of Africa, the Keftiū of Keft (perhaps the original Kappadokians?), the Tokhāri, Tokhārā, Tūshān, Kūshāns, etc. and lineal descendants of those *Fehr-kavo-Danghavo*, or "Wolf-Folk," who inhabited what the Babylonians called Nūm-Mā, and the Hittites called Si-Nim (Wolf-Lands)—the wilderness-country which, in remotely ancient days, stretched vaguely from say Zagros eastwards as far say as Lob Nor. Thus, though powerful and civilized, the Dasyus of North-West India in "Vedic times" were barbarous, i.e. innately evil-minded, bad at heart. As their Dahyuan ancestors were so ancient, there is nothing inherently improbable in the statement that, as early as c. B.C. 3000, the Dasyus of North-West India were

a powerful ethnos, living in cities, and otherwise considerably civilized. Furthermore, there is reason to believe that their civilization in these days and that of their Sumerian contemporaries, had much in common. Beyond this possibility—for its possibility is equally tenable with that announced by Sir John Marshall—the Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro finds prove nothing. All they confirm is what Sir John Marshall has mentioned—the belief of Indians that their civilization is “as old as any in Asia.” And, in this connexion, be it remembered that, in respect of antiquity, no civilization in the Great Central Zone, not even the very oldest, can for a moment compare with civilization (whatever it was) as archaically developed in the Great Northern Land-Zone, say amongst the Yellows, or Xanthochroi, of Angara. Eventually, under the assumed name of the “Kūōs”, these Dasyus adopted the language of the neighbouring Airayānians; but, before that, their speech must have been agglutinative.

What do we really know, or think we know, about Sumer and the Sumerians? Sumer, Shūmir, Shūngir (originally *Kiengi*), was the more southerly of two distinct and very different regions which together comprised the country sometimes called Babylonia, lying south say of modern Bāghdād, and between the lower courses of the Euphrates and the Tigris. The more northerly of these two regions was Agadé, or Akkad (Āghā Deh, or Ākhā Deh), meaning “Highland country.” Originally it was called *Kiūri*, a name which had the same signification. Presumably, therefore, Sumer was more distinctively the “Lowland” country. North of Akkad, between the two rivers, was Arām—originally, perhaps, A-i-rām, or even A-i-lām (cf. Elām, or E-i-lām), also, like Elām, meaning “Upland”, and apparently cognate with Airyām, or Airyān; and, still farther north, were, on the east, Assyria, and, on the west, mysterious Mitanni. Originally (in the days when Akkad was known as Kiūri, i.e. long before the founding of Babylon), its inhabitants were a homogeneous ethnos—Melanoleukochroi, or Dark-Whites (yet in no sense Blonds),

aboriginal denizens of the Great Central Land-Zone. The Romiū of Khem called them Aamū ("Moon-worshippers?"). In Sumer the Dark-White autochthons must also have been of the same stock. To this day specialists and conventional writers (who even include Amorites under the name) persistently speak of these Mesopotamian and other local aborigines as "Semites." *They were not Semites at all*—at least, not till Islamic race-movements, starting in Arabia, began—save that the ETEO-SEMITES were a species, in Western Arabia, of the wider generic Central Zone race, which even embraced "Mediterranean Man," including the Romiū of Khem. A time ~~never~~ came—it could only have been after the formation ~~as—a~~ Great Central Land-Zone; but otherwise at what epoch ~~who now can say?~~—when a very different race-stock entered an appearance locally, but whether as conquerors, or peaceably, nobody knows. There can be little doubt that they were Yellows, autochthons of the adjacent Great Northern Land-Zone, but, at that comparatively recent epoch, probably not hailing direct from Angara. As we shall see presently, this Great Northern Land-Zone was a much older geological formation than the Great Central Land-Zone—which seems to explain the known fact that the newcomers brought with them an already highly developed civilization, probably (if they were Yellows) much older than that of the local Dark-White aborigines. In course of time these two race-stocks—the autochthonous Aamū and the Yellows dwelling amongst them—amalgamated. Their civilizations also blended. Results—the ethnos known as the "SUMERIANS," and what is commonly styled "SUMERIAN CIVILIZATION." Naturally, these were quite different from the ethnos and civilization in neighbouring Akkad.

Now let us plunge in imagination very far back into the past. Geology tells us that, in times as remote say as the Permian Era, there were only two main land-masses in existence—one stretching transversely, though not continuously, right round the earth—the Great Northern Land-Zone, which filled up the Northern Hemisphere, and was the area of charac-

terization of the Xanthochroi, or Yellows, above referred to—more especially in that heart-shaped part of it (roughly the eastern half of Siberia) which has been called “Angara”. Practically, Angara was shut off from the rest of the zone by an arm of the Arctic Sea, which, stretching between the 40th and 80th parallels of longitude East of Greenwich, extended southwards as far as the Caspian, which, indeed, is believed to be nothing more or less than a surviving remnant of it. Moreover, it must be remembered that, during each of the Glacial Periods of the Great Ice Age—and in particular during the last Glacial Period of the Pleistocene Era—the northern regions of all that part of the zone which lay west of the Arctic gulf just mentioned were covered with ice, and were absolutely uninhabitable. The greater part of Angara—all except a comparatively small area in the extreme north—was never glaciated at all. Hence, there alone, throughout the North, was human life (i.e. Yellow human life) possible. Yellow man evolved in Angara. Moreover, only in the neighbourhood of the Caspian and the Axine was there, then and for ages afterwards, any land-communication which could possibly be used, between Angara and what then represented Europe. And it was a comparatively narrow belt too. This will be reverted to presently in a very important connexion. The other main land-mass practically filled up the Southern Hemisphere. Eminent geologists have named it “Gondwanaland.” It was a vast atoll-like formation, with a huge central ocean. In the South it was rooted in Antarctica; and in the North effected a junction with the Great Northern Land-Zone at one point only, i.e. in the vicinity of what are now known as Spain and the western basin of the Mediterranean. As regards the upper half of this enormous land-ring, in the north (centrally) lay what afterwards developed into Africa; the western shoulder was represented by present-day South America; and the eastern shoulder took in what is now Australia. Later India, and much lying north of it, also belonged integrally to the “African” region. In those days there was no Great

Central Land-Zone—only the gigantic discontinuous land-mass in the Northern Hemisphere, and, in the Southern Hemisphere, Gondwānaland—area of characterization of the Melanochroi, or Blacks. Between these two main land-zones was a mighty world of waters, to which specialists have given the name of “Tēthys”. That is to say, east and west, Tēthys extended from Australasia and the Pacific to somewhere about Sicily. Farther west, in what is now the Atlantic area, but very much less in size than the present Atlantic, was a lake-like sea, with a narrow outlet, at its south-west end, into the Pacific, i.e. in the region of what is now Panama—so separating Gondwānaland (there South America) from that western portion of the Great Northern Land-zone which geologists have called “Ernia” (North America, Greenland, etc.)

How many millions of years this general conformation and distribution of land and water lasted, it is quite impossible to say. But this we know from the testimony of Geology, that at length—with the advent of the Jurassic Age—Gondwānaland began to break up. Its original atoll-like formation was succeeded by a number of isolated and weirdly-shaped fragments, all of which gradually underwent further transformation. As an accompaniment to this tremendous and prolonged drama of disintegration, the released waters of the central Gondwānaland ocean surged up northwards, and the result was that Tēthys became greatly augmented. How long this sort of thing continued, nobody of course can tell; but even Geological Time has its limits. At last came a stage when Tēthys and its associated waters began to dry up and to shrink; and gradually, in the course of ages, as the process went on, *another Land-Zone stole into being*—the Great Central Land-Zone, midway between the Great Northern and the Great Southern Land-Zones! It was in connexion with this mighty epiphany that India first began to acquire territorial individuality; and, strange to say, it eventually evolved, not only in communicational relation with the new zone, but also as an integral part of the Great Northern Zone. Thus

its fauna, flora, and humanity transferred their age-long associations from Gondwānaland to the North! Meanwhile, changes had taken place everywhere; but the most striking of all, in their result, were those which had been going on in the Southern Hemisphere. There, the land-zone consisted, no longer of atoll-like Gondwānaland, but of the several isolated and more or less enormous continental fragments into which the original formation had broken up—eventually represented by Australia, Africa, South America and India, as we know them to-day. From start to finish, the mighty and dramatic transformations that occurred in all three land-zones constitute an inconceivably long, and almost untraceably complicated, story. In the opening chapter of Vol. I of *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 1923, Professor J. L. Myres tries to tell us what happened. Accompanying his text, there is a map, giving, for each of the successive Geological Ages — from the Jurassic to the Pliocene, both inclusive — a rough picture of what the land and water areas of the Earth probably looked like from time to time.

Such, then—so far as can be judged—was remote antiquity; such the setting of the mighty prehistoric stage on which the various races of evolving man have played: their several parts. What can we make of it? Amongst those various races can we identify the Sūmerians? Can we form any intelligible theory regarding the region where they probably originated? Assuming that they left that domicile of origin, can we form any reasonable hypothesis as to their subsequent movements? Finding them eventually in Sūmer, and under certain well-known conditions of existence, can we satisfactorily explain their presence there, accounting, at the same time, for the conditions referred to? Lastly, is there any reason for supposing that, originally Gondwānaland India — whether Southern or North-Western India — was the cradle of their existence as an ethnos?

We have seen that eventually — say in the Pleistocene Age when man first makes his appearance on Earth—there were three main land-zones — the Great Northern, area of characterization

of Yellow Man; the Great Southern, area of characterization of Black Man; and, lastly, the Great Central, area of characterization of a new type of Man—the Dark-Whites. By this is not meant Blond Man, much less Rosy-Blond Man. How, when, or where these last originated, is still an unsolved riddle; but the tendency of such opinion as assumes to be competent is to regard them as mere varieties of Dark-White Man. Now, it cannot be doubted that, long before migrations set in, one of the earliest prominent stages in human progress must have been race-amalgamations taking place wherever (along overlapping or contiguous zonal frontiers) the Yellows of the Great Northern Land-Zone came into contact with the Dark-Whites of the Great Central Land-Zone, or wherever either of these came into contact with the Blacks of the Great Southern Land-Zone.

With these last-mentioned amalgamations we are not at present concerned. But it is very necessary to ascertain all we can about, or to form some intelligible idea of, the first-mentioned amalgamations. We have seen that, for countless millenniums, not only was evolving Northern, i.e. Yellow, humanity practically confined to Angara, but Dark. White humanity did not even exist. Even before the Great Central Land-Zone was formed, and Dark-White humanity at last appeared upon it as its aboriginal denizens, the only region in which it was possible for Yellow humanity to come into contact with other types of mankind was the narrow belt of land referred to *supra* as affording a means of communication between Angara and the territories west of it, now known as Europe, i.e. the region between and in the vicinity of the Caspian and the Axine. After, however, the Central Land-Zone *had* come into being, one of the resulting countries which gradually evolved along that new line of land formation must have been the Nūm. Mā, or Si-Nim, referred to presently in connexion with the origin of the primitively barbarous Wolf-Race—progenitors of the various branches of the Kūsa Race of antiquity. Furthermore, any such race-amalgamation presumably occurred

after, or towards the close of, rather than in times preceding, the last Pleistocene Glacial Period. Apparently, therefore, it starts to reason that, in those unimaginably ancient days (as to which our views are necessarily more or less conjectural, and our statements, though as far as possible based on evidence and an intelligent interpretation thereof, are necessarily more or less indefinite, approximate, and arbitrary), neither Yellows nor Dark-Whites—but in particular the latter—could have been very highly developed evolutionally. *Involutionally*, they may have progressed far—even the Yellows, who seem to have been considerably advanced, at least from a worldly and temporal point of view. For, on involutional lines, *which all humanity has to traverse*, e.g. in respect of efficient control of the resources of civilization—intellectual as well as material—Barbarism sometimes excels even the highest type of Culture. But in other and more spiritual respects, both *ethnoi* were doubtless somewhat barbarous, especially the Dark-Whites, who were the younger evolution. Hence, the product of the amalgamation, thus effected somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, must have been a specially barbarous brood. In fact, it is submitted that here we have nothing more or less than the origin of that eventually multitudinous and far-flung race—the Barbarians *par excellence* of antiquity—who, under the name of the Vehr-kavo-Danghavo (probably given to them by the early Aryanians of Airyavo-Vaējo), are known to have been the autochthonous denizens of what the Babylonians called NUM-MA and the Hittites called SI-NIM, both signifying “Wolf-Lands”—the vast wilderness country stretching vaguely eastward of Zagros as far say as Lob Nor in Chinese Tūrkestan. Of that same stock came the later Kāssī, the Kushites of Ethiopia in Africa, the Keftiu of Keft (perhaps the same as, or akin to, Kappadokia?), the biblical “Nimrod” (Wolf-Race) who contributed basically to the ethnic of Assyria, the Kaldā of Nebuchadnezzar’s day, the Kephēnian Dahyūs of early Persia (afterwards known as the Dahae and Daai), the Tokhāri and Tokhārā of post-Alexandrian Central Asia, the Tūshārā and

Kūshāns of Indian history (usually called "Scythians" by conventional writers, thus confounding them with the genuine *Skūths*, or *Sāghs*, of the same age, who were by no means barbarous) etc., etc. In this connexion the origin of another ethnos, whose ethnic identity is still surrounded by much mystery for conventional scholarship (i.e. the Khatti, Kheta, or Hittites), may be suggested. It is recognized that they were not a pure stock; but it is suspected that, though civilized after a fashion, and efficient, they were yet, to some extent, tainted with barbarism. It must be remembered that the original inhabitants of early Arām were Dark-Whites, or Aamū, i.e. local representatives of the autochthonous denizens of the Great Central Land-Zone. Can we not imagine some crisis arising in the distant past, when vast multitudes of the Wolf-Race stock—say wave after wave of Kāssī from neighbouring Zagros—penetrated or poured into Arām, either peaceably or more probably as conquerors, and occupied it for a prolonged period, during which there ensued an amalgamation of the two stocks, so eventually producing a new race-type—the so-called Hittites? But what about that other ethnos who are more particularly the subject of this paper the Sūmerians? It is known that they were very highly civilized. So far as I am aware, it has never been charged against them that they were in any way barbarous. As a people their *ethnos* most assuredly ranked higher than that of the Wolf-Race proper, who were out-and-out barbarians; higher, no doubt, than that of the Kāssī, who were apparently little better; nay, probably higher even than that of the Hittites, with regard to whose status in this connexion our information is at least inadequate. It follows, therefore, that the arrival in Sūmer of the "intruding" race who amalgamated there with the Dark-White aborigines, and who, as we have seen, were probably Yellows, occurred at a comparatively recent epoch; i.e. the amalgamation known to have been effected in the distant past south of Akkad must have occurred subsequently to the formation of the original Wolf-Race, subsequently to the formation of the Kāssī stock, subsequently even to the formation of the

Hittite ethnos. Even so, however, it was obviously a very remotely ancient happening. As regards the question whether the then "intruding" ethnos were or were not Yellows, the affirmative is supported, not only by the fact already noticed that, even after the amalgamation, the language of the country (i.e. "Sūmerian") was of the agglutinative type, but also by the fact of the exceedingly developed character of "Sūmerian civilization"—which, in the circumstances, can best be accounted for by supposing one of the amalgamating ethnai to have been extremely ancient as a race. One of the two was unquestionably the aboriginal Dark-Whites, or Aamū. Of what stock was the other? Could it have been Black, i.e. Southern Hemisphere, stock! No doubt that stock was just as ancient as Yellow humanity. In this matter, however, Black humanity—whether as associated with the Southern Hemisphere itself, or as coming thence indirectly, e.g. as from India—may be unhesitatingly ruled out, especially in view of the fact that the Great Northern Land-Zone was next door, one might almost say contiguous, to Sūmer. The Great Southern Land-Zone—even India, which had once belonged to it—was too far off to merit consideration. Again, no race belonging autochthonously to the Great Central Land-Zone could, in respect of antiquity, for a moment compare with one belonging either to the Great Northern Land-Zone or to the Great Southern Land-Zone. Thus, of the two races involved in this Sūmerian amalgamation, the older could not possibly have been the aboriginal Dark-Whites. It was certainly not a Black ethnos. The presumption, therefore, is that it was of Yellow (i.e. originally Angara) stock.

The foregoing considerations make it fairly clear that India—whether ancient Southern India, or Śapta-Sindhavāḥ in the North-West—sustained no rôle whatever in the formation of Sūmer, and could never have been the cradle of Sūmerian origins, ethnic or cultural. In view of the Wolf-Race descent of the Śapta-Sindhavāḥ Dasyus, through their congeners the Dahyūs, or Tokhs, of ancient Airyo-Tūrān, all that can be said is—what has already been said that old Sūmerian civilization and Dasyu in

civilization (say in B.O. 3000) possibly had much in common. Hence, in connexion with the finds at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, and those made long ago in Western Asia, the "resemblances" recently alluded to by Sir John Marshall, Professor A. H. Sayce, and others.

II

In his recent communication to the press Sir John Marshall speaks of a long-standing hope cherished by Indians that some day excavation will support their *idée fixe* that India was the original homeland of the Sumerian. This hope, he says, has now been justified. That belief of theirs is at least a possibility; for the finds at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro "have established once for all the existence on Indian soil in the third millennium B.C. of a civilization as highly developed and seemingly as widespread as the Sumerian culture of Mesopotamia, *with conclusive evidence of a close contact between the two.*" The italics are mine. Hence, if the Sumerians were an intrusive element in Mesopotamia, then "the possibility is clearly suggested of India proving ultimately to be the cradle of their civilization." Yes, provided the "contact" referred to *supra* is a fact. But is it? If the objects of material culture represented by these Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro finds resemble anything in ancient Western Asia, it is some of the various objects of material culture discovered by M. Jacques de Morgan in 1898. According to J. L. Myres, Morgan then found a great mass of remains and documents representing all the chief periods of Babylonian history. But below these were two distinct strata of neolithic settlements; the earlier of which represents the apparently "sudden rise or arrival of an original and vigorous art and civilization; while the later shows the same art perpetuated after some crisis which seems to have cost them their vitality, and left them spiritless and decadent." Obviously some appalling inroad by a neighbouring barbarous enemy—who remained in the land, but apparently could not quite assimilate the civilization they had destroyed! This inroad is represented

by a layer of cinders. Vestiges of a similar inferior civilization have also been found at Anau and elsewhere in the vicinity—clearly pointing to the existence of some barbarous ethnos such as the old Wolf-Race of Nūm-Mā, or Si-Nim, or their lineal descendants the Kāssī of Elām and the Zagros region. Now, these discoveries were made by M. de Morgan *not in Sūmer at all, but at Sūsa (old Ārsān), the capital of Elām!* If, therefore, at Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro, evidence has been found of “contact” between any ethnoi east and west, it is certainly not a contact between Indians and Sūmerians, but between Indians and some ethnos once inhabiting Sūsa. Indeed, it is quite possible that the Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro finds represent vestiges of Dasyuan civilization. The Dasyus of early North-West India were the diffused representatives, east of the Indus, of an exceedingly ancient, probably civilized but barbarous and far-flung race in old Airyo-Tūrān, known to the Airyanians of Airyavo-Vaejo as the Dahyūs, or Tekhs (“People of the Snowy Ranges”)—the very same stock as those responsible for the savage inroad traces of which were found by de Morgan at Sūsa in 1898. The Wolf-Race of Nūm-Mā were the product of an early amalgamation between Yellows from the Great Northern Land-Zone and Dark-White aborigines of the Great Central Land-Zone, after the formation of the latter. Its remoteness—when humanity was very rudimentary, evolutionally—accounts for the fact that this ethnic product was barbarous. At a much later date—when humanity was probably very highly developed, evolutionally—Yellows from the North were in Mesopotamia, and again amalgamated with its Dark-White aborigines (*not* “Semites”, as specialists persistently assert, but Melanoleukoderms). The product of the amalgamation was the ethnos called vaguely the “Sūmerians.” In view of these descents, it is not surprising that “Sūmerian” civilization and Elamitic civilization (so far as it was Kāssitic) were very like each other. Nor is it surprising that the Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro finds should, as is alleged, resemble so-called “Sūmerian” civilization. This would be so, assuming that

these finds, as I submit, represent vestiges of ancient Dasyuan civilization.

In a letter to the *Statesman*, dated the 26th November 1924, Professor Sudhansu Mohan Banerji, M.A., B.L., states as follows :—

“ There is a consensus of opinion nowadays that before the advent of the Aryans in the Punjab, India was not the home of the primitive uncivilized non-Aryan *Dasyus*, but had a flourishing civilization, Dravidian in origin The culture of India is pre-Aryan in origin. Perhaps the Aryan Indian owed his civilization to a certain extent to the non-Aryan Dravidians.”

Surely it is very misleading to speak thus at large of “India” ? We are dealing with specific parts of it ! Moreover, in view of the sensation created by recent discoveries in Sindh and the Punjab, and by the comments of Sir John Marshall and others thereon, this may or may not indicate a sort of half-hearted desire on the part of some minds to desert the Old Love (the Aryan hypothesis) in favour of a New Love. In any case, it all goes by the board when we remember the possibility—indeed, the probability—that, ages before the advent of the Pañcha Janāḥ from somewhere in the West (perchance c. B.C. 3000 or 4000), the Dahyūs of remotely ancient Airyo-Tūrān had entered India in force (probably crossing the Indus like the Pañcha-Janāḥ), and, after perhaps throwing off the Brāhuis and the Dasyus of the North-West by the way, had poured down the western coast-lands till they arrived in the extreme South. There, they found aborigines of old Lemurian stock (Ptolemy’s Limyrikiāns), and, amalgamating with them, formed the people of Tamilakam—the so-called “Dravidians”. So that there is the possibility of a partially Dasyuan origin. As a matter of fact, though the Dasyus came of a barbarous stock (*as, indeed, all humanity does !*), they must have been a very highly civilized ethnos—as witness that once famous centre of Dasyuan life and learning, the University city of Taxila (*Takṣha-sīla*), which, I submit, means, not the “City of Cut-Stone,” but the “City of the Tokhs” !

In connexion with "Sūmerian" origins, the following presuppositions relating to geological and other developments in remote antiquity will probably be found useful, if not necessary. The Permian Era was the Gondwānaland age. Possibly Gondwānaland began to break up in the Jurassic Era; but for the present we need not go back so far. I start with the Eocene Era.

EOCENE.—Tēthys extended east and west. No Great Central Land-Zone yet in existence. Only the discontinuous Great Northern Land-Zone, and the continental fragments into which Gondwānaland had broken up—now representing the Great Southern Land-Zone, where the biological forms from which Black Man eventually developed were flourishing. In the North the biological forms whence Yellow Man eventually developed were flourishing only in heart-shaped Angara (roughly eastern Siberia), which, for the most part, was cut off from the rest of the Zone by the Arctic Gulf (Ural geosyncline) between 40° and 80° E. No Mesopotamia at all. A world of waters instead. Western Arabia existed only as part of North-East Africa. No India.

OLIGOCENE.—Tēthys begins to dry up and shrink, and patches of land to appear along the line of the eventual Great Central Land-Zone. Yellow Man perhaps begins to exist in Angara. Most of the medial regions still water. Slight land-communication between Southern Angara and western parts of Zone possible. Arabia still part of the African block. No India.

MIOCENE.—More land appears along the eventual line of the Great Central Land-Zone. Arabia separates from Africa, but southern end still closed, as Red Sea had only formed as an arm from the north. Mesopotamia perhaps forming, and land-communication between Angara and the west freer; but most of these Central regions watery and insular. Still no India at first, though it was gradually forming with the disintegration of Lemuria.

PLIOCENE.—The Great Central Zone practically complete. Mesopotamia formed. Also Arabia. Also India. Vast "Caspian" area still in existence. Land-communication between Southern Angara and "Europe" quite free.

PLEISTOCENE.—During last Glacial period northern parts of the Zone west of the Arctic Gulf under ice-cap; but land-communication easy between Angara and "Europe" south of the Ice-cap, including Mesopotamia. There were now three main Land-Zones—

- (1) GREAT NORTHERN, touching the South at and near Spain, and, in the far East, extending southwards in Malaysia.
- (2) GREAT CENTRAL, area of characterization of a new type of man, i.e. Dark-White man—once called the "Aamu" race.
- (3) GREAT SOUTHERN, i.e. South America, Africa, and Australasia.

Ethnic amalgamations, along meeting zonal margins, now begin—

- (a) Between Yellow Man and Black Man in Malaysia.
- (b) Between Yellow Man and Dark-White Man near Caspian, thus giving birth to the Wolf-Race of Nūm-Mā, or Si-Nim—the wilderness country extending vaguely eastwards from Zagros to Chinese Tūrkeštān.
- (c) Between Kāssī of Zagros and Elām and Dark-White aborigines (Aamu?) of Arām, thus giving birth to the Hittites.
- (d) Between Yellows and Dark-Whites (Aamu?) of Mesopotamia at a comparatively recent stage of human development, thus giving birth to the "Sūmerians."
- (e) Between Blacks and Dark-Whites, notably in Africa and Arabia.

III

In this connexion it may be useful to note the views of Professor G. Elliot Smith. In his recent book on *The Ancient Egyptians*, after accepting Eduard Meyer's chronology,

which estimates B.C. 3400 + x as the approximate epoch of the beginnings of Dynastic history in Egypt, he states that the blendings of so-called "Semitic" and Sumerian cultures in Babylonia took place long after this epoch. He holds that the germs of Elamite and Sumerian civilization were planted in their respective domains by people equipped with the arts and customs of Egypt who had previously been exploiting Southern Arabia and Eastern Africa for resins, incense, etc. That these civilizers came by sea is suggested, he says, "not merely by Sumerian tradition, but also by the two facts (a) that the civilization of Mesopotamia originated in the extreme south on the shores of the Persian Gulf and (b) because the ram-or goat-headed Sumerian god Enki—the homologue of the deity Khnum particularly associated in Egypt with Elephantine—acquired a fish body and tail in Sumer, for the reason that he is reputed to have come out of the waters of the Persian Gulf". This, of course, must be set against the Indian argument that the Oānnés story supports the theory of a possible Sumerian origin from India. Professor Elliot Smith is strongly of opinion that the peoples in ancient Mesopotamia, commonly called "Semites" and alleged to have originated from Arabia, were not "Semites" at all. In this, of course, he is quite right. They were Dark-Whites, i.e. local Aamu aborigines of the Great Central Land-Zone. Professor Elliot Smith, however, calls them Armenoids, because they were vanquished by "Syrians (Amorites)"—"these Armenoids of Northern Syria" who pushed their way into Mesopotamia later. As a matter of fact, the Amorites were neither Semites nor Armenoids. Originally they were a ruddy-blond folk hailing from Old Mediterranean regions. Subsequently, no doubt (through contact with the Hittites), they got an "Armenoid" overlay. Indeed (through Hittites and Kassites), *all* aboriginal Western Asia did—but that is all. The fact that these northern peoples of Western Asia acquired what is commonly called "the Semitic speech," because of its undoubted affinities with Arabic, Hebrew, etc., seems to puzzle Professor E. Smith. He even

says it is not known how it came to pass. But it is known. It is very simple. Like these northern peoples, the inhabitants of Western Arabia (the real homeland of the Semites) were genuine autochthons of the Great Central Land-Zone. But in each local area the ethnos was only the *species* of a more widely diffused *genus*. Hence, within certain limits of longitude, each country, north or south, spoke its own "dialect", as it were, of a language that in many respects was common to all. This common language happens to have acquired the convenient but arbitrary name of "Semitic." In Akkad the inhabitants—the "black-headed ones" of the Tablets—were originally Dark-Whites, or Aamū (Moonworshippers?). Southwards, in adjoining Sumer, the situation was somewhat different. There, the population was of two sorts: (a) Original Dark-Whites, like those in early Akkad, and (b) another stock (probably Yellows), to whom the name "Sumerians" more particularly applies. In this connexion, however, Professor E. Smith seems to hold peculiar views. He appears to regard the Sumerians as *one homogeneous community*, and, as such, representatives of what he calls the "Brown race"—my Dark-Whites. As a matter of fact, the population in Sumer was, as I have said, twofold—one portion Dark-Whites¹ (Professor E. Smith's "Brown race") and the other portion probably Yellows of the North. These last, whose language was agglutinative, were the Sumerians proper. The general position seems to have been this. Western Asia, in remote antiquity, was the meeting-place of two distinct land-zones—(1) the unimaginably ancient Great Northern Zone (home of the Yellows, especially in Angara) and (2) the less ancient Great Central Zone (home of the Dark-Whites, or Aamū—Professor E. Smith's "Brown race"). All, in course of time, got an "Armenoid" (Kassite and Hittite) overlay. The Yellow element in Sumer at first had their own Northern civilization—incalculably old. This apparently blended with the civilization of the Dark-White aborigines. Later

¹ NOTE.—From these came the 'Ibr-Aamū, or 'Abr-Aamu, i.e. the Abramites, eventually known as the Hebrews.

according to Professor E. Smith—i.e. after say B.C. 3400—Egyptian civilization came in from the South, by sea (the Oannēs tradition); and, still later, entering by the North, from the Amorite West, there was the “Armenoid” overlay from Syria. Yet another hypothesis may be mentioned—my own idea that Mitanni (not Amora) was the source from which, in the remote past, the Dark-White aborigines of Akkad received their higher culture. In those days Mitanni was supreme. She represented an ethnical and cultural immigration from the Old Mediterranean West. This had blended with the local aborigines and culture of the Great Northern Land Zone. Hence, the Mitannians who civilized Akkad were a fair but mixed race—semi-Rosy-blond, and semi-Yellow. *All* these views, therefore, have to be set against each other and considered. Indians, of course, are quite entitled to advocate their theory of a possibly Indian origin for the Sūmerians. Certainly the Dark-Whites, in a modified form, extended as far as India. But the Dark-Whites of “Sūmer” are only half the “Sūmerian” problem. There were also the Yellows, with their agglutinative language. Can we imagine an agglutinative language coming from India, except from the Dasyus? Further, we must not forget that the Indian theory envisages only a possibility, and that, in any case, it is but one of several theories. Which of them all is the most probable? Which best accounts for all the facts, i.e. such few facts as we are sure of? Perhaps some further lucky “find” will clear up the position. At present, Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro notwithstanding, it is undoubtedly very nebulous, yet fascinatingly so.

IV.—Totemism and Religion.

By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

The comparatively primitive conception of an intimate relation between a group of kindred people on the one hand and a class of animals or natural (and sometimes artificial) objects on the other, and the customs and practices arising out of such conception, forms one of the most interesting phenomena of "primitive" culture. As to the nature and origin of that conception various theories have been advanced and no unanimity has yet been arrived at by anthropologists.

We have first the "guardian-spirit" theory started in the seventeenth century by the Jesuit missionaries in North America and revived at the present day by Dr. Franz Boas, Mr. Hill-Tout, Miss Alice Fletcher and others; we have next the "nick-name" theory of Herbert Spencer who would derive totemism from the primitive custom of naming children after animals or natural objects from some accidental circumstances or fancied resemblances and later misinterpreting these metaphorical names as having their origin in facts and paying to these supposed animal or other ancestors reverence due to real ancestors; and the analogous "sobriquet" theory of Andrew Lang and "heraldic badge" theory of Keane; we have then the "transmigration" theory of Wilken and Tyler who regard the totem as the bridge over the gap between a clan of men and a species of animals so that they "become united in kinship and mutual alliance"; then there is the "economic" theory of Dr. Haddon who holds that totems were originally the animals or plants on which the local groups of people chiefly subsisted and after which they were named by their neighbours; and, finally, the "conceptional" theory of Sir James Frazer, superseding both his first theory (namely, the "external soul" theory according to which totemism

originated in the doctrine of external soul or the supposed possibility of depositing the souls of living people for safety in external objects such as animals or plants which the human clan would accordingly refrain from killing, eating or injuring) and his second theory, (according to which totemism originated in a system of "magic" designed to supply a community with the necessities of life—especially with food and drink) according to which (third theory) totemism originated in a primitive explanation of the mysteries of conception and childbirth of which the true causes were unknown and a child was believed to enter into a woman from something outside her at the moment when she first felt it stirring in her womb.

The object of the present paper is not to seek to trace the origin of the first application of names of animals or plants or other objects to human groups or clans, but to set forth a few data relating to totemism which came under my observation and which might throw some light on the development of totemism as an institution, and perhaps on the inner nexus, if any, of the totemic complex appearing in varying forms in different parts of the world.

I shall first state my facts and then proceed to discuss their logical implications. And I shall begin with totemic custom and belief among one of the most primitive tribes of Chōṭā Nāgpur, known as the Birhōrs or "Jungle-men"¹. They roam about from forest to forest and hill to hill in small bands called ṭaṇḍas of about five or six families, living on monkeys and other game, wild berries and tubers and by the manufacture of ropes and strings out of jungle fibres which they exchange with plains-people for grains. The different ṭaṇḍas or Birhōr camps scattered in different parts of Chōṭā Nāgpur hang loosely together as a tribe, the only bond between them consisting in the tradition of a common origin

¹ Since this article was sent for publication the author has brought out a monograph on the "Birhōrs", which may be consulted for a detailed account of Birhōr totemism.

and the possession of a common tribal name, common language, common occupation, and, more or less common customs and institutions. The tribe is divided into a number of exagamous totemic clans or "gotras" (I have come across over 40 of them) mostly named after some animal, plant, fruit, flower or other natural or sometimes artificial object. Eating, killing or destroying one's clan totem is regarded by the Birhōr as equivalent to killing a human member of the clan, and the reason assigned by the Birhōr for abstaining from, or preventing others from, killing or destroying his totem is very significant. This is that in the event of any diminution in the number of the totem animal, plant, or other object, the clan too will suffer a corresponding diminution, and conversely the clan will multiply in proportion as the totem species or class multiplies. Thus it will be seen that the life of the clan is believed to be bound up with that of his totem, the same life-stuff or vital force animating both the human clan and the totem class.

The next point about Birhōr totemic belief that demands attention is that although the Birhōrs do not believe in the actual descent of a clan from its totem, they appear to find, as some other tribes do, some resemblance in the temperament or the physical appearance of the members of a clan to that of their totem animal or plant. Thus, it is said, that Birhōrs of the Gidhi or vulture clan have, like the Gidhi, little hair on the crown of the head; those of the Lupung clan are generally short but plump like the *lupung* (myrobalan) fruit; those of the Ludamba clan are short and lean like the *ludamba* flower; people of the Geroa clan, it is said, resemble their totem bird in the absence of nails on their toes and the premature decay of their teeth; people of the Murum clan are said to be of medium height and irascible in temperament, like the Murum stag, and so forth. Such are a few indications of a belief in the identity of a human clan with its totem animal, or bird, or plant, or fruit or other object. So far there is hardly any difficulty; for the recognition of the vital identity, or at any rate

intimate union, of the human clan with their totem class has been observed by investigators among other totemic tribes in different parts of the world. I shall now proceed to a more difficult task and seek to show that this supposed resemblance or identity does not end here—it is not merely confined to the physical constitution and temperament of the human clan and their totem but extends to their spiritual substance or soul-stuff. Some totemic rites and customs which I have observed among the Birhōrs and among a few other Chōṭā Nāgpur tribes appear to me to indicate this belief in the spiritual identity of the human clan or totemic society and their clan-totem as well as their clan-god. The ceremonies observed at the clan sacrifices of this tribe first suggested the idea to my mind. It appeared to me that the human clan and their totem class were not only conceived by the tribal mind to be animated by the same life-force or vital energy, but that the clan, its totem and the clan-god were all similarly regarded as sharing in the same soul-force or spiritual energy.

The principal clan sacrifice of the Birhōrs is known as the *Buru-bonga* puja or sacrifices to the Hill-god (which is the same as their clan-god), the main features of which are briefly as follows :—

Once a year at every Birhōr encampment or settlement the men of each clan assemble on some open space outside their group of leaf-huts to offer sacrifices to their clan-god which is the presiding spirit of the hill reputed to be the original home or cradle of the clan, and generally identified with the hill itself. This clan-spirit is significantly called “Oṛā-bōngā” or “home-god” by the migratory (*Uṭhlu*) Birhōrs and “*Buru-bonga*” or “mountain-god” by the comparatively settled (*Jāghī*) Birhōrs. At these clan sacrifices, in which members of other clans may not take part, the eldest member of the clan officiates as sacrificer. A mystic diagram with four compartments is drawn on the ground with rice-flour, and in one of these compartments the sacrificer sits down with his face turned in the direction of the ancestral hill or *buru* of his clan and, what is

more important in the present discussion, some part or symbol of his totem animal or plant or other object is placed in another compartment of the diagram, as an emblem of the totem as also of the clan and perhaps of the clan-god. Thus, men of the Ludumba clan place on this diagram a *ludumba* flower which is their totem, those of the Mūrūm clan place a bit of horn, or skin of the *Murum* (*nilgai* or *portax pictu*); those of the *Kendua* clan place a twig of the Keond (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) tree; those of the Geroa clan place a wing of the *geroa* bird; those of the Aṇḍi clan place a bit of the skin of the *Aṇḍi* (wild cat); those of the Chauli Hembrom clan place a handful of *arua* rice (*chauli*) and also a hive of the *terom* fly; those of the *Hērē Hembrom* clan place a little rice-husk (*hērē*); those of the *Khūḍi Hembrom* clan place some broken grains (*khūḍi*) of rice; those of the *Sāunria* clan place a handful of *sāunri* or wild grass; those of the *Gidhi* clan place a claw or wing or feather of the *gidhi* or vulture; the *Jethseria* clan place some flower which blooms in the month of Jeth (May-June) and the sacrificer also sticks some of this flower in his ears, and so on.

The totem emblem thus used at the clan sacrifices is, as I have said, evidently taken to represent the clan as a whole as also perhaps the clan-god or *Būrū-bōngā*, and the connexion between the human clan, their clan-totem and their clan-god or *Būrū-bōngā* would thus appear to be regarded as vital.

In the case of the bird or beast totems, the skin, horn, claw or wing used as an emblem to represent the clan at the *pujas* is obtained by members of the clan not by killing or destroying the bird or beast with their own hands but through men of some other clan to whom they are not taboo. And the horn, or claw, or skin, or wing, once secured, is carefully preserved and carried about in the "spirit-basket" or "god-basket" (*bonga-khanchi*) for use at the *pujas* as often as may be required. So intimate and vital is the connexion between the clan and its totem and the clan-god that the totem emblem thus used at the *pujas* is evidently taken to represent the clan as a whole as also the clan-god or *Būrū-bōngā*.

An observation of their totemic ceremonies appears to me to lead to the inference that the clan, the clan totem, the clan-god and the hill which is reputed to be the cradle of the clan are not only associated together in thought and ritual in the tribal mind but are intuitively identified with one another as analogous aspects of the same mystic force or power of the nature of the Melanesian "mana" which forms the basis of their world view—their "science" and religion.

Another point worth noticing in this connexion is that like the supposed resemblance of the Birhōr to his totem in physical features and temperament, some Birhōr clans are supposed to possess the same "magical" powers that their Būrū-bōngās or clan-gods are believed to possess. Thus, the Hērē Hembrom and the Khūdi Hembrom clans are said to have power over the weather. It is said that when high wind is approaching, if a man of either of these clans pours a jug of water either on the *ihhān* (spirit-seat) or in front of the tribal encampment and orders the storm to turn aside, the storm will immediately take a different direction, and even though it may blow hard on the country all around, the hill or jungle in which these clans may be encamping will remain quite calm and undisturbed. The reason why the men of these clans are said to have power over the storm is explained by saying that their "Būrū-bōngās" (mountain-gods) or "Orā-bōngās" (home-gods) being situate to the north, which is the home of storms, are the *māliks* (masters or dispensers) of storms. Members of the Jagseria Lāthā clan, whose ancestral home and "home-god" (Orā-bōngā) are further north than those of the Hērē Hembrom and Khūdi Hembrom clans, are, for similar reasons, credited with the power of controlling monsoon rains and high winds in the same way: just as storms and rains abate their force when they approach the ancestral hills of these clans on the north, so do they abate their force as soon as they approach one of their present settlements or encampments wherever it may be situate. Thus, we see how, in this tribe, just as the men of a clan are believed to partake of some of the physical features and other qualities

of their clan totems, so also they are believed to share in the magical or spiritual powers of their clan-god or hill-god (*Būrū-Bōngā*.)

A further fact which might appear to indicate that the clan, the totem and the clan-god are all conceived of as unified by some mystic bond or vital spiritual connexion is the similar treatment by a Birhōr clan of their clan-totem and their clan-god. Thus, when a man of the Murum clan chances to come across a *murum* (stag) he must cover his eyes and move away; and similarly when in the course of his wanderings a Birhōr happens to come near the hill which is his *Būrū-bōngā* or clan-deity he must turn aside and take a different route. In fact no member of a Birhōr clan will, on any account, enter or even go within a distance of a mile or two of his *Būrū-bōngā* unless some family of the clan may happen to be still living there.

The Birhōr apprehends that by having so long stayed away from their hill-cradle or *Būrū-bōngā*, and thus having been cut off from direct communion with it, they are no longer in tune, so to say, with the spirit or spiritual energy or "mana" of his *Būrū-bōngā*; and thus direct communion with the spirit will be too much for his own attenuated "mana" which is the measure of his spiritual capacity and consequently likely to prove harmful and dangerous. But at a safe distance, amidst his own group-fellows, he does not lack courage to seek communion with the *Būrū-bōngā* represented by the totem symbol in his encampment and at his clan-sacrifices, and such communion, effected by a participation in the sacrificial meat offered to the clan-god, restores his courage in times of difficulty and danger and produces an attitude of joyous fellowship or camaraderie with the spirit. In fact, this sense of good fellowship with his gods is a noticeable feature of Birhōr mentality and their religious attitude. Thus, when an Uṭhlu or migratory group of Birhōrs leave their encampment in one jungle and start for another jungle, each family carries a tiny bamboo-box called *bōngā-peṭi* or spirit box in which is placed a bamboo-tube containing rice for use at the sacrifices to the *Orā-bōngā* together with the

emblem of the clan-totem whereas the other deities or spirits of the community are carried in a spirit basket. The wooden pegs, stones or lumps of clay that represented the different spirits at the now abandoned spirit-seats are upturned and the spirits are familiarly hailed and told, "Come along! We are going to such-and-such a jungle" and the spirits, it is said, readily troop into the spirit-box and the spirit-basket with which a man called "Bonga-gogoni" (god carrier) walks away a short distance in advance of the party.

Thus, a consideration of the ritual observed at the clan sacrifices of the Birhōr, the Birhōr's behaviour towards his totem and his customary mode of speaking about it, would seem to indicate that totemic beliefs and customs might have originated in a vague and indefinite notion as to different cosmic principles or forces—corresponding to analogous or related "forces" in different parts of the cosmic world,—being immanent in different hills and in the human clans who are traditionally believed to have originated on those hills as well as in the fauna and flora of such hills. The emblem of his own clan which the Birhōr places in a mystic diagram while sacrificing to his Būrū-bōngā or clan-god may not unreasonably be supposed to symbolize this totemic principle conceived of as a mystic force or "mana" immanent in his clan and in the hill (*ḍuru*) which formed the original home of his clan as well as in the species of animal or plant or other object which constitutes his totem and which might have formed a prominent feature of his hill cradle. Such a conception would appear to be in consonance with the power-cult which appears to be of the essence of the religion of the Birhōr and other tribes on the same plane of culture. The primitive totemite does not, indeed, actually regard the totem as a god, or offer sacrifices to the animal or blood or plant or other object which forms his totem, as relatively more advanced totemic tribes such as the Orāons of Chōṭā Nāgpur or the Bhils of Rajputana and Guzerat sometimes do, but, as I have said, the clan, the clan-totem, the clan-god and the hill or *ḍuru* which is reputed to be the cradle of the clan, are not only associated

together in thought and ritual by the Birhōr but might appear to be intuitively associated with one another as analogous aspects of the same supernormal mystic power or force which forms the basis of their world view. The *Būrū-bōngā* or the hill-cradle of each Birhōr clan which in its infancy sustained and nourished the clan and its totem class, it may be inferred came naturally to be regarded by the tribal mind as the great perennial reservoir of spiritual energy or spiritual grace of the distinctive type from which the human clan as also its totem animal or totem plant replenish their own spiritual energy, so as to be able to secure good luck in the food-quest and in health, general well-being and progeny, and resist the evil influence of harmful spiritual energies or powers.

The clan also as the embodiment or stock of the spiritual energy that moves its members came to be intuitively regarded as a source of strength to its individual members, and the name of the totem animal or plant embodying or expressing something of the same kind or type of energy as the clan was taken as an appropriate name to typify the particular type of spiritual energy shared by the human clan and the totem class. The human clan and its totem were, and to some extent are, both believed to be animated by the same spiritual energy of which his hill-cradle or *Būrū-Bōngā* is the great reservoir and from which the human clan and its totem class both derive physical as well as spiritual strength and sustenance, and therefore both stand to each other as spiritual brothers (or *guru bhais*, so to say,—disciples or “sons” of the same spiritual sponsor).

And thus it may not be an unjustifiable inference that totemism is one of the forms in which the religious feeling expressed itself in a sociological aspect among certain tribes at an early stage of culture.

As regards Sir James Frazer's argument that totemism is a system which is “thoroughly democratic” and cannot properly be called a religion at all, since a man looks upon his totem as his equal and friend, not at all his superior, it may be answered, that at the primitive level of culture, religion is, in fact, more or less democratic.

This, I believe, is the experience of most first-hand investigators of primitive culture. Thus, the Birhōr's behaviour towards his gods and his mode of speaking about them leave no doubt in my mind that he regards his gods and spirits as his equals, the difference in power or "*mana*," being one of degree only (such as may conceivably exist between one man and another).

Although this possession of superior "*mana*" or mystic power invests the gods or spirits with a certain "sacredness", they share with mortals the same human appetites and human desires, and are as anxious as they for food and other physical necessities and a regular supply thereof. As with human beings, their enjoyments of food is enhanced when they join with their fellows, whether human or non-human, in a feast. While offering sacrifices to the *bhūts* or spirits of a Birhōr settlement, the Nāyā, or Birhōr priest, addresses the spirits, saying,—“ Here I offer you the head and neck of these animals. *We* shall eat it and so will *you* too.” After sacrifice, the men join with the gods or spirits in the consumption of the sacrificial meat and the bonds of fellowship between the human community and the spirit-world are thereby renewed and strengthened.

In another Chōṭā Nāgpur people known as the Tāmāriās—a section of the Mūṇḍa tribe who migrated, generations ago, from their original home in the Tamar Pargana of the Ranchi district to what is now the Singhbhum district, we find some traces of similar customs and belief regarding the clan Būrū Bōngās. Tāmāriā custom and belief appear to represent a stage of the Būrū-Bōngā cult intermediate between the more primitive custom and belief of the Birhōrs and the comparatively advanced custom and belief of the Mūṇḍas of the Ranchi district. Here it is interesting to note that the primary signification of the term "*buru*" in the Mūṇḍa languages—Mūṇḍari, Santali, Ho, etc.—would appear to have been the same as that of *bonga*, namely, a god;¹ but among the Mūṇḍas, Hos and Santals

¹ See Campbell's *Santal-English Dictionary* (1899), p. 82.

it has now come to mean a "mountain" or hill, and the Tāmāriās now generally use the term to signify a "jungle".

The Būrū-Bōngā of the Tāmāriā clan occupies the most prominent position in the Tāmāriā pantheon; and with this clan Būrū-Bōngā the Tāmāriās associate a spirit called the Nāgē Erā of the clan. The former is said to be the spirit of the hill or rather jungle which formed the cradle of the clan, and the latter to be the spirit of the most prominent spring or pool of water in such jungle. According to the Tāmāriās of the present day, the Nāgē-Erā of a clan is the wife of the Būrū-Bōngā of the clan. Whereas other spirits are more malevolent than benevolent, these two spirits are ordinarily beneficent and protect the members of the clan from the evil attentions of other spirits, although they bring sickness or other calamity to the members of the clan only when there has been any remissness on their part to offer the prescribed sacrifices. His clan Būrū-Bōngā helps the Tāmāriā in procuring food and his clan Nāgē Erā helps him in securing healthy progeny. Before entering upon any important undertaking the Tāmāriā takes a vow (*āgōm*) of offering some particular sacrifice to his Būrū-Bōngā when the undertaking will prove successful. The meat of the head of the fowl or animal sacrificed to the Būrū-Bōngā may be eaten only by the sacrificer and also by other members of the family or clan who may have remained fasting from morning till the sacrifice is over. The rest of the sacrificial meat may be taken only by male members of the clan at the place of the sacrifice but neither by women nor by men whose wives may be in the family way. The eating of this sacrificial meat is regarded as a sacrament and is called *Jōm-Jilū* (eating the flesh). Besides its totemic clan name, each Tāmāriā clan is also distinguished from other clans by the name of its Būrū-Bōngā or presiding spirit of its jungle cradle. And it is significant that at marriage negotiations of the Tāmāriās the first inquiry made is as to the names of the respective Būrū-Bōngās of the two families which is considered equivalent to inquiring as to their *gūṣi* or totem name. Thus the clan-totem,

the traditional hill or jungle cradle of the clan, and the *Būrū-Bōngā* or spirit of that hill are all identified in thought by the Tāmāriā, although they do not, like the Birhōrs, make use of any emblem of their totem at the sacrifice to the *Būrū-Bōngā* of the clan.

Besides the ancestral *Būrū-Bōngā* and ancestral Nāgē Erā of a clan, each Tāmāriā settlement now situate by the side of a jungle has to offer sacrifices to the spirit of that jungle as well as to that of the prominent spring situate in its neighbourhood ; and these are called respectively the *Būrū-Bōngā* and the Nāgē-Erā of the village or locality. This local *Būrū-Bōngā* and local Nāg-Erā have no connexion with the clan and are accordingly considered as of far less importance than the clan *Būrū-Bōngā* and the clan Nāgē-Erā which are, as we have seen, vitally connected with the clan and the traditional home of the clan. Thus these local *Būrū-Bōngās* and local Nāgē-Erās are of no account in the present discussion.

As for the Mūṇḍās still living in the Tamar *parganā* of the Ranchi district, we find the clan *Būrū-Bōngā* or *Kili Būrū-Bōngās* as they are called, still occupying the same prominent position in their pantheon as among their Tāmāriā brethren now settled in the Singhbhum district. Members of any clan living away from the neighbourhood of their ancestral *buru* or hill, offer sacrifices to their clan *Būrū-Bōngā* in front of a new ant-hill which is brought and set up at the place of sacrifice as an emblem of the *Būrū-Bōngā*. This ant-hill which resembles in shape a *buru* or hill takes the place of the skin, claw or other emblem of the clan-god and clan-totem used by the Birhōrs at their *Būrū-Bōngā* sacrifices. If we next turn to the main body of the Mūṇḍās living in the Ranchi district we come to what appears to be the last stage of the decay of the totemic *Būrū-Bōngā* cult. At this stage, the *Būrū-Bōngās* or clan-gods of the different clans settled within an area of several miles appear to have merged into a high god or general deity called by the Mūṇḍās the "Marang-bongā" or Marang-Buru (lit. "Great god" or "Great mountain") and also *Būrū-Bōngā*. Except in a few

places, the main body of the Mūṇḍas of the Ranchi Plateau no longer retain traditions of different hills or mountains having been the respective cradles of different clans, although particular hills and springs in the neighbourhood of their present settlements are regarded as seats of spirits of the local "Būrū-Bōṅā" and "Nāgē-Erā" classes respectively. As for the superior Būrū-Bōṅā distinguished by the names of *Marang Buru* or *Maha-Buru* or *Bar-Pahar*, the most prominent hill within an area of several miles is now regarded as such, and sacrifices are offered to this deity outside their respective villages by the various Mūṇḍa villages situate within the area. This deity now ranks as the highest in the Mūṇḍa pantheon next only to the inactive Sun-god or Supreme God known as Sing-bonga.¹

The Mūṇḍas of the Ranchi District have evolved a mythology which may throw some light on the evolution of the modern Marang Buru or Marang Bonga² out of the ancient clan-gods or Buru-bongas.

According to Mūṇḍa mythology, Marāṅ-Buru (or Bārṇḍā) is the elder brother of Sing-bōṅā or the Sun-god and Nāgē-Erā is their sister; and the three lived together when the accidental sprinkling of water on his body from the bellows of a Lohar, or iron-smelter, caused defilement to Marāṅ-Buru, his younger brother Sing-bōṅā had to part company with him and went to live in the sky above, and his sister Nāgē-Erā chose the waters for her abode, whereas Marāṅ-Buru remained as the chief god on earth. Now, if we connect this myth with the Mūṇḍa tradition that an ancient race of iron-smelters called the Asurs were the first people with whom the Mūṇḍas came in contact on the Ranchi plateau, the story of Sing-bōṅa thus establishing himself in the heavens owing to the defiling contact with an alien race may not unreasonably be taken to indicate the borrowing by the Mūṇḍas of the idea of a high god or Supreme

¹ Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 103.

² Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II., p. 103. *The Divine Myths of the Mūṇḍas* in Vol. III (pp. 201 ff.) of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.

Deity from a more advanced people traditionally known throughout the Ranchi and Singhbhum districts as the Asurs.

I have elsewhere adduced reasons for inferring (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1923, Vol. IX, pp. 376-398) that the Asur of Mūṇḍā tradition may be identical with the Pre-Aryan Asura race represented in the Rig-Veda as contesting the valley of the Five Rivers and the Ganges and the Jamuna against the "Aryan" immigrants. This meloderic Asura race would appear to have absorbed the indigenous black Nishada race of ancient Sanskrit literature, and when finally worsted by the Aryans, a section of them retreated to Chōṭā Nāgpur where they were in their turn overpowered and absorbed by an intrusive short-statured, broad-nosed, Pre-Dravidian people—the ancestors of the present Mūṇḍā race. And it is probable that the idea of a Supreme Sun-god (the *Sabita* of the Rig-Veda) may have been introduced by the ancient Asuras among the Mūṇḍās.

Although the Būṛū-Bōṅā or clan spirit has now been displaced from his supreme position in the Mūṇḍā pantheon by his "younger brother" Sing-Bonga, the clan or the society still appears to hold equal rank as a divine power with Sing-Bonga. In all his invocations to the gods and spirits, the Mūṇḍā sacrificer begins "*Sirmāre Sing-Bonga, Otere Pancho*" ("O thou Singbonga that art in the sky, and ye Panch that are on Earth.") The Mūṇḍās, it may be noted, use the Sanskrit word "Pancho" not in the literal sense of "five" or "council of five" but in the sense of the community or clan as represented by all its adult members.

The Hōs of Singhbhum now recognize two principal deities, *Sing-Bonga* and *Nāgē-Erā*, and always begin their invocations to the spirits (whose number is legion) by calling upon their two principal deities as follows:—"Sirmāvē Sing-Bonga, otere Nāgē-erā", "O (Thou) Sing-bonga which art in the sky, and (thou) Nāgē-erā which art on the earth". According to the Hōs, Nāgē-erā is regarded as the partner or wife and not, as among the Mūṇḍās, the sister of Sing-Bongā. In the Hō

pantheon, next to Sing-Bongā and Nāgē-Erā, ranks *Marāng-Bongā* or *Marāng-Būrū* or *Dupub Disum Bongā* who appears to be identical with the *Marāng Bongā* of the Mūṇḍās. The Hōs also recognize local Būrū Bongās just as the Tāmāriās and the Mūṇḍās now do.

The Khāriās of the Ranchi district—a tribe allied to the Mūṇḍās—also exhibit the same stage of the decay of the Būrū-Bongā cult. Like the Mūṇḍās, they too have merged the clan Būrū-Bongā into a more general *Marāng-Būrū Bonga* to whom sacrifices are offered by a number of villages within some distance of a prominent hill. The Khāriās always face west while offering sacrifices to Marāng-Būrū, as tradition points to the west as their original home.

Thus, Chōṭā Nāgpur evidence appears to me to suggest the inference that totemism, though not indeed the source of all religion, is one of the aspects in which the religious feeling (or the sense of the "sacred") expressed itself among certain tribes at a certain stage of culture,—that it is, in fact, an aspect of "animism" or rather "animatism" and, as such, of early religion, though not the whole of it. True, the sociological aspect of totemism is of essential importance; but it is no more essential than its religious aspect with which it is vitally interlinked. In fact, the two aspects would appear to be twins born of the same primitive world-view.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

I.—Note on the Cult of the Pillar-godling Laur Baba.

By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

Mr. S. C. Mitra in his account of this godling (*vide ante* Volume X, pages 142, *et seq.*) says that the name of the village itself, viz. *Lauriya* Araraj (20 miles south-west of Motihari) is derived from the *Laur*, or the "Phallus", the appellation given by the villagers to the famous stone-pillar of Aśoka. Another pillar of Aśoka in another village (1½ miles north-west of Bettiah), similarly worshipped as the phallus, *Laur*, is, I believe, equally responsible for naming it *Lauriya* Nandangarh.

Two noticeable features are that—

- (i) the pillars are worshipped as the phallus; and
- (ii) the pillars are styled Bhīm Singh Bābā or Bhīm Bālī Bābā, or the staff (*lāṭhī*) of Bhīm (e.g. the Aśoka pillar at Pipariya, 32 miles north of Bettiah).

More unwittingly than wittingly the unsophisticated villager recking little of history naturally attributed the existence of the huge pillars to the mythic hero, Bhīm, for who else than he, the slayer of Rakṣasa Vaka, the hurler of mighty trees and stones, could have used them as his staff, or have been petrified?

Dr. Crooke says: "He (Bhīmsen) is generally adored under the form of an unshapely stone covered with vermillion or of two pieces of wood standing from 3 to 4 feet out of the ground which are possibly connected with the *phallic* idea towards which deities of this class do often diverge."¹ *Vice versa* a stone pillar could easily be taken for Bhīm Singh or his staff.

¹ *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Alld. ed. of 1894), page 54. Italics are mine.

What is important to note is the association of the phallic idea with the stone—rude or in the form of a polished pillar. The pillar *inter alia* suggested to the primitive mind an idea of creative principle. "The palm tree," says Dr. Inman, "is figured in ancient coins alone, or associated with some feminine emblem. It typified the male creator, who was represented as an upright stone, a pillar, a round tower, a tree-stump, an oak-tree, a pine tree, a maypole, a spire, an obelisk, a minaret and the like."² "In the *liṅga* of India we have another instance of the use of pillar symbol" (*Op. cit.* p. 43). This seems to have been the original idea, the *Śiva liṅga* cultus being a later development on the decline of Buddhism which was gradually absorbed by the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava cults.

The *lāt* or pillar of Aśoka at Benares claimed to have a similar phallic significance. Mr. Wake observes: "But the pillar symbol is not wanting to Buddhism itself. The columns said to have been raised by Aśoka have a reference to the pillar of Seth. The remains of an ancient pillar supposed to be a Buddhist *Lāt* is still to be seen at Benares, the word *Lāt* being merely another form of the name of *Tet*, *Set* or *Sat* given to the Phœnician or Semitic deity."³ But "the word *Set* means, in Hebrew as in Egyptian, pillar, and in a general sense, the erect, elevated, high. Moreover, in a passage of the Book of the Dead, *Set*, according to Bunsen, is called *Tet*....."⁴ Mr. Wake then connects *Tet* with Egyptian *Thot* (through whom *Set* was identified with *Horus*) and the Phœnician snake-god *Taut*, and identifies the Semitic deity *Seth* (*Typhon*) with the *Saturn*⁵ of related deities of other peoples. Now,

² C. S. Wake, *Serpent Worship* (1888) Ch. on Phallism in Ancient Religions, p. 19. Italics are mine.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 79. The equation will not, I am afraid, bear a moment's scrutiny at the hands of the philologist of to-day. I am quoting it for all that it is worth.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 53. The title "erect" when given to a deity seems always to imply a phallic idea (p. 55).

⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 75. "Sani, the Hindu Saturn, is encompassed by the Serpents and hence the pillar symbol of this primeval deity we may well suppose to be

the serpent, the index of life and fertility,⁶ is the symbol of Tet and Seth.

Another animal, the bull, signified fecundity and was venerated in most religions of antiquity, viz. of the Gentiles, the Chinese, the Celtic Druids, the Kimbri, the Colchians, the Syrians, the Canaanites, the Persians, the Hebrews, the Thracians, the Greeks, the Egyptians and the Hindus, being e.g. sacred to Baal, Moloch, Mithra, Dionysos, Bacchus, Osiris (cf., the bull Apis), and Śiva. Śiva wears the snake as ornament, and the bull is his vehicle. He presides over the *lingam*, and "it is on Mount Meru, the central point of the earth (which elevates itself as an immense phallus from the centre of an immense Yoni amongst the islands with which the sea is sown) that he.....makes his cherished abode."⁷

Mr. Wake makes some observations which, I am sure, cannot be accepted at the present day, but which show how the phallic cult was at one time explained : "..... there can be no doubt that the lingam was an emblem of Buddha, as was also the lotus, which represents the same idea—the conjunction of the male and female elements, although in a higher sense perfect wisdom. The association of the same ideas is seen in the noted prayer ' *Om mani padme hum* ' which refers to the birth of Padmapani from the sacred lotus flower, but also there can be little doubt to the phallus and the yoni. We may suppose, therefore, that whatever the moral doctrine taught by Gautama, he used the old phallic symbols, although it may be with a peculiar application.....I would suggest that instead of abolishing either, Gautama substituted for the separate symbols of the linga and the yoni, the association of the two in the

reproduced in the linga of the Indian Phallic god." As to the identity of Śiva and Saturn see Guigniaut *Religions del Antiquité*, Vo I. I, p. 167n. The Phœnicians and the Hebrews worshipped Saturn, the erect pillar god, who under different names appears to have been at the head of the pantheons of most of the peoples of antiquity (p. 47).

⁶ Mr. J. H. Rivett-Carnac suggests that the snake is a "Symbol of the phallus."—*Snake Symbol in India* (Reprinted from J.A.S.B.) 1879, p. 13.

⁷ Op. cit. p. 63 ; also p. 71.

lingam. If this were so, we can well understand how, on the fall of Buddhism, Śiva worship may have retained this compound symbol." (Op cit. pp. 73, 74).

I have only to make clear that Mr. Wake's opinion is based on books of authors (such as the *Tree and Serpent Worship* of Fergusson) whose opinions are no longer wholly tenable.

Stones—rude or polished—expressly worshipped as lingam or otherwise, have been regarded by superstitious people as vital, vitalising and fecundating. It is extremely difficult to indicate exactly the evolution of the idea in India.

II—The Deities of Jalkar in the District of Monghyr.

By Kalipada Mitra, M.A., B.L.

A man in Monghyr used to make all the preliminary arrangements for angling in a tank near the town by way of clearing the aquatic plants, making the *char* (lit food) for the fishes, etc. etc. One evening the man suggested that some *pūja* might be offered to *Shikarī Bābā*, the godling controlling, it is said, the *shikar* of fishes. When the suggestion was accepted, the man brought some *gañja* (*Cannabis Indica*) and it was offered to the deity (*gañja charhaae*). Before half an hour glided by there was a mighty pull at the rod and after a grim contest a large *katl* fish, rotund and happy, a good half maund in weight, was landed safely, accompanied by the hysteric ejaculation of the man, *Jaye Shikarī Bābā ki jai!*

The man began to describe the powers of the godling and his kindred, the presiding deities of *jalkar* in the Monghyr district. I had recently an occasion to get corroboration of his statements.

In January, 1925, I went to Babhana Rajagaon (in the Khagaria subdivision) and the locality round about on an excursion. I tramped along many *ihils* and *jalkars*, such as *chāndmāri*, *owārāh*, etc. A *Mālākā Keot* fisherman acted as my guide. He also called himself a *Kol Keot*. On further enquiry from the local zamindar if the man was a *Kol* I learnt that he was not a *Kol* but a *Tiwar Keot* or a *jelia* (lit. one who nets fish) and one who was a *jalācaranīya* (one whose touch does not contaminate the water which is acceptable to the higher castes of the Hindus). I did not find the zamindar a well-informed man and consequently have no reason to doubt the statement of the guide. It may well be that the word *Kol* is

reminiscent of an intermingling at some remote time between the *Kols* and the *Keots*.

The man informed me that unless the deities were propitiated by proper rites not a single fish would be caught in the net and the *thikādārs* would be put to great loss. So before the net is thrown, at the head of the *jalkar* sacrifices are offered to the deities. A bottle or two of country liquor, some *gañja*, some burnt incense, were laid at a spot ceremoniously cleaned. No image is worshipped. I was told that for the ingratiation of the female deities vermilion and iron bracelets were offered too. Goats (sometimes castrated) were sacrificed and not unoften cocks and hens. No Brahmin priests officiated, the *Mālāhās* themselves doing duty. Besides, the subsidiary spirits who were as a rule of Puckish nature and ever prone to take offence had to be humoured and cajoled. As I was trudging along the *chāndmāri* he pointed out to me some human skulls strewn about and in bated breath and whispering accents spoke confidentially, "Look here, *malik*, these, these have to be restrained from doing harm! I myself saw ghosts, spirits and *mlecchs* (*bhūt*, *pret*, *mlecchs*) stalking about here in the twilight of morning and evening and even at noontide! They do not appear now."

The godlings, if propitiated, give an ample net of fish; otherwise a great loss would ensue. Primarily controlling the *jalkar* and the haul of fish, they have other virtues.

I am giving a brief account of these deities.

1. Amar Singh.

2. Kamlaji.

These are particularly worshipped by the *mālāhās* who officiate at the ceremony. If *mānat* (pledge) is made to them the right way wishes are gratified; for instance, wild waterfowl can be shot or netted in abundance. *Kamalji* appears to be a female deity, presiding over the river *Kamlā* and an amusing story (strongly smacking of *gañja*) was related to me.

A *Sakhi* crossed her on horseback and getting to the other bank boasted "Hi! Hi! I have crossed!" But lo! the river

passed through the horse, bisecting it in the twinkling of an eye, the sundered sections of the hapless animal lying on either bank. I gave a start of surprise, but prudently did not enquire what happened to the rider! These deities would even arrest the steam engines running on the lines, and would let them go when propitiated (which, I should think, oftener happened than not).

3. Sultan Khan.

This deity was particularly worshipped by the Muhammadan *Thikādārs*. He is a *jāgtā* (lit. waking) mighty godling. If angry or set on by his *bhagat* (worshipper), he would even enter the bodies of men, causing them to spit or vomit blood. When humoured by the sacrifice of cocks and hens he would repay the pains by the return of a full and heavy net. He would otherwise gratify the wishes of his votaries.

4. Gango.

The *mālāhā* wanted to make a present of a *hilsa* fish to me, and incidently referred to the godling *Gango* as the deity presiding over the catch of *hilsa* fish in particular. I have a suspicion that she is the river Ganges in the local setting, for *hilsa* fish is generally to be found in the Ganges, sailing up the river, it is said, from the sea, and rarely in other rivers. But to her have been grafted many powers unknown to her prototype. She would, for instance, transfer the foetus from the womb of a pregnant woman to another woman, and the former to her great grief would find herself robbed of her precious treasure. On persistent enquiry as to the manner of its happening I was informed that the *bhagat* or the votary of the goddess was vouchsafed the knowledge to what woman the foetus would be transferred and the villagers would find out the transferee. The goddess descends on the *bhagat* and causes him, thus inspired, to utter oracles. In June, 1924, one evening my attention was drawn to certain articles kept on my verandah, viz. *ārūā* rice, *dhup dhuna*, vermilion and *batasa* which were brought there by the maidservant. I was informed that these things she would take to her house just then against a particular function. A certain

woman of a village near by in the sixth month of her pregnancy found one day to her great consternation and mortification that she felt light and was robbed of her burden. It is said that she even perceived this robbery for she felt for an hour that some air was passing out of her ear. She fell ill immediately thereafter. She and her relations ascribed this spiriting away of her child to the malicious witchcraft of some magician. Some relation of the maidservant who was a spirit doctor would counteract the evil, find out the malefactor, and cure her of the illness. I went to the place where this ceremony was to be performed at 8 p.m. A space under a *pipal* tree was scrupulously cleaned, and on it I found the articles mentioned above together with the addition of a bottle of wine and some *gañja*. I was told that wicked magicians *drive a nail into the womb* (*Kāñṣa mārdenā*) and thus empty it of the foetus. This is done by the symbolic magic of a nail being driven through a *bael* or a mango tree in the *name* of the girl aimed at. By countermagic the nail (a real nail, two or three inches in length) which had already, through magic, been driven into the womb of the woman is said to be extracted during the operation from her arm or her leg. I waited for half an hour; but as the spirit doctor had not come, the ceremony was to begin later and they said they would send for me when it began. They did send for me at midnight, but I confess to shame that I was too lazy to stir out. The girl was of course cured of the illness. I think this might have been a case of false or fatuous womb.

Reference to the belief in the transference of the foetus from the womb of one woman to that of another occurs in a Jaina book called the *Kalpasūtra*. Now Mahāvira was born in the womb of Brāhmaṇi Devānandā. The gods suddenly remembered that he ought not to have been born in the womb of a Brāhmaṇi; it was a mistake and the convention was violated. For "it never has happened, nor does it happen, nor will it happen, that Arahats, Cakravartins, Baladevas, or Vāsudevas, in the past, present or future, should be born in low families, mean families, degraded families, poor families, indigent

families, beggars' families or brahminical families [17]¹. The mistake was rectified and the fœtus of Mahāvira was transferred from the womb of Brāhmaṇī Devānandā to that of Trisalā, the wife of Kṣatriya Siddharta.²

5. Dina Bhadri.

My guide had on the previous day appealed to *Gosain Bābā* to give some shoot, and I shot a fine wild goose (*nākhā*) and some other wild waterfowls. But on that luckless day all appeal to mother *Cāṇdmāri* had been in vain, I know not why. This indifferent shoot was put down to bad *yātīā*, and to some man with *soma lacchana* crossing my path (lit. going before me) in the morning. I was led through a group of huts belonging to Mushahars in the village of Raṭnābā. I saw then a rectangular altar of earth (half a cubit in height, two cubits in breadth and three in length) with flowers thereon bearing a bamboo pole with a red banneret fluttering on the top. No image was to be found. It was the mighty, ever-waking (*jāgtā*) and manifest (*pargatī*) deity of *jalkar* worshipped exclusively by the Mushahars with profuse libations of country liquor and offering of fowls, but chiefly of pigs, ten to fifteen being sacrificed at a time. The hymns sung in praise of the deity are said to be so entrancing as to heal the souls of people as it were. The deity protected the Mushahars from harm, and had other powers besides.

The *Mālāka* explained to me that Amar Sing, Sultān Khān and Dinā Bhadrī had been *men* belonging to the class of votaries who worship them and that they have been apotheosized; and to give me a handy illustration he said that the local zamindar (who accompanied me) who was so kind and charitable to his *ryots* would after his death become a deity and would demand *pūja* of them, and woe to him who would give umbrage to him. Bad men after death become mischievous spirits, and people

¹ Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, S. R. E. Vol. XXII, p. 255.

² See Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* (1860), pp. 140-142.

ought to have a care. I found my guide wonderfully accurate in the explanation of the origin of the *sainted deities*.³

Thus we find two classes of deities, (1) the *deified heroes*, such as Amar Singh, Sultan Khān, Dinā Bhadrī (names) and Gosain Bābā and Shikārī Bābā (surnames?) and (2) *deities of the river or jalkar* after whom they are named, all females, such as Kamlāji, Gango, and Cāṇdmāri. As no anthropomorphic images are fashioned and no Brahmin priests officiate and in all cases *gañja* or liquor offered, all that can be said is that such worship is non-Brahminic. It more or less amounts to, in the case of the male deities at least, of hero worship, the heroes being invested with far greater power for good and evil with an acquisition, now they are in the spirit world, of far more magical powers than when they were in the flesh and consequently demanding greater devotion and reverence from their votaries. The worship of river or *jalkar* deities is animistic. The blood flowing in the veins of the votaries, the Malāhā Kols and the Mushahars, is evidently non-Aryan; but the same blood flows in many high caste Hindus also, only perhaps in more diluted form (in Bengal at least). Worship is perhaps more or less cultural than ethnic. So to me to style such worship as *merely* "non-Aryan" does not make for much contribution to knowledge. Who knows how many so-called "Aryan" customs are really "non-Aryan" and how many so-called "Aryans" are more "non-Aryans" than "Aryans"?

³ See Crooke, *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (All. ed. 1894), pp. 125ff.

III.—Criticisms.

"The Glories of Magadha."

Author's Complaints.

1. I plead guilty to the charge preferred against me regarding my poor knowledge of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali, although in my explanation of some of the terms, I am, I venture to think often in very good company and if I may be pardoned for saying so, credit has been given to me for my honest attempt at the explanation of the terms in question.

2. What however, I protest against and I feel inclined naturally to do it rather strongly is, that Mr. A. B.-Ś. has done me the greatest possible injustice apparently by not taking the trouble to go even cursorily through my book. He writes that "Archæological results

Reply.

1. (a) Magadhan glories are intelligible in terms of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali cultures. To 'plead a *poor knowledge* of the latter is to forfeit every right to speak about the former. (b) *Company* is no consideration. Every attempt at explanation is to be pronounced good or otherwise after being judged individually. Then again, to be in good company is not necessarily being good oneself. (c) An historical interpretation should try to be not only *honest* but competent and adequate.

2. (a) The references in the review cover practically the whole book; hence the charge of non-perusal is hardly fair. The two particular cases referred to illustrate the dangers of misquotation. The reviewer did not indulge in generalities but cited specific instances—Bloch on Bodh-Gayâ and Jackson on Barabar Hills. He writes — "Archæological results touching Magadha by

touching Magadha by scholars like Bloch and Jackson are unknown to the Reader of the Patna University". A reference to page 138 of my book gives the lie direct to his allegation about Bloch, while the lines on page 37 "Students of Archæology must read notes on old Rajgriha (A. S. R. 1913-14) by Mr. Jackson who is undoubtedly the best authority on Rajgir", will, I am sure, explain his motive in charging me with a crime with which I cannot at all by any means be said to be associated, either directly or indirectly. He charges me with not knowing that Magadha was outside the orthodox Āryāvarta, ignoring altogether the fact that I tried to deal with this matter as clearly as I could, on pages 5-12, eight pages in all. Even

scholars like Bloch and Jackson (*Bodh-Gaya and Barabar Hills*) are unknown to the Reader of the Patna University" (p. 19)—Rev. p. 97. The author says nothing about either. A careful reference to p. 138 reveals an *obiter dictum* of Bloch about the non-invasion of Bodh-Gayā by Muhammadans. But about Bloch's positive archæological results touching the history of Bodh-Gayā itself—not a word. Again p. 37 mentions Rājgir. But Rājgir is supposed to be a different place from the Barabar Hills. The present reviewer, to the best of his knowledge, has never yet come across any *honest attempt* by any *very good company* to identify the two. (b) With reference to the opening verse only (Rev. p. 96) the author is described as ignoring that Magadha was outside the orthodox Āryāvarta. That verse in introducing the Glories of Magadha says "where the earliest *Sāmas* were sung." To claim at the same time that Magadha was outside the orthodox Āryāvarta is, to say the least of it,

the substance of the Sanskrit sloka quoted in the Review has been given on page 6 (footnote).

3. I do not want to refer to those remarks about Dr. Keith who is fully qualified to take care of himself.

disingenuous. The reviewer has not failed to notice the haphazard treatment of the same question later on, pp. 5-12—the author “has” (probably found it tedious” (Rev. p. 96).

3. The last point (3) is altogether imaginary. The review contains no remarks whatsoever about Dr. Keith.

J. N. SAMADDAR.

A. B. Ś.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

HISTORY OF KERALA.—By K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B.A., B.L.,
M.R.A.S. Edited by Sahityakusalan T. K. Krishna Menon,
B.A. Cochin Government Press, Vol. I, 1924, 9½ × 6, pp.
xxiii + 662. Price Rs. 8.

This book purports to be a history of Kerala, written in the form of notes on Visscher's letters from Malabar. Jacobus Canter Visscher, the writer of these letters, was Chaplain at Cochin (1717-1723). They are addressed to his friends at home and contain observations upon "the manners and customs of the people, their laws, rites and ceremonies, the description of their kingdoms, as well as their origin and their modes of government, and other similar subjects" (p. XX). Visscher's object was to record what he saw himself as well as what he heard from others. As contemporary records, Visscher's memoirs are of great value. But a foreigner, however well-equipped and painstaking, has some obvious limitations. A native of the country who has made a thorough study of the subject and is acquainted with indigenous tradition would be of help in corroboration and elucidation. Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon has sought to fill the latter rôle. But a series of disjointed letters on different topics, commented upon in the same fashion cannot claim to be a systematic history. The book under discussion and similar monographs are more useful as a preparation for writing an accurate history of Kerala than as that history itself.

Mr. Menon's notes are valuable. He has taken into consideration the important researches by other writers, Indian and European, regarding the topics dealt with by Visscher. But some compression and selection even in them would have made

the book less bulky and more readable. The printing and get-up are good.

A. B.Ś.

THE WORD OF LALLA THE PROPHETESS.—*By Sir Richard Temple, Bt. Cambridge University Press, 1924. 8½ × 5½, p. xiii + 292. Price 16s. net.*

It is a rendering into English verse, with annotations, of the *Lalla-Fākṣānī* or *Lal-Wakhi*, being the Sayings of Lal Ded or Lal Diddi of Kashmir (Granny Lal). She is also known as Lāliśīrī or Lāl the Great and Lallā Jogīśvarī a mystic poetess of ancient Kashmir. She was a contemporary of Sayyid Aī Hamadānī, the famous saint in the fourteenth century. Lallā was a Śaiva *Joginī* and her sayings as spiritual maxims are cherished treasures of every Kashmiri, whether Hindu or Musalman. She preceded the Mediæval Reformers of India—Rāmānanda, Kabir and others. Her sayings, apart from their undoubted poetic merits, are important in the history of Hinduism.

The Royal Asiatic Society published the *Lalla-vākṣānī*, in 1920, as one of its monographs (Vol. XVII). It was edited from the linguistic and philosophic points of view by Sir George Grierson and Dr. L. D. Barnett respectively. The present version is professedly for the ordinary reading public of England. But critical students everywhere will read it with pleasure and profit.

The book is divided into three parts : Pt. I. The Sources of Lallā's Religion ; Part II. Lallā's Religion, Theory and Doctrine ; Pt. III. Lallā's Religion. Teaching. Lallā's Word. There are, besides, an Introduction, a Concordance, an Index and a valuable Glossary of oriental terms.

The translation, though free, breathes an Indian atmosphere—*cf.* for instance Lallā's progress to true knowledge through the metaphor of a cotton pod, p. 224—225, xxxviii. The erudite exponent's verification often soars into the region of real poetry. The artistic get-up is fully in keeping with this truly delightful volume.

A. B.Ś.

THE PANCHATANTRA RECONSTRUCTED.—*Vol. I. Text and Critical Apparatus. Vol. II. Introduction and Translation. By Franklin Edgerton, Assistant Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Pennsylvania. 9½ × 6, pp. xix + 408, x + 406. New Haven, Connecticut. American Oriental Society, 1924.*

Hertel mentions more than two hundred versions of the original Sanskrit Pañcatantra in Indian, Pahlavi, Syriac, Arabic and various European languages. In the above-mentioned two volumes, Professor Edgerton aims at collating and comparing all extant texts and translations and critically conjecture his way back to the original source. Vol. I gives the text so reconstructed and the method of comparison with the materials is called the critical apparatus. Vol. II discusses in detail the value of the method and materials and the results of reconstruction. Incidentally it criticizes Hertel's views regarding Inter-relationship of versions, and originality and unoriginality of particular stories. A translation follows of the Pañcatantra as it originally might have been according to Professor Edgerton.

Both the Text in Vol. I and examples cited in Vol. II. show the difficulty and the hopelessness of the task. Most of the emendations are at most plausible. The real utility of the book has not so much in its capacity to fix the original source as bringing the subsequent and successive sources together. About the date and authorship of the stories Professor Edgerton has nothing to add to Hertel. His supposition of a Deccan home against Hertel's Kashmir view deserves consideration. Hertel is undoubtedly in the right in considering the Pañcatantra as a political text-book—the different internal divisions, the introductory verse and the well-known scheme of Sanskrit writers on politics are all in Hertel's favour. Professor Edgerton's suggestions to the contrary are either irrelevant or inaccurate.

A study of linguistic genetics is useful and Professor Edgerton is to be congratulated on the vast amount of time and labour spent in its pursuit. These and the expenses of printing, which is remarkably good, are a credit to the country that encourages such arduous undertakings.

K. P. J.

THE DĀTHAVAMSA.—*Edited and translated by Binola Charan Law, PH.D., M.A., B.L., with a note on the position of the Dāthāvamsa in the History of Pali Literature by Dr. W. Stede, PH.D. The Punjab Sanskrit Series, Lahore, 1925.*

It is a history of the Tooth-relic of the Buddha. The original is a book that occupies in Pali the position of legendary history. But the work of editing and translating is unsatisfactory.

In editing the text, the author has consulted only printed editions, one P.T.S. and two Sinhalese. He has not thought fit to look into original MSS. The result is a practical reprint of the already published texts with seven minor variations in four chapters of 48 pages.

The translation is extremely inelegant and often unintelligible. As a sample may be quoted p. 16, v. 26 : "The conqueror acquired meditation on the site of the Mahābodhi tree and spent in meditation on the site of the Mahathūpa." English and French translations of Dāthāvamsa have already appeared but the present translator has failed to utilize them.

The Punjab Sanskrit Series began well with Thomas' *Bṛhaspatisūtra* and Jolly's *Arthashastra* but publications like the above will render no service to scholarship.

A. B. Ś.

THE STORY OF SWAMI RAMA.—*The Poet-Monk of the Punjab. By Puran Singh. With illustrations. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1924, 8½ × 5½, pp. xvi + 291 + f. Price Rs. 3.*

The work is a devotee's impressions of a master. The author claims it as a pencil-sketch of an inspired personality and not an authentic psychological history. Following in the footsteps of Svāmi Vivekānanda, Swami Rama was a conspicuous figure in Northern India in the beginning of the present century. He created very favourable impression in America and Japan. Born at Muraliwala in the Gujranwala, Punjab, in 1873, he accidentally met his death in the Ganges in 1906. After a brilliant academic career, he became a Professor, then a monk and took to the life of a preacher, philosopher and

missionary. A noble life of struggle and self-realization. A Vedantist by conviction, more devotional than philosophical.

This simple but stirring life-story is told with arresting fervour in twenty chapters, with an appendix containing opinions of the American Press. The materials are well chosen and the style is uniformly attractive.

Some of the social and economic topics discussed, for instance, Caste and Poverty of the Indian peoples, are treated without due consideration of the other point of view. The book does not pretend to be a critical study but even mere impressions would lose in appeal by lack of sobriety in language and by abundance of zeal. Pp. xiv, 244, etc. contain expressions and opinions about the problems of this country which are open to discussion.

Swami Rama's letter and poems in a collected form are welcome.

A. B-S.

SAMARANGANA SUTRADHARA.—By King Bhojadeva.—Edited by *Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī. Vol. I. Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XXV, Central Library, Baroda, 1924. 9½ × 6½, pp. 2 + 39 + 290.*

It is a technical treatise in Sanskrit under the category of Śilpa Śāstra. The colophon mentions *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Bhojadeva* as author and describes the work as *Vāstuśāstra*, i.e. on architecture. The author Bhoja may be the same Bhoja of Dhāra, king of Malwa about the beginning of the eleventh century A.C., associated with *Śrīṅgāraprakāśa* and *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharṇa*. Though professedly on architecture it describes, besides the construction of cities, palaces and mansions, etc., a number of machines connected with the protection, convenience or enjoyment of these constructions.

The learned editor has availed himself of three MSS., two from the Central Library, Baroda, the third from the Bhandara at Pattan. The first volume contains up to the first 54 chapters, the second, now in the press, will complete the rest. The editor

has given a very useful and exhaustive table of contents. The text is well prepared.

The title *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* means literally, according to the editor, architect of human (i.e. *Samara* = mortal) dwellings. Beginning with an obviously legendary account (Chapters I—VII) as to how the Creator, at the request of King Pṛthu sent Viśvakarmā the divine architect to build for Pṛthu on earth cities, palaces, etc., the book gives matter-of-fact, sound technical details about the choice, measurement and preparation of grounds (Chapters VIII — XIII), the various arrangements of windows and doors (Chapters XIV—XVI), dwellings for king, nobles and common folk (XXX — XL), defects in construction (L—LIII), separate buildings for birds and beasts (Chapters XXXII—III), requisite qualifications of an architect (Chapters XLIV—V), laying of foundations (LI—II) etc.

Chapter XXXI (on the construction of machines) describes some specimens of surpassing interest. A few may be mentioned. Machines to stop the entrance of undesirables: "Wooden skeleton, dressed in skin, formed as man or woman, placed near the door, with arms in its hands, automatically stopping the passage of incomers." (Chapter XXXI, vs. 102—103, p. 178).

Machines to kill thieves at night: "Similar to the form above but armed with sword, club or bayonet, concealed near the door, forcibly killing thieves entering a house at night" (Chp. *op. cit.*, v. 107, p. 178) Counterfeit monkeys, horses and elephants (p. 175), fountains for various purposes (pp. 173, 179) etc. are all described in ways familiar to the present day. Most interesting is the machine for flying in the air:

"Like a huge bird, made of light wood, strong and well-knit, it must be provided with a steam-mechanism in its middle, and a boiler with fire below. A man mounted therein, with the help of the air raised by the movement of its two wings, and by the force of the dormant *pārada* (mercury) inside, can picturesquely roam far into the skies. Thus the wooden chariot moves swiftly like a temple of the gods, as the skilled (airman) manages the internal cylinders maintained by mercury. By the energy

generated by these cylinders heated by the mild fire preserved in the iron reservoir, it rises in a trice as an ornament of the sky (propelled) by mighty chemical force, heated and roaring." Chapter XXXI, vs. 55—58, p. 177.

The author Bhojadeva makes it clear that these machines are no innovations of his but — "I will recapitulate what has been stated by my predecessors". (Chapter XXXI before v. 84 p. 176.) Students of Sanskrit are familiar with the *Puṣpaka* chariot of Kuvera, then of Ravana and, finally, of Rāma, also with the prowess of Indrajit who used to bombard his enemies from beyond the clouds (Rāmāyaṇa, Yuddha-kāṇḍa) and Bāṇa's datum about the flying attempts of one of the Śaiśunāka kings. But for lack of verification and a general uncritical tendency to read too much of the present into the past, such incidents have so far been treated as more imaginary than real. The above details like the details of *Yāna* of the Vaiśeṣika, in an unquestionably sober technical treatise, may deserve more serious consideration.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Ganapati Śāstri is to be congratulated on bringing before the public evidence that goes against the accepted verdict based on aerostatic attempts of the Greeks and Romans—"The ancients seem to have been convinced of the impossibility of men being able to fly, and they appear to have made no attempts in this direction at all." (Ency. Brit. under Aeronautics).

A. B. Ś.

JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.—*New Series Vol. I. No. 1 April 1925. Edited by Dr. F. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph. D. (Berlin) and Professor Shaikh Abdul Kadir, M.A., I.E.S. Published by the Society.*

The first number of the series is full of important and instructive articles. "Name and designations of the ruler mentioned in the Āra Inscription" by Sten Konow, "Stress Accent in Modern Gujarati" by A. Master and V. S. Sukthankar's "Bhāsa studies," to mention but a few, are valuable contributions on varied subjects and are results of prolonged research. The printing is good.

The new series promises to render distinct service to the cause of Indology.

K. P. J.

DIE KUNST DER JAPANISCHEN HOLZSCHNITTMEISTER.—Mit 69 *Bildbeigaben*. By Ludwig Bachhoffer. Published by Kurt Wolff. München. 1922. 11 × 8½, pp. 123.

Pierre Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* and Felix Baumann's *Japaner Mädel* have popularised Japan as a land of sunshine and flowers, Fujiyama and Geishas. Among English writers, Laurence Binyon's critical studies on Japanese art are well known. Post-war publications on the subject have not been so numerous. Messrs. Kurt Wolff of Munich have undertaken an ambitious project of bringing out the masterpieces of great masters in Chinese, Japanese, Egyptian, Indian, etc. art. The volumes published so far are highly creditable.

The present volume takes full note of important works, e.g. of Kurth, Succio, Marquis de Tressan and Cohn. It consists of (1) a critical history of Japanese art and (2) illustrations. The first part is divided into two chapters. Chapter I deals with the Growth and Development of Art in Japan. Chapter II describes its System—Lines, Colours, Space, Technique, Unity, Clarity, and its principal achievements—Plants, Figures, Dresses. The illustrations are well chosen. The reproductions are both in colours and in black-and-white. They are from important private and public collections. Specially noteworthy is No. 22 by Kitagawa Utamaro—"A lover teaching his sweetheart how to play on a flute". It irresistibly reminds one of innumerable paintings depicting the same scene from the life of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The book will be of great use to the general reader of Japanese literature and history as well as to a student of art.

A. B. Ś.

Note on Exhibits shown at the Annual Meeting.

I. Numismatic Section.—The most important of the exhibits was the collection of Gupta coins belonging to the Patna Museum, which is now the first in India and second only to the British Museum Collection. There are altogether 136 coins (84 gold ; 39 silver ; and 13 copper), of which 65 were purchased from Mrs. Campbell, through Mr. Allan of the British Museum ; 59 were obtained at the sale of coins at Amsterdam ; and 12 were purchased in India.

The collection now contains nearly all the known important types of coins of the Imperial Guptas and some coins of the later Guptas. The rarest coin in this collection is the *Aśvamedha* coin of Kumargupta, of which there is only one other specimen, viz., that obtained by General Cunningham from Mathura and now in the British Museum. Other rare coins are the gold *lyrist* and the *Aśvamedha* coins of Samudragupta ; the *Chhattra* and lion slayer coins of Chandragupta II ; the lion slayer and tiger slayer coins of Kumargupta. Among the silver coins there are some very rare coins of Skandagupta.

II. Archaeological Section.—Some Pataliputra antiquities were also exhibited. Among these were four glass seal matrices, three of which were excavated by Dr. Spooner and one by Mr. Ghosh. These glass seal matrices of Patna are interesting, because they are the only ancient glass objects which have been found in India with inscriptions in early Brahmi characters.

The other Pataliputra antiquities exhibited were pottery and terracotta figurines.

Fragments of black pottery exhibited are similar to pottery found at Mahenjo-Daro in Sind. The small pot with holes is similar to a vessel found at Mahenjo-Daro, and was probably used in ancient times for some cult purpose.

Very interesting are the cult figurines of the Pataliputra excavations. The female figurine with a serpent hood is somewhat similar to the snake mother-goddess, found by Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos in Crete. One terracotta figurine has got a crown which is similar to a crowned female figure found in Crete. The draperies of some of the female figurines exhibited are somewhat similar to the draperies of Sumerian and Babylonian goddesses found at the ancient sites of Persia.

Two terracotta toy birds exhibited were found at Pataliputra by Dr. Spooner. They closely resemble terracotta toy birds found at Mahenjodaro in Sind and at Susa in Persia. The importance of these similarities is that these antiquities are now to be considered of much earlier date than they were formerly supposed to be. They are distinctly pre-Mauryan.

The cult figurines give a very good idea of the religion of the pre-Mauryan people of Patna. The ancient people of Patna worshipped a female mother-goddess and her attendant deities, like the ancient Sumerians, Babylonians, Hittites and Cretans.

III. Ethnological Section.—There were exhibited the following very interesting ethnological exhibits, presented to the Patna Museum by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy. They belong to the Bhils of Guzerat, and are described below :—

- (1) Six *Bhalris*, or arrows for animals.
- (2) One *Rubri*, or arrow for birds.
- (3) One *leather bag*, slung across the neck by Bhil males in hunting and in fighting or raiding expeditions.
- (4) One bamboo flute.
- (5) One bow.
- (6) One axe.
- (7) One *Ghor-deo*, the horse-god, with whose help Bhil magicians exorcise evil spirits.

IV. Natural History Section.—Two pink-headed ducks (male and female) were exhibited. They are very rare. These specimens were shot by Chaudhury Nazir Hussain and Mr. T. Atkins, and presented to the Patna Museum. The birds were stuffed and mounted by the famous London taxidermists,

Rowland Ward, Limited. They looked very natural, and were much admired.

The Hon'ble Sir John Bucknill exhibited the following from his private collection, viz.—

- (a) gold, silver and copper patterns of a coin of the value of one-third of a cent, struck in 1824 in Calcutta for the Straits Settlements, but never put into circulation.
- (b) Two proof Doits, struck at Birmingham in 1834 for British traders in the Straits Settlements, for use in the Celebes; with inscription in the *Bugis* language.
- (c) A Malay sword, or Kris, from the Celebes Islands.

Bhatta-Svāmin's Commentary

on

KAUṬĪ LYA'S ARTHA-ŚĀSTRA

Edited by K. P. JAYASWAL

and

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

भट्टस्वामिनः

प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायाम्

द्वितीयाधिकरणे दशमोऽध्यायः ।

[Continued from March, 1925 number of this Journal]

आ य ति प्र द र्श न माह अ स्मि न्ने वं कृ त इ ति । अ स्मि न्
स न्ध्या दि के ए व मनेन प्रकारेण, कृ ते इ द भूमिहिरण्यधनादिक-
मा व यो र्भे वि ष्य ती त्या शा ज न नं तृष्णाभिवर्धनमा य ति प्र द -
र्श न म् ।

आ त्मो प नि धा न माह, यो हं स भ वा न्, य न्म म द्र व्यं
भूमिकोशदण्डादि त द्भ व ता त्मोयाविशेषेण स्व कृ त्ये ष्वा त्मकाय-
षू प यु ज्य ता मित्येतदा त्मो प नि धा न मित्येवं पञ्चप्रकारं सामा-
भिहितम् ।

उ प प्र दान माह, अ र्थो प का र इति, अ र्थे न भूमिहिर-
ण्यादिना य उ प का र स्तदुपप्रदानम् ।

भे द माह, श ङ्का ज न न म भि भ त्स नञ्च भे द इति । तत्र
श ङ्का ज न नं चित्तभ्रान्तिकरम्, तद्यथा एकस्य विविधस्सारं वा-
घातयेयुरितरेषु मैत्रं ब्रुवाणा इत्यादि । अ भि भ त्स नं त र्ज नं
अवश्यं भवन्तं सिद्धिश्चेदादिप्रकारैरपि व्यापादयिष्यामीति ।

द ण्ड माह, व ध इत्यादि, व धो घातः, परिक्लेशो यातना, अ थ -
AS. p. 75 हर णं वित्तादानम्, इ ति शब्दो लेखगुणपरिसमाप्त्यर्थः ।

साम्प्रतन्तद्विपर्ययो दो ष इति प्राप्ते प्राधान्यात्प्रदर्शनार्थं वा
पञ्च दोषान् अ का न्त्या दीन् अभिधाय व्याचष्टे ।

त त्रे त्यादि त त्वाकान्त्यादिषु मध्ये कालपत्रकं लिखितोच्छिष्टे,
स्वतो वा मलिने पत्रे लिखितमयमाधारदोषः ।

अ चा रु वि ष म वि रा गा क्ष र त्वं, :स्पृष्टत्वादहारोणि कानि-
चित्, वि ष मा णि कानिचित्, स्थूलानि कानिचित्, सूक्ष्माणि
वि रा गा णि, अत्यच्छमभिलिखितानि, अयदेयदोषः इत्येवमुभय-
कान्तिर्लेखदोषः ।

अ स म्ब न्ध मा ह, पू र्वे णे ति । पूर्वमुक्तेनार्थेन पश्चिमस्यार्थ-
स्या नु प प त्ति र्वा घा तः, सोऽसम्बन्धः । तद्यथा, अवनितलगतेन
शिरसा प्रणम्याज्ञापयतीति प्रणामस्याज्ञापनस्य च विरोधाद्-

सम्बन्धः । पु न रुक्तमाह, उक्तस्याविशेषेणेत्यादि, तद्वया,
पूज्यपादान्माननीयानित्यादि ।

अपशब्दमाह लिङ्गवचनेत्यादि । लिङ्गादीनाञ्चतुर्णाम्
अन्यथाप्रयोगः सखीलङ्गे कार्ये पुत्रपुंसकयोः प्रयोगः, अपभ्रं-
शोऽसाधुपदप्रयोगः, इत्ययमपशब्दः ।

सम्भवमाह, अवर्गकरणमित्यादि, वर्गयतिः, तस्या-
स्थाने करणमवर्गवर्गकरणम्, तच्च न्यूनाधिकभेदाद्विविधा
भवति, तत्र न्यूनत्वमर्थपदे वर्गकरणादाधिक्यं च चतुःपञ्चादिपदेषु
तदेवमुभयथापि सम्भवेऽर्थसाङ्ख्ययतेरपि भागकरणादनभिव्यक्त-
तेत्यर्थः । गुणविपर्यास इति यथोक्तानामर्थक्रमादिलेखगुणानाम्
सर्वेषां विपर्यासास्तद्विपरीतदोषकरणञ्च संभवो नाम दोषो भवति ।
नन्वर्थापत्तिन्यायादुगुणविपर्यासस्य दोषतायालब्धत्वात्तद्वहं विस्पष्टार्थ-
मिति ।

साम्प्रतमध्यायप्रान्तश्लोकमाह, सर्वशास्त्राणीति, अनुक्रम्य
ज्ञात्वा प्रयोगमुपलभ्य दृष्ट्वा लक्षणं लक्ष्यञ्च दृष्ट्वेत्यर्थः । नरेन्द्रार्थे
राज्ञामर्थे प्रयोजने निमित्तसप्तमीयं, शासनस्य विधिः कृत-
इत्युपदिष्टः । कौटिल्यग्रहणञ्च कर्तव्यं विनयाधिकारिके तस्याभिहित-
त्वादुक्तं हि, “कौटिल्येन कृतं शास्त्रं विमुक्तग्रन्थ[न्य]विस्तरमिति ।” तत्
क्रियते शासनाधिकारः, कौटिल्येनैव कृतो नान्यैः शास्त्रकारैरिति
“ज्ञापनार्थमिति” ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचा-

रिके द्वितीयेधिकरणे

दशमोऽध्यायः ।

२. शासनाधिकारिकमादित एकत्रिंशोऽध्यायः ।

अथ एकादशोऽध्यायः

कोशप्रवेश्यरत्नपरीक्षेति सूत्रम्

को शो भाण्डागारस्तस्मिन् प्रवेशमर्हतीति को श प्र वे श्य म् ।
तद्ग्रहणम्परीक्षायत्नातिशयार्थं रत्न मणिमुक्तादि लुप्तनिर्दिष्टस्य रत्ना-
दिशब्दो द्रष्टव्यः, सा र वि त्सु कु प्यादीनामपि परीक्षाविधानात्प्रा-
धान्याद्वा हस्तिवनवन्निर्देशः, तेषां रत्नादीनाम्परीक्षा कोशप्रवेश्यरत्न-
परीक्षा, सेहाभिधीयत इति सूत्रार्थः ।

सम्बन्धस्तु कोशप्रकृतेः प्रकान्तायास्समाहृतं सन्निधात्तादिपरीक्षा-
प्रसङ्गेन मुक्तादिकुप्यान्तं सर्वं कोशान्त इति कोशस्वरूपव्यापारोपदेशि-
प्रकारैरुत्पादनरक्षणदिकमुक्तमिदानीं रत्नादीनाम्परीक्षादिप्रकारैरभि-
धीयत इति । अथवा तथा स्वपक्षं परपक्षञ्च वशीकरोति कोशदण्डा-
भ्यामिति, कोशोभिहितः तत्स्वरूपन्तु नाभिहितं, अतस्तत्प्रवेशार्हत्वादि-
परीक्षाप्रसङ्गेन मुक्तादिकुप्यान्तं सर्वं कोश इति कोशस्वरूपप्रति-
पादनार्थमिदमभिधीयत इति संबन्धः, वक्ष्यति च को सन्धिं पूर्वयोः
प्रणयेत् कुप्यं हस्त्यश्वं प्रागराद्धितमिति, तदाह—

को शा ध्य क्ष इति, को शो भाण्डागारं, तत्र नियुक्तः कोशा-
ध्यक्षः, को श प्र वे श्यं तत्प्रवेशार्हम् । तस्य ग्रहणं परीक्षायत्नाति-
शयार्थं गुणवत्परिग्रहार्थञ्च रत्नमुक्तादि, सा रा श्वन्दिनादयः फ ल्गु
पट्टकुलक्षौमवस्त्राजिनादि, कुप्यं कुप्याध्यक्षप्रदिष्टं सारदारुवेणुवल्कव-
ल्यादि तथायुधागाराध्यक्षाभिहितयंत्रशस्त्रावरणादिकञ्च ज्ञापकान्वक्ष्यति
हि तदध्यायप्रान्ते—

“इच्छामारम्भनिष्पत्तिः प्रयोगव्याजमुदयं ।

क्षयव्ययौ च ज्ञानीयात् कुप्यानामायुधेश्वरः ॥”

इति तत्र कुप्यग्रहणात्तदध्यायपठितानामपि कुप्यसंज्ञा ज्ञाप्यते, हि

विकल्पे, तत्र निपुणा स्त ज्ञा ताः,^१ क र णं तदधिकृतपुरुषाणां सामग्री
तद धि ष्ठि त स्तत्समेतः प्र ति गृ ह्णीयात् प्रतियच्छेत् ।

साम्प्रतं सर्वरत्नप्रधानस्य मौक्तिकस्य दशक्षेत्राणि त्रिविधाश्च
योनिं प्रतिपादयितुमाह, ता म्र^२ प णिं क मि त्यादि । तत्र ता म्र प णि-
क म्पा [ण्डेय]^३ षु ताम्रपण्याख्या नदी, समुद्रसङ्गमसमुत्पन्नं, पा एङ-
क वा ट क न्त त्रै व मलयकोटिपर्वतोत्पन्नं चञ्चत्कोष्ठागारकोटिमाच-
क्षेत । पा शि क्यं पाशादिकानदीनं,^४ कौ ले यं सिम्हलद्वीपे
मयूरग्रामसमीपे कुला नाम नदी तदुत्पन्नं, चौ र्णे यं केरलेषु मुरची^५-
पत्तनसमीपे चूर्णी नाम नदी तस्यां जातं, मा हेन्द्रं मा[म]हेन्द्र-
गिरिसमीपे समुत्पन्नं, का र्द मि कम्पारशीकेषु कर्दमा नाम नदी
तदुत्पन्नं, (स्रोतसीयं बर्बरकूले स्रोतसी नाम नदी तदुत्पन्नं), हा दी यं
बर्बरकूल एव समुद्रैकदेशे (स्त्री)^६श्रीघण्टाभिधानो ह्रदः तदुत्पन्नं,
हैमवतं हिमवद्गिरिजम् ।

एवं देशे क्षेत्राण्यभिधाय त्रिविधां योनिमाह, श ङ्ख शु क्तिः प्र की र्ण-
क च्च यो न य इति । तत्र श ङ्ख शु क्ति [क्ती] जलजौ प्राणिविशेषौ,
प्रतीतौ ।

“करका वारिधाराश्च मलयाञ्च न्दनोदकम् ।

शङ्खशुक्तिनिपीतं यन्मौक्तिकं तत्प्रजायते ।

वर्णच्छायाप्रमाणाद्यैरुपेतः कालयोगतः ।

त्रिविधं तद्विजानीयात्परमार्थसमं क्रमात् ॥”

प्र की र्ण क ङ्गजमस्तकादिप्रभवः^७न्तथा च आकरमुगेन्द्रदंष्ट्रोद्भवानि

१ “श-य-गा”नां “तज्जाताः ।” “स” कल्पित-“स्तज्जात” पाठश्चिन्त्यः ।

२ “ताम्ब्र”-श । प्रामादिकमिदम् ।

३ “गुह्ये”-स ।

४ पाशा ।

५ “ञ्ची”-स ।

६ “स्त्री(श्री ?) धं”-स ।

७ “ञ्च (श ?)”-स ।

८ “ञ्चक”-स ।

करिकुम्भजेषु जातानि । वंशा भोगभुजङ्गोत्तमाङ्गजातानि, प्रकीर्ण-
कानि ।

गुणवदुपादनायाप्रशस्तानां वर्जनीयतरत्वप्रतिपादनाय च प्रथम-
तरं^१ तयोदशविधं दोषमाह, म सू र क मित्यादि मसूरकत्रिपुटकूर्म-
कार्ध^२चन्द्रक^३कामण्डलुकानि तदाकृतीनि, तत्र म सू र लि-
AS' p. 76 पु टौ धान्यविशेषौ, कूर्मः कच्छपः, अर्धं च न्द्रः प्रतीतः,
क म ण्ड लुर्यतीनामुदकपात्रं, कञ्चु कि तं सपटलकं, य म कं
युग्मकं एकलग्नं, कर्तक[कं] च्छि[च्छि]न्नं, स्व र क मस्निग्धं, अश्लक्ष्णं वा,
सिक्तकं, विन्दुचितं, श्या वं कृष्णत्वानुगतं, सुस्थानमपि वर्णदोषा-
द्दृष्टं, नीलं नीलवर्णं, दुर्विद्धमप्रदेशविद्धं सुस्थानवर्णोपेतमपि
वेधदोषात्तद्दृष्टमेव ।

दोषानभिधायाद्यौ मौक्तिकगुणानाह स्थूलमित्यादि स्थूलं महद्द्रुतं
सुपरिमण्डलं, निस्तलम् श्लक्ष्णायां भूमावन[व]स्थायि पांसुनिका
यदुपरिमुक्तम्, तलाभावान्नावतिष्ठते । भ्राजिष्णु द्युतिमच्छवे तमति-
धवलं, गुरु भारिकं, स्निग्ध मरुक्षच्छायं, देशविद्धं यथोक्तदेशविद्धम् ।
ननु वृत्तस्निग्धदेशविद्धानां तद्विपरीतदोषवचनादर्थापत्त्या गुणत्वे
सिद्धे तद्ग्रहणनियमप्रतिषेधार्थमन्यथा हि स्थूलनिस्तलभ्राजिष्णु-
गुरुश्वेतानामेव पञ्चानां नियमेन वचनसामर्थ्या[र्थ्या]द्गुणत्वं स्यादिति ।

एवं दोषान् गुणांश्चाभिधाय सम्भवतः पञ्चषष्टिभेदानाह—शीर्ष-
क मित्यादि । शीर्षकमेकप्रधानमौक्तिकं मध्ये यस्याः [॥] शेषाणि
तु सर्वाणि तुल्यानि, (उपशीर्षकम्-स ।) सांप्रधानपञ्चमौक्तिक-
मध्यम्यकाण्डकन्तथा, प्रधानमेकमब्जम्मौक्तिकं मध्ये कृत्वा तदनु
किञ्चित्किञ्चिदपचीयमान-क्रमेण गृहीतसमस्तमौक्तिकं, गोपुच्छाकारक-

1 Should be omitted.

2 Ought to be “ध्व”.

3 “स”-द्वत् C मूले—अर्धचन्द्रकम् ।”

4 “महन्मौक्तिक” अर्थानुसृतम् ।

मवघाटकं, तदा तुल्यप्रमाणसमस्तमौक्तिकप्रथितं त र ल प्र ति -
बन्धं,^१ च शब्दः समुच्चये, इति शब्दः प्रकारे, य छि प्र भे दा
लताभेदाः ।

या यष्टीनामष्टसहस्रादिसङ्ख्यानियमेन इन्द्रच्छन्दादिसंज्ञादिकानि,
एकादशाभरणानि, प्रत्येकं शीर्षादिप्रधानपाञ्चविध्यात्पञ्चपञ्चाशज्जवन्ति,
तान्याह य ष्टी ना म ष्ट स ह स्र मि त्यादि । यष्टीनां लतानाम षो त्तर-
स ह स्रमिन्द्रच्छन्द इत्येतदेव संज्ञं भवति, शेषं सुबोधम् एत एवेति,^२
पूर्वोक्ता एवेन्द्रच्छन्दादयो म णि म ध्या स्त न्मा ण व का इन्द्रच्छन्दा-
द्युपपदमाणवकसंज्ञका भवन्ति । तत्रै क शी र्ष कः शु द्धो^३ हा र इ ति,
एकशब्दः केवलवाची, केवलाभिः शीर्षं कलक्षणाभिरुपशीर्षकादिरहिताभि-
र्यष्टिभिर्निबद्धः । संख्याप्रभेदविहितसंज्ञोपपदश्च शु द्ध हा र संज्ञो
भवति, तद्येन्द्रच्छन्दशीर्षकः शुद्धहारहारइत्यादि त द्व देकशीर्षव च्छे षाः
सोपशीर्षकप्रकाण्डकादयः स्वसंज्ञोपपदशुद्धहारा व्याख्येया । ये त्वत्र
मानुषाणामनुचितास्ते देवतानामवगन्तव्याः । म णि म ध्यो र्ध मा ण-
व क इति, मणिमध्यः पद्मरागादिमणियुक्तोर्धमाणवकः । प्रागभिहितो
दशयष्टिः, स एव त्रिभिः फलकैस्सौवर्णफलकैः पञ्चभिर्वा पद्मरागाद्यु-
पलाशय^४भूतैरुपेतः फलकहारसंज्ञो भवति । सू त्र मे का व लि[ली]रिति
[रिवर्णो वर्जनीयः] ए काद्वितीया, आ व ली लता, शु द्धा मणिरहिताः
शीर्षकादिपञ्चप्रभेदा वि^५सूत्रसंज्ञा भवन्ति सै वे ति, पूर्वोक्तैकावली
म णि म ध्या मणियुक्तमध्या य ष्टिसंज्ञा भवति, हे म म णि

१ 'प्रधानमध्यो मुक्ताहारः' "श"स्याङ्गसानुवादः । 'समप्रमायामौक्तिकगुम्फि-
ता यष्टिः'—"ग"-कृता व्याख्या । टीका एव "श"स्य भित्तिरुल्लिखिता । "स"
धृतायां तथास्माकं मूले एतन्न दृश्यते ।

२ "स"-धृत C मूले "एक एव ।" "स"स्य टीकामूले-"त एव ।"

३ "हार"स्य द्विरुक्तिर्निरर्थका ।

४ "०श्रय०"—स ।

५ "वि"—वर्जनीयः ।

चि त्रे ति यष्टिरिति हेममणिभिश्च चित्ता यष्टिरत्नावली भवति हे म-
म णि मु क्ता न्त र इति मुक्ताप्रमाणः पूर्वस्नेहवर्णं मणिः ततः पद्मरागादि-
मणिस्ततो मौक्तिक इत्येवमन्तर एव प्रथितमध्योऽप व र्त्त क सं शो
भवतीति, त्रिफलकम्पञ्चफलकं वेत्यत्र फलकं नियुक्तमुक्तम् । तद्विविधं
केवलसुवर्णं मणिसहितञ्च । तदा सु व र्णं सू त्रा न्त र मि त्या दि
सुवर्णमेव केवलं पत्रभङ्गादिपरिकर्मेवत् सूत्रान्तरमिति मध्ये, निबन्धन-
सूत्रप्रवेशे यद्विहितरन्ध्रं सूत्रनिबन्धनार्थम् विहितोभयपार्श्वपाशकं
वा, तथा च सति समासद्वयं भवति, सूत्रमन्तरं मध्ये यस्य सूत्रयोर्वा,
अन्तरं सुवर्णञ्च तत् सूत्रान्तरञ्च, सुवर्णसूत्रान्तरं सो पा न क -
म्भवति ।

ते ने ति पूर्वोक्तेन शीर्षकाद्यकण्ठाभरणप्रकारेण, शि रः प्र भृ -
ती नां क ला प जा ल क वि क ल्पा व्या ख्या ताः । क ला पो लता,
जा ल कं तत्समूहो, वि क ल्प स्तत्प्रभेद इति केचित्, अ प रे तु
कलापो लतासमूहः, जा ल क म्फलकं, वि क ल्पः प्रकार इति ।
तथा च,—

“अष्टौ गुणास्त्रिविधा योनिर्दल[श] सम्पत्तिभूमयः ।

तयोदशैव मुक्तानां दोषाहाराश्च विंशतिः ।” इति ।

एवमौक्तिकानां, क्षेत्रगुणादीनभिधाय मणीनामाह, म णि रि त्या दि ।
तत्र त्रिविधं क्षेत्रम्, कौ ट मा ले य क पा र स मु द्र काख्यम् । तथा
च, [“] अनुवेलम्मलयगिरिसिंहलभूमौ च रोहणोद्देशः कर्णिवनञ्च
तेषामुत्पत्तेर्योनयस्तिस्रः ।”] इति । प्रायिकञ्चैतदन्यत्रापि माणिष्य-
पर्यायाणां स्फटिकवैदूर्यमरकतानां विन्ध्यविदूरदुर्गमलयादिषूतपत्ति-
दर्शनात् । उक्तं हि, “विन्ध्यो विदूरशैलो मलयो विन्ध्योपलक्षणो-
द्देशः । [] ह्यीराज्यञ्चेति पुनस्तस्याकरभूमयोऽभिहिता [”] इति ।

१ “वि” वंजनीयः । अनुष्टुभि प्रतिपादं प्रायशः षोडशवर्णाः । वृत्तस्यात्र
वचित्रगुद्धिः कष्टकल्पना । “ग”—धृतः पाठः—“त्रिधा” ।

२ “०रा०”—स ।

तथा सौगन्धिकादि सूर्यकान्तान्तपञ्चविंशतिभेदाजात्यमणिजातिः ।
 तत्र सौ गन्धि पद्म रा गा न व द्य रा ग पारि जा त पुष्प क बा ल
 सूर्यक भेदात् पञ्चप्रकारमाणिष्यजातिः । तथा च [“] शशरुधिरजपा-
 बन्धूकसन्निभाः पारिजातपुष्पाभाः । तरुणारुण^१ त्विषोपात्ता एव खलु
 पद्मरागाः स्युः । [“] एवमु त्प ल व र्ण शिरीष पुष्प को द क व र्ण-
 वं श रा ग शु क्र [क] व क्ता भ व र्ण पुष्प रा ग गो मू त्र क गो मे ध-
 क प्र भे दा दष्टप्रकारा वैदूर्यजातिः । उक्तञ्च, शुकवर्हवारिसैन्धवशिरीष-
 कुसुमप्रभं वी[पी]ताभ^२ म्मार्जारनयनवैल्य^३ वंशच्छदकान्ति वैदूर्यमिति ।
 तथा इन्द्र नी ल नी ला व ली य क ला य पुष्प क माह नी ल का-
 र्श वा भ जी मू त प्र भ-नन्द क-स्व व न्म ध्य भेदादष्टधैवेन्द्रनीलजातिः तथा
 च [“] बर्हिणचन्द्रकवर्णा भ्रमराभा^४ [ः] पक्वजम्बाभास्[॥] सूर्यांशुतापयोगा^५
 कृच्छ्रानी^६ का महानीलाः [॥]” मन्दरमथनायसितवासुकिजविषोद्भवा
 मरकतस्थ (१) प्रथमोत्पत्तिः कथिता केचिदुरगारुडजातं जगुः ।
 गरुडच्छदप्रकाशं कदलीदलवंशपलवर्णं वा परिक्ककलमकणिशानु-
 कारि वा मरकतं गदितम् [॥] एवं शुद्धस्फटिकमूलादिव^६ र्णथि[शी]
 तदृष्टिसूर्यकान्तभेदाच्चतुर्धा स्फटिकजातिरिति केचित् । अपरे तु
 सौगन्धिक इति माणिष्यजातिपर्यायमाचक्षाणास्तं लक्ष्मीकृत्य पद्मरा-
 गानवद्यरागपारिजातकपुष्प[क]वालसूर्यकभेदाच्चतुर्विधाम्माणिष्यजातिं
 ब्रुवते । तथा नीलावलीयं वैदूर्यजात्यन्तरगतं व्याचक्षाणा नवप्रभेदां
 वैदूर्यजातिम्ब्रुवते । तथेन्द्रनीलमपि तज्जातीयपर्यायमावेदयन्तः कलाय-
 पुष्पकादिस्रवन्मध्यान्ता षड्विधेन्द्रनीलजातिरिति, स्फटिकस्तु तेषामपि
 चतुर्विध एव त्रयोविंशतिस्समस्ता, जात्यमणिजातिरिति ।

१ “तरुणारुणित्विषो वात” — “ग” ।

२ “हरिद्राभम्” — ग ।

३ “नैल्यं” — ग । “वैल्यं” प्रामादिकम् ।

४ “गात्र” — ग ।

५ “ल्लोका” — ग ।

६ “मूलाट्” — ग ।

तत्र मलयसमुद्रान्तरं कोटिस्तत्रभवः कौ टः मलयस्यैवैकदेशः
कर्णिवनमिति प्रतीतो माला तस्याम्भवो मा ले यः,^१ परसमुद्रः सिंहल-
द्वीपे रोहणाभिधानः, तत्र भवः पा र स मु द्र कः।

सौगन्धिको रक्तवर्णो मनाङ्गनीलगुण इति केचित्। अन्ये तु सौग-
न्धिक इति माणिक्यजात्यधिकारान्तस्य व्याख्या। पञ्चा न व द्य रा गा दि
रागशब्दः प्रत्येकं पद्मं प्रतीतं, अ न व द्यं कुङ्कु म[ं] पारिजातकपुष्पकः
पा रि भ द्र पु ष्प व र्णः, बाल सूर्य कः अधोदितदिनकरारुणः, वै दू-
र्य इत्यधिकारः। उ त्प ल व र्णो रक्तोत्पलच्छविः। शि री ष पु ष्प-
व र्ण क मु [उ] द क व र्णः वैमल्यादपि भावितवर्णः, वं श रा गो वंश-
पत्रवर्णः, शु क प त्र व र्णः शुक्रपिञ्जलः। पु ष्प रा गो हरिद्रा-
पिञ्जरः, गो मू त्र को गोमूत्रवर्णो गो मे द को गोरौचनः रुचिः नीला-
वलीयोत्यन्तनीलभ्रमराभ इति केचित्। अन्ये तु शुक्रस्तरङ्गाकारनीला-
वलीबहुल इति, इन्द्रनीलशिखिपिञ्जल^२ कनिभः अपरे तु कला-
यपुष्पकादीनां जातिवाचकमधिकारमाचक्षते क ला य -
पु ष्प कः कलायाख्यधान्यविशेषः कुसुमाकारो म हा नी लो भ द्र रा भः^३
जाम्बवाभः तज्जम्बू^४ जीमूत प्रभो मेघवर्णो नन्दकोत[न्त]शुक्लो
ल[व]हिर्नीलः स्र व न्म ध्य^५ स्यन्दमानूढको^६ कारकिरणः। शुद्धस्फटिकः
नितान्तशुक्लः। मूलादिवर्णः उद्धृतस्त्रोहदधिवर्णः। शी त वृ ष्टि श्चन्द्र-
कान्तः। सूर्य का न्तः सूर्यमणिरिति।

सम्प्रत्येकादशमणिगुणानाह, ष ड् अ इत्यादि, षडस्रः [अः] षट्-
कोटिः तद्वच्च तु र स्रः [अः] वृ त्त म्प्रतीतम्, ती व रा गोऽतिभास्वरः।

१ “श य” योः मौलेयकः। “ग”—मालेयकः।

२ “च्छ”—स।

३ “भ्रमराभः” इति संशोधनीयम्।

४ “जम्बूवर्णाः” इति कल्पनीयम्।

५ “०द्य०”—स।

६ “स्यन्दमानोदकाकारकिरणः” इति संशोधनीयम्—स।

संस्थानवा नाभरणः, योजनयोग्यः। संस्थानं, अच्छः अतिनिर्मलः,
स्निग्धः स्पर्शसुखः शुद्ध भौतिकः अविस्मा[प्ता]न् श्रीमान्,
अन्तर्गतप्रभः मध्येय^१तिभास्वरप्रभः भिद्यमानोपि अभिन्नच्छाय
इत्यपरे। प्रभाबुलेपो स्वतेज[स]ारजितापाश्रयः।

एवं गुणानभिधाय सप्तम[मणि]दोषानाह मन्दरागप्रभ इत्यादि,
मन्दशब्दः प्रत्येकमन्दरागवर्णसहितः मन्दप्रभो द्युतिरहितः, सशर्करः
पुलकितः, पुष्पच्छिद्रो विन्दुच्छिद्रः। अन्ये तु पुष्पच्छिद्र इति
वयम्पठन्तः पुष्पं सविन्दुच्छिद्रं सरन्ध्रमाहुः, तेषामष्टौ दोः खण्डः कीर्ण-
कदेशः, दुर्विद्रो दुर्देशविद्रः लेखाकार्णो राज्यमानिति।
बार्हस्पत्यौ चात्र श्लोकौ भवतः,—

“पुष्पच्छिद्रोय दुर्विद्रशर्करानुगतस्तथा।

मन्दरागप्रभश्चैव जातिभेदाः प्रकीर्तिताः॥

प्रान्तश्च वामवृत्तश्च वलितास्यः]शान्ततः^३।

कृष्णीकश्च विशीर्णश्च न हि शास्त्रे प्रशस्यते॥” इति।

अष्टादशप्रकारानन्तरजातिमणीनाह, विमलक इत्यादि, विमल-
श्चेति हरितः^४, सस्यको नीलः, अञ्जनमूलको नीलश्यामः, पि^५त्तको
गोपित्ताभः, सुलभकः शुक्लः, लोहितकः पर्यन्तरक्तः मध्ये-
कणाः, अमृतांशुकः^६ सितासितः, ज्योतीरसकः शुक्ललोहितः,
मौलेयको हिङ्गुलकच्छविः। आहिच्छत्रको मन्दरागः, कूपः

१ संस्थानवान् आभरणयोजनयोग्यः संस्थानमाभरणमिति पाठोऽनुमीयते।

“स”—स्य ‘प्रयोजन’ पाठः प्रयोजनरहितः।

२ “०प्रतिभा०”—स। अर्थेणासङ्गतिः।

३ “शान्ततः” पाठो निरर्थकः पादे चात्र वृत्तवैकल्यम्। “ग”—सम्मतः “कशा-
न्वितः” श्रेयान्।

४ “श्वेतहरितः”—ग।

५ “स”—धृत—C मूले तथा टीकायां—“वित्तकः”।

६ “स”—धृतौ—“मृतांशुकमृगास्मकौ” द्वावपि पाठौ चिन्त्यौ। “मृगा-
स्मकः”—ग। “क्षीरकः”—स।

शर्कराकोर्णः, पू [प्र]ति कूर्पः स्सिकक'छायः मधूच्छिष्टछाय इत्यन्ये ;
सुगन्धि कूर्पो मुद्गवर्णः, क्षीरपको दुग्धधवलः, शुक्तिचूर्णकोऽनेकवर्णः,
शिलाप्रवालकः प्रवालवर्णः, पुलकः कृष्णगर्भः, शुक्रपुलकः
शुक्रान्तर, इत्यन्तरजातयः ।

पूर्वोक्तास्तूत्तमाः वक्ष्यमाणाः काचमणयोऽधमा इति तदाह, शेषाः
काचमणय इति । काचो धातुद्रव्यमयः स्नेहसुखादिभाण्डानि
क्रियन्ते, तन्मया मणयः काचमणयः, सदारागा काचमणय इत्यन्ये,
तथा च,—

पञ्चविंशतिभेदानां गुणास्त्वेकादश स्मृताः ।

सप्तदोषा मणोनान्तु, दशाष्टौ च विजायत ॥ इति

सम्प्रति वज्रस्य[स्या] करयोनि^१ करयोनिवर्णगुणदोषानाह, स भा-
राष्ट्रकमित्यादि । सभाराष्ट्रकं वैदर्भकं, मध्यराष्ट्रकं
कोसलोद्भवं ; काश्म^२ कराष्ट्रकं, को[का?]शीविषयजम्, श्रीका-
उकम्^३ वेदोक्तपवतजम्, मणिमन्तकम्, उत्तरापथे मणिमन्तक-
पर्वतजम् । इन्द्रवानकं कालिङ्गकम्^४ । उपलक्षणञ्चैतदन्यस्यापि सम्भ-
वात् । तथा च,—मगधकालिङ्गकशूर्पकजलदायसपौण्ड्रकाबुद्धिपुरमणि-
मन्तसत्यविन्ध्याः काशिकस्यराष्ट्रमिहमदावलन्त्यापहिदोक्तनिमिक्तोस-
लवैदर्भा जन्मभूमयः बहुधा निर्दिष्टाः । वज्राणां रयवू^५त्पत्तिः समा-
ज्ञाता^६ ।

१ “सिक्थक” इति समीचीन—ग ।

२ “विजातयः” इति संशोधनीयम्—ग ।

३ लिपिकरप्रमादोऽयं द्विधोऽस्तेषां वर्जनीयः ।

४ “स”-धृत Cमूले “कान्तीर” (काश्मीर ?-स) पाठः । “य”—काश्मीरः । “ग” ;
—“कास्तीर” ।

५ “श-स-य-गा” नां “श्रीकटनकम् ।”

६ “स”-रूप “कानि (क्ति ?)-गकम्—प्रामादिकम् ।

७ Ought to be “तेषु” ।

८ Ought to be “ख्या” ।

तेषां त्रिविधां योनिमाह, ख नि रित्यादि, खन्यत र[अ]त इति खनिः, भूप्रदेशविशेषः, खो तः वन्यतिरिक्तो जलप्रवाहविशेषः, प्र की र्ण-कश्च पूर्ववद्रूपेण शरभवराहरजतदन्तमूलादि ।

वर्णानाह, म [I] जा रा क्ष म्^१ मार्जारनयनाभम्, शिरीषपुष्पकाद-यस्तु कृतव्याख्याः । ननु मणिवर्णानामन्यतमवर्णमित्यनेनैव तेषां गतत्वात्तद्वग्रहणं प्रायस्तद्वर्णमेव वज्रसंभवतीति ज्ञापनार्थम् ।

तथाष्टौ वज्रगुणानाह, स्थूल मिति । तत्र स्थूलं स्निग्धं गुरुणि गतार्थानि, प्र हा र स हं पुत्रिकादिप्रहारैरप्यभेद्यं, स म को टि क म ष[स]ड[मा]वि (१) को ट य स्तुल्या यस्य, भा ज न ले खि तं भूषणादौ गाढमपि निवद्धं स्तोकालाच्छिद्भवति, सोदके पाकस्य पात्रे निक्षिप्तस्य चाल्यमानम्भाजनं लिखति लेखां जनयति तत्कत्वात्, “कुभ्रामीति, अभ्रव[म]दपि भ्रमदिवाभाति^३, आत्मगतं तं म न्ति प रे, भ्रा जि ण्णु दी[दी]प्तिमत्तथा च—

‘तत् कुभ्रामिस्निग्धम् समकोटिमहद्गुरुप्रक[ह]रसहम् ।

तमतिचभाजनलेख[खि] प्रशस्ततमं वज्रमुद्दिष्टम् ॥

क्षिप्तमग्नौ च यद्रज्रं वर्णान्यत्वं न गच्छति ।

शाणे वा घृष्यमानश्च निकषे वा धिरज्यते ॥

वृत्तिकैराहतं यच्च विपत्तिं नैव गच्छति ।

रागवर्णसमायुक्तं वहि[ही]रश्मिसमन्वितम् ॥

छायायुक्तं सुसंस्थानं शुभाभिः कोटिमिष्टं तम्^४ ।

गुरुस्नेहयुतञ्चैव गुणैरेभिः समन्वितम् ॥

पतद्विशिष्टं वज्राणाम् रत्नाधिपतिकीर्तितम् ।

नष्टकोणं निरश्रीकम्पाश्वर्यातश्च वर्जयेत् ॥”

१ “श-य-गा” नां—मार्जाराक्षकम् ।

२ “ग” रूप “तकुभ्रामि” पाठः आंशिकापहारस्य निदर्शनम्—“लेखितं+कुभ्रामि ; तत् +कुभ्रामि ।

३ “स”.स्य मतं टीकात्र “hopelessly corrupt” इत्यत्युक्तिदुष्टम् ।

४ पदमेतत् “ग”—धृत-श्लोकेषु न दृश्यते ।

लोन्दोषानाह, नष्टको ण मित्यादि, नष्टको णं कुरटशिखरं निर-
क्ष^१ कम्, अक्षरहितं, पाश्चात्त मेकपार्श्वनिःसृतमिति । ये
त्वन्ये दोषाः ते यथांशगुणवैपरीत्यात्तत्रैवान्तर्भूता द्रष्टव्याः ।

तथा चागमः—

विरूपान्मन्दरागांश्च निष्प्रभान्क्रूरदर्शनान् ।

दग्धांश्चूत्कारिणश्चैव^२ वज्रांश्छत्रुषु निक्षिपेत् ॥” इति

प्रवालकं द्वियोनिं द्विवर्णं द्विदोषं चाह, प्रवालकमित्यादि ।

तत्तालकंदो बर्बरकूले समुद्रैकदेशः, तत्तालकं नन्दकं
AS. p. 78 रक्तवर्णकं, यवनद्वीपे विवर्णो नाम समुद्रैकदेशस्तत्रभवं

वैवर्णिकं, तत्पद्मरागम्पद्मवर्णं, चकाराद्रक्तञ्च भवति, करटं कुमि-
भिरुपभक्षितं, गर्भिणीका मध्येस्थूला यष्टिरिति । इतिशब्दो रत्न-
परीक्षापरिसमाप्त्यर्थः ।

एवं रत्नान्यभिधाय साराण्यभिधास्यन्सर्वसारप्रधानस्य चन्द-
नस्य जातिवर्णगन्धगुणानाह, चन्दनमित्यादि । चन्दनमित्यधिकारः ।
तत्र सातनादीनि षोडशक्षेत्राणि, भूमिगन्धादयः षड्गन्धाः, रक्तादयो
वर्णाः, लाघवाद्य एकादशगुणाः । तानाह,—सातनमिति तत्र
सातनादयस्त्रयोदश मलयैकदेशाः, जापकादयस्तयः कामरूपेषु, तेषु भवानि
सातनादीनि । सातनं रक्तं वर्णतः, भूमिगन्धि नवजलसिक्त-
भूमिगन्धि ; गोशीर्षकं कालताम्रम्^३ कृष्णारुणं, मत्स्यगन्धि
रक्तकरवीरकुसुमगन्धि ; हरिचन्दनं शुक्लपत्रवर्णम्^४ शुक्लपिञ्ज-
वर्णम्, आम्रगन्धि सहकारगन्धि ; तार्पासञ्च शुक्लपत्रवर्णमात्रं^५ [अ]-

१ “निरक्षि” इति मूले पाठः । “अक्षिरहित” —ग । “निरक्षीकम्” —श ।
“निरक्षि”—य ।

२ “०श्चोद्गारिणश्चैव”—ग ।

३ “स” धृतं C मूले “तालताम्रम् ।”

४ “श-स य-ना” नां “०मात्र” ।

गन्धि चेति ; प्रा मे रु कं र क म्ब स्त मू त्र ग न्धि, व स्तः छागः, तन्मूत्रस्य हि परिणामेऽतीव सौगन्ध्यम् भवतीति प्रतीतिः, तत्तुल्यगन्धि । अन्ये तु, कस्तूरिकामाचक्षते । दै व स भे यं, र क म्प द्वा ग न्धि । जा प^१ क श्च कामरूपजं रक्तम्पद्मगन्धश्च ; जो ङ्ग क म्, कामरूप-जमेव, तद्रक्तम्भवति, र क का लं वा, स्नि ग्धं स्नेहवद्गन्धतस्तु पद्मगन्धेव, ता[तौ]रूपं च कामरूप^२जमेव । तच्छो[जो]ङ्गकवद्रक्तं रक्त-कालं वा स्निग्धपद्मगन्धेव ; मा ले यं म्पा ण्डु र क म् पद्मगन्धेव, एवञ्च सति दैवसमेयादीनि मात्रेयान्तानि पञ्च पद्मगन्धोनि भवन्ति । कुचन्दनं^३ कालवर्णकं, गोमूत्रगन्धि, गोमूत्रं हि परिणामेऽतीवसुगन्धि भवति, गोमूत्रं नीलोत्पलमित्यपरेषाञ्च सम्प्रदायः । का ल प र्व त कं रू क्ष म् अ ग रु का लं, र कं र क का लं वा, एवङ्गालपर्वतकस्य त्रैवर्ण्यम्भवति, गोमूत्रगन्धस्तु कुचन्दनादीनां, शाकल[१]न्तानां षण्णा-मप्येक एव[व] । को श[१]^४ का र प र्व त कं का लं का ल चि त्रं वा, कृष्णशवलं ; शी तो द की यं प द्मा भं^५ पद्मवर्णं का ल स्नि ग्धं वा कृष्णस्निग्धं ; ना ग प र्व त कं रू क्षं शै व ल व र्णं, शाकलङ्क पि लं बहुवर्णम् ।

एवं जातिवर्णगन्धानभिधाय गुणानाह, — ल घु स्नि ग्ध मि त्या दि । ल घु शरीरलग्नमभारिकं स्निग्धमपेक्ष्य मं श्या न मचिरशोषि, स पि-स्नेहलेपि यच्छरीरं स्नेहेनानुलिम्पति न मृत्तिकेव त्वचं सङ्को-श[च]यति, गन्ध सु खं गन्धेन सुखावहं त्व ग नु सा रि रोमकूपाननु-प्रविश्य त्वगन्तराह्लादि । अ नु ल्व णं सूक्ष्मत्वादनुद्धतम्, अ वि-

१ “जालकं”—स । “जावकं”—ग ।

२ “स”-स्य “काररूपं” प्रामादिकम् ।

३ “श-स-य-गा”नां—“मालेयकं” ।

४ ‘कुचन्दनं कालरुक्मगुरुकालं रक्तं रक्तकालं वा कालपर्वतकमनवद्यवर्णं वा’ इति “य”सम्मतः पाठो “जे” नाशुद्धो मन्यते ‘गन्धानुक्तेः’ । शुद्धिस्त्वस्य हलभा

५ “स”धत्त C-य”योः “कोशागार” ।

६ “पद्मरागं”—स । “स” धत्त C मूले “ताल०” ।

रा नि वर्णं गन्धयोरविकारि द्रव्यान्तरमिश्रीभावे स्वेदाद्युपघाते
चोष्णसम्भवस्तदा, लिप्तस्य हीति प्रतापेपि बाधाभावात्, दाहप्राहि
परितापहारि, सुखस्पर्शं सूक्ष्मत्वात् नवनीतवत् सुखावहं,
घुणचूर्णवदपरूपस्पर्शमिति ।

[“] तथा षड्गन्धा नवधायः वर्णगुणाश्चैकादश स्मृताः ।

“चन्दनानां समासेन षोडशोत्पत्तिभूमयः ।” इति ।

अगरुजातिवर्णगन्धगुणानाह,—जोङ्गकमित्यादि । जोङ्गकं^१
त्रिविधं, कालं, कृष्णं, कालचित्रं; कृष्णं गौरलेखामिश्रं, मण्डल-
चित्रं कृष्णं गौरविन्दुचित्रं दोङ्गकम्, श्यामवर्णतः, तदुभयं
कामरूपजम् । पारसमुद्रकं^२ सिंहलद्वीपजं चित्ररूपं अनेकवर्णं,
गन्धतस्तु द्विविधम्, उशीरगन्धि नवमालिकागन्धि-
वेति ।

अगरुगुणानाह गुर्वित्यादि, गुरुभारिकं, स्निग्धं स्पर्शे
पेशलं बहुलगन्धं निर्हारि दूरनिर्गतस्थायिगन्धम्, अग्निसहं चिरा-
दुद्दिह्यते असम्प्लुतधूमम् विच्छिन्नधूमम् । समगन्धिद्वयमादि-
मध्यावसानेषु द्रव्यान्तरसंयोजितं वा समगन्धं, विमर्दासहं निवसन
प्रावरणाद्युपभोगेऽप्यक्षीयमाणमिति । तथा च—

“उत्पत्तिभूमयस्तिष्ठः कृष्णो वर्णः प्रधानतः ।

द्रावेवागरुणो गन्धौ गुणास्तस्याष्टकीर्तिताः ॥” इति ।

तैलवर्णिकस्य योनिवर्णगन्धगुणानाह, तैलवर्णिकं^३ मित्यादि ।

१ “होति” (“हि+इति”) इत्यस्य “सति” इति “स”—शुद्धिप्रयासश्चिन्तनीयः ।

२ “नवधावर्णो”—ग ।

३ “दोङ्गकं”—स ।

४ “समुद्रजं”—स ।

५ अगरु ।

६ “श-य-ना” नां “पर्णिकं” । “गन्धि”—स ।

तै ल व णि कं ग्रन्थिवर्णिकं ; अ शो क ग्रा मः कामरूपेषु, तत्त्वभव-
मशोकग्रामीयं, हरिणमांसपेशवर्णं पद्म गन्धि, जोङ्ग[ङ्गक]कामरूपे-
ष्वेवातरवत्यभिधानं तत्त्वभवं जोङ्गकं, रक्तपीतं मनुशिलावर्णं,
उत्पल गन्धि गोमूत्र गन्धि वा । ग्रामेरु कामरूपेष्वेव, तत्र
भवं ग्रामेरुकं, लिङ्गं गोमूत्र गन्धि वर्णस्तु जोङ्गकवत् ;
सौवर्णं कुड्यकम्^१ कामरूपेष्वेव सुवर्णकुड्यः, तत्र भवं ;
रक्तपीतकम्, मातुलुङ्ग^२ गन्धि ; पूर्णकमपि कामरूपेष्वेव ;
शेषमृजु । भद्रश्री[श्री]यमाह^३, भद्रश्री [श्री]यमित्यादि, तच्च प्रति
विप्रतिव[प]क्त[त्त]यो व्याख्यातृणां[४]—

केचित् कर्पूरमित्याहुतकेका[स्तको]ल^५मिति चापरे ।

श्रीवान[स]कन्तथा केचित्केचिल्लोहितचन्दनम् [॥]

इत्यादि । पारलौहित्यकम् कामरूपेष्वेवान्तरवत्यभिधानन्दी-
कूलजं, शेषमृजु । कालेयकमाह, कौलेयकमित्यादि—
AS'. p. 79.
कौलेयकः^६ काष्ठविशेषः, स द्विविधः, सुवर्णभूमिजः
सुवर्णद्वीपोत्पन्नः लिङ्घपीतकः, उत्तरपर्वतो हिमवान्, तत्र-
भवः औत्तरपर्वतकः, रक्तपीतकः^७ इति सारा, इतिशब्दः
प्रकारे, साराश्चन्दनादयः कालेयकपर्यन्ता व्याख्याता^८ इति ।

१ “स”-धृत C मूले “सौवर्णकुड्यकम् ।” “सौवर्णकुड्यकम्” ।—स ।

२ “लङ्ग” —स ।

३ भद्रश्रीयं चन्दनम् इति सुश्रुतः ।

४ “हुः केकाल” —स ।

५ “लौहित्यसमीपजं” —स ।

६ “स”-धृत C मूले “अन्तरवश्यम्” ।

७ “श-य-गा” नां “कालेयकः” । “स”-धृत C मूले—“कटलेयकम्” ।

८ Burma.—Day, Dict. of Ancient Ind. Geography

९ “स”-धृत C मूले—“रक्तपीतः” ।

तत्र तैलवर्णिकमद्रश्चि[श्री]यः लेयकानां गुणानाह—पिण्ड का^१ -
 थ धू म स ह मि त्या दि पिण्डसहस्रिष्टमाणमपि सम्पातिकाथसहस्र
 काथ्यमानमपि कृतगन्धं धू म स हं चिरं दृश्यमानं तिष्ठति, अत्रि रा गि
 कालान्तरेण द्रव्यान्तरमिश्रितं वा न विरज्येत, च न्द ना ग रु वि[व]दि^२
 त तः एव च शूणाश्चैषां भवन्तीति ।

एवं रत्नानि सारांश्चाभिधाय फणून्प्राह, तत्रापि चर्मणां प्राधान्यात्
 पञ्चदशप्रकाराणि भूषिकादिचर्मण्यप्राह, तानि च समुदिश्य यथोद्देशं
 स्वयमप्राचार्य इव व्यावष्टे । कान्त ना व क मि त्या दि, कान्तनाम[व]-
 कप्रैयके हिमवत्यै क्लेशजे, औत्तरपर्वतकं हिमवतकमधिकारश्चायं,
 सर्वचर्मणां ।

तत्र कान्त ना व क मेकप्रकारमेव मयूरप्रोवाभं, प्रैयकं
 चतुर्विधम्, नीलपोतकं श्वेतं, लेखाचित्रं बिन्दुचित्रञ्च
 तदुभयं कान्तनावकं, प्रैयकं चाष्टाङ्गुलायामग्रमान्त(तः)^३
 तथापि महाबिसी^४ च द्वादशग्रामीये हिमवत्येव श्लेच्छा-
 दिवासभूता द्वादशग्रामाः तेषु च भवा द्वादशग्रामाः तेषु भवे
 द्वादशग्रामीये ।

द्वे चर्मणी तयो रूपमाह, अव्यक्तवर्णंति सर्ववर्णोपेतत्वाद्
 विभावितैकतरवर्ण[र]हि लि का, बहुतररोमोपेता चित्रा वा, शुक्ललेखा-
 कीर्णा ल[बि]सि परुषा कर्तृक[क]शान^५ स्पर्श[र]श्चेत्[र]^६—वर्जनी-

१ Ought to be “का” ।

२ “स”—धृत C मूले—“काथा” ।

३ “दि” वर्णो वर्जनीयः ।

४ “त” वर्णो वर्जनीयः ।

५ “व्व” वर्णो वर्जनीयः ।

६ Should be omitted.

७ Ought to be बिसी, महाबिसी ।

८ “य य” योः “दुहिलितिका” ।—“दुहिलिका”—स ।

९ “त” वर्णो वर्जनीयः ।

१० “न” वर्जनीयमेतत् ।

यमेतत् ।] प्राया वर्णान्तरव्यतिकरेपि बहुतरधवलवर्णा महाबिंसी,
त दु भ य म पि बिंसीमहाबिंसीजं द्वा द शा ङ्गु ला या मं प्रमाणतः ।

हिमवदन्तर्गत एव दोहाभिधानो देशः, तत्र भवः पञ्चप्रकारचर्माह
श्या मि के त्या दि, कपिला बभ्रु वर्णा बिन्दुभिश्चित्रा वा श्या मि का
भवति, कपिला कपोतवर्णा हि का लि का भवति, त दु भ य म पि
चा ष्टा ङ्गु ला या म म् प्रमाणतः परुषा कर्कशा स्पर्शो क द ली
हस्तायता च तु विंशत्यङ्गुला भवतीति येषाञ्चर्मणां वर्णप्रमाणानि
नोक्तानि, तान्यनन्तरं पूर्वाभिहितान्येव द्रष्टव्यानीति केचित् । अनिय-
तवर्णप्रमाणत्वात् । अनिर्देश्य इत्यपरे, सैव कन्दलो च न्द्र चित्रा
चन्द्राकारशुक्लमण्डलचित्रा च न्द्रो त्तरा भवति कदलीभागा हस्ता-
यता कदली, तृतीयो भागो यस्याः सा कदलीत्रिभागाष्टाङ्गुलेत्यपरे
शकला भवति को ठ म ण्ड लं चित्रा रक्तमण्डलबहुला कृ त-
क र्णि का जि ना स्वाभाविकोत्पन्नचर्मग्रन्थिकेति आरोहजा एताः
श्यामिकादय इति ।

त्रिविधं बाह्वेयमाह, सा मू र मि त्या दि बा ह्व वा हिमवदेक-
देशः ।]

अञ्ज न व र्ण मि ति कृष्णं सामूरं भवति ; ची न सी द्विविधा
र क का ली पा ण्डु का ली वा ; सा मू ली गो धू म व र्णो ति ।

त्रिविधञ्जलचराजिनमाह, सा ति ने त्या दि, उ द्रो जलचर-
प्राणिविशेषः, तदीयाः औद्राः ।

1 “श-य-गा”नां “शाङ्गुला” ।

2 “कोमण्डलं”—स ।

3 “श-य-गा”नां “बाह्वेयाः” ।

4 “आलहवा”—स ।

5 “साद्वरं”—स ।

6 “काशी”—स ।

तत्र सा ति ना कृष्णा, न ली^१ तू ला नलीतूलवर्णा, न ली तृण-
 विशेषः, तत्तूलं कुसुमपक्ष्म तद्वर्णा, वृ त्त पु च्छा कपिला ;
 AS . p. 80
 इ ति शब्दः प्रकारे, एतेनानुक्तमपि मार्जारचर्मजा एतद्देश-
 प्रसिद्धा गृहीता द्रष्टव्या ।

चर्मगुणानाह, मृ द्वि त्या दि । मृ डु सुकुमारं स्नि ग्ध मरुक्षम्,
 ब हु ल रो म च श्रेष्ठमभवति ।

चर्माप्यभिधाय रागभेदेन त्रिविधं, क्रियाभेदेन चतुर्विधं, संस्थान-
 भेदेन दशविधमेवं सप्तदशविधं गालिकमाह, रागभेदेन तावत् शु द्धं शु क्लं,
 शुद्धरक्तम् सर्वरक्तम् इ^२ र क्तमेकदेशरक्त मा वि क मययोरोमोरोमोव-
 कारिणः पशुविशेषा तद्रोमभवः क्रियाभेदाच्चातुर्विध्यमाह, खचितं
 सूचिवानं वानचित्रं वानेनैव चित्रं, खण्डसङ्घात्यं पृथग्विरचिता-
 वयवसङ्घात न्त न्तु वि च्छि त्रं जालकोपकारि ।

संस्थानभेदाद्दशविध्यमाह, क म्ब ल इ त्या दि क म्ब लः
 प्रतीतः ।

कौचपाकः^३ वनगोचरा, स शीत वारणशिरस्त्राणं कु ल मि ति का^४
 गजास्तरणपर्याणाधस्ताच्चीयते, सौ मि ति का सैव कृष्णवर्णा, गजपर्या-
 णस्योपरि दीयते, तु र गा स्त र ण म्प्रतीतम् लघुरप्यपदेश इत्यपरे
 व र्णं कं वर्णकम्बलः तलिच्छकं तलिन्धरुतत्पकः, वारवाणः कञ्चु-
 कम्प रि स्तो मः विस्तारिका चि^५त्रकुथेत्यपरे, स म न्त भ द्र कं सन्ना-
 हपट्टः गजादिजघनक्षत्रमित्यपरे, च समुच्चये, आ वि क मि ति, आविक-

१ “श-य-गा” नां “नलतूला” ।

२ “पक्ष्म” —स ।

३ “श-य” योः “कौचपाकः” ; “ग” —स्य “कैचलकः” । “कैचलकः—
 वनगोचराणाम् शीतवारणम्” —स ।

४ “श-य” योः “कुलमितिका” । “ग” —इय “कलमितिका” । “कथमितिका”
 —स ।

५ “चित्रा । कुथेत्यपरे” —स ।

ग्रहणेन तु वर्तमाने खचितवानचित्रखण्डसङ्गत्यतन्तुविच्छिन्नानि कार्पासकान्यपि भवन्तीति तत्प्रतिषेधार्थम् ।

गुणानाह, पि च्छि ल मि त्या दि, इवशब्दः प्रत्येकं पि च्छि ल-मिव पिच्छिलमतिश्लक्ष्णम्, अर्द्र मि वा र्द्रमतिगुह सूक्ष्म म्प्रतनु, मृ दु-संज्ञमारुन्तच्छ्रे ष्ट म्भवति ।

स्रोतयः खण्डानि तैरष्टाभिस्संहताष्टस्रोतिसङ्घात्या कृष्णा कृष्ण-वर्षादित्राणं^१ भि ङ्गि सी कुटो, अ प सा र कः काण्डवटकः सोप्यष्ट-स्रोतिसङ्घात्यकृष्ण एव यत्र वर्णान्तरमनुपदिष्टं^२ तत्र सर्वत्र शुद्धादिक-मनुवर्तते पिच्छिलादींश्चतुरो गुणानभिधाय पश्चाद्विङ्गिस्थपसारयो-रभिधानं वर्षादित्राणव्यवधानैकोपयोगित्वात्पिच्छिलादिगुणवैयर्थ्या-दिति । नेपालकम् नेपालविषय जमाविकमुक्रममिहितमिति ।

इह नेपालग्रहणान्मृगरोमाद्यन्यदेशजं व्याख्यातं तस्य हि बवन्तकूट-शम्भरेण्वर्बुदकुंदेष्वेव सम्भवात् ।

तत् षड्विधमाह, स म्पु टि के त्या दि । स म्पु टि का सुग्ध^३णा-भिधाना जङ्घात्राणार्थं^४ च तुर श्रि का दशारहिता कोणेषु नवाङ्गि[ङ्गु]ली-चिह्निता शीतत्राणार्थं^५ भवति ; ल म्ब रा नाम प्रच्छदपटः, क ट वा न कं स एव स्थूलसूत्र[त्रि]तो भाष्यक इति तद्देशीयानाम्प्रसिद्धः प्रा वा र कः^६ स एवान्यतरते[तो] दशो रोमावर्तक इति तद्देशीया-नाम्प्रसिद्धः । स त्त लि का^७ तूलकाख्यास्तरणविशेषः । द्विपुटं प्रावरण-मित्यपरे ।

त्रिविधं दुकूलमाह, वा ङ्ग क मि त्या दि । वा ङ्ग कं वाङ्गेषु भवं, श्वे तं वर्ण^८तः, स्नि ग्ध म् परुष न्दु कू ल म् सूक्ष्मवल्कलं, पौ ण्ड्र कं पुण्ड्रेषु^९ भवं, श्या मं वर्ण^८तः, म णि स्नि ग्धं मरकतस्निग्धम् ।

१ "सुक्थं"—स ।

२ "त्रायाय"—स ।

३ "श-य-गा" नां—"प्रावरकः" । "प्रवारकः"—स ।

४ "सतद्विका"—स ।

५ ऐतरेय-ब्राह्मणे ७।१८।२

सौ वर्ण कुड्यकं कामरूपेषु सुवर्णकुड्ये भवं, सूर्यवर्णं बालार्क-
प्रभं, त्रिविधमेव वयनप्रकारमाह, मणिस्त्रिग्योदकवानम् यदुक्तम्
दुकूलस्य द्रव्यं तदुक्तेनाद्रीकृत्य मणिनापवृष्यत^१ इति; चतुरस्र-
[श्र]वानं वर्णान्तरारूपदं शुद्धं दुकूलवानं, व्यामिश्रवानम्
कौशेयकेन कार्पासकेन च वारम्। क्षौप्रेण तस्य[न्य]तिते[त] वीरणेनोयते
वीरणेन हि तन्यते क्षौप्रे^२ 'णोयत' इति केचित्।

वर्णान्तरव्यामिश्रमित्यपरे। एवं त्रिविधन्दुकूलवानम्भवति।

एतेषाम् दुकूलानां मेकांशुकमेकतनमेकतन्तुकञ्च सूक्ष्म-
त्वाच्छ्रेष्ठम्भवति, अस्थार्धांशुकं यदेकगुणन्तन्यते द्विगुणम्[म्भू]यते
द्विगुणम्पा[म्भा]तन्य वतते^३ एकगुणम्[म्भू]यते तद्वार्धांशुकं स्थूल-
त्वादेकांशुकादवकृष्टम्भवति, एवमपरेष्वपि योज्यम्।

अथ वट्सतहस्तादिकम् दुकूलपट्टप्रमाणम् नियम्य, ततोऽधिक-
करणादध्यर्धांशुकादि दुकूलं प्रकरणेन काशिकं पौण्ड्रकञ्च
तद्देशजं क्षौमम् स्थूलदुकूलं व्याख्यातम्।

वर्णतो वानतोऽशुकप्रविभागतश्चेति क्षौमदुकूलयोः स्थूलसूक्ष्मत्व-
कृतौ वा भेद इति। त्रिदेशजानां चतुर्वृक्षयोनिं पत्रोर्णामाह, तत्र
मगधादयस्त्रयोदश। नागवृक्षादयश्चत्वारो वृक्षाः।

पीतादयश्चत्वारो वर्णाश्च प्रतीताः। पत्रोर्णा पट्टसूत्रयोनिः
AS. p. 61 कोशिकाप्रविशेषः।

तासां च पत्रोर्णानां सौवर्णकुड्यका श्रेष्ठा। तथा पत्रो-
र्ण्या कौशेयं कोशिकारभवं चीनपट्टाः चीनविषयोद्भवाः।

१ "०शावधुष्य"—स। चिन्त्यमेतत् "व्यामिश्रक०"—स

२ "त"वर्णो वर्जनीयः।

३ "क्षौमे"—स।

४ "वा तन्यते"—स

५ "वत"वर्णो वर्जनीयः।

वस्त्रविशेषा, व्याख्या ता निर्दिष्टाः । तेषामपि नागवृक्षादयो योनयः
पीतकादयश्च वर्णा इति ।

मधुरादि सप्तविधकार्पासिकमाह, माधुरन्दक्षिणापथम् मधुरो-
त्पन्नम् । आपरान्तकं कोङ्कणविषयजम् । कलिङ्गकाशिवङ्गाः
प्रतीताः, तत्र भवं कालिङ्गकाशिकम् । वात्स्यकं^१ कौशाम्बि^२देशजं,
माहिषकं माहिष्मतीदेशजम् कार्पासिकं कार्पासविकारः ।
श्रेष्ठमुत्तममिति ।

साम्प्रतमध्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकमाह, अतः परेषामित्यादि ।
अतो यथाभिहितान्मुक्तदेः कार्पासिकान्तात्सप्तदशकात् गणा-
त्परेषामपि एषां रत्नादीनाम्प्रमाणं भाषकाङ्गुलादिकं वक्ष्य-
माणं वक्ष्यति त्रिंशतितण्डुलं वज्रधरणमिति, तथाष्टौ यवमध्याङ्गुल-
मध्यमस्य पुरुषस्य मध्यमायाम्प्रकर्षो वाङ्गुलमिति । उक्तञ्च कान्तनाव-
कस्यैयकञ्च तदुभयमष्टाङ्गुलायाममित्यादिमूल्यमर्थं । तथा च—

द्वेग[श]ते, यत्र[धृ]कं[तं] रत्नम् तण्डुलानाम्प्रमाणतः ।

शी[श]तद्वयं सहस्राणां तस्य मूल्यम्प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ इति

लक्षणप्रशस्तताम् तद्यथा, मुक्तानां स्थूलनिस्तु[स्त]लमित्यादि ।
मणीनां षड्रश्च^३ च[श्च]तुरस्रो[श्च] वेत्यादि अथवा—

क्षीरकुम्भे मणिः क्षिप्तो यो रञ्जयति तेजसा ।

शुक्लत्वञ्चोद्धृते[तो]याति तं शुद्धमिति निर्दिशेत् ॥

जातिरुत्पत्तिस्ताम्रपर्ण्यादिकाश्चमणीनामित्यादि । रूपं षड्रश्च-
चतुरश्चादिकं एतत्कोषाध्यक्षो जानीयात् । निधानं सङ्को-
पायनविधि र्यथा निधीयमानमनाशि भवति । नवकर्म नवस्थाकरो-
द्गुप्तस्य कर्म संशोधनवेधनादिकम् ।

पुराणका सप्रंस्मिति । पुराणस्यासम्भोगाद^४तिभोगादिभिः

१ “श-य-गा” नां “वात्सक” ।

२ “द” वक्षो वर्जनीयः ।

निश्चायितस्य श्लघी[थी]भूतपूर्वनिबन्धनस्य न च पुनर्नवीकरणमुक्तं
हि—

अतिभोगादसंभोगाद्धूमाग्निस्वेदघर्षणात् ।

भूम्यम्बुलवणैश्चापि मुक्तावर्णोपि रज्यत^१ ॥ इति

कर्मगुह्यमिति रत्नानां वर्णापचारणरञ्जनघर्षणादिकं तथा
कौशेयवल्कलरोमजानामरिकदर्पदृष्टकाकपलप्रक्षेवादिसर्जकाक्षारादिभिः
शोधनमुपस्कृष्टराज्ज्वाणमुष्टिकवेदनयन्त्रादीन्देशकालावुतातेः
[वुत्पत्तेः] कयविकयादेया[^२] परिभोग उपभोगः । कथङ्कुदा वेति,
तद्यथा शीतप्राये देशे मृगरोमधर्मप्राये त[तथा] कार्पासिकमेवङ्कुले,
वियोज्यं, हिंसाणां कसारिकादीनां^३ प्रतिकियां प्रतिविधान-
मातपशोषणस्पलप्रक्षेपादि, मूषिकाणां मार्जारोत्सर्ग ऊष्मोपस्नेहयो-
रन्यथावस्थानं किमिमूषिकोपहतानां तुन्नवायोः संश्लेषणस[म]सीव-
नादिसंस्कारकमित्यादि सर्वसंग्रहस्तु ।

मौक्तिक[क]मणयो वज्रं प्रवालं च समासतः ।

रत्नञ्चतुर्विधमप्युक्तं साराः पञ्चविधा मताः ॥

चन्दनाग^४हणी श्रेष्ठं मध्यमन्तैल^५वर्णिकम् ।

भद्रश्रियञ्च जानीयात् कालेयकमथेतरेत् ॥

चर्माणि^६ मृगरोमाणि दुकूलं क्षौमजातयः ।

कार्पासिकञ्च पत्तोर्ण^७कौशेयमफलु च^८पृथा ॥

१ “विरज्यते” — ग ।

२ “य” — “पस्करात्” पाठः प्रामादिकः ।

३ “रीका” — स । Gujarāṭī “कसारी” “cockroach” or any insect.

४ “गु” — ग ।

५ “प” — ग ।

६ “ग” — “चर्माविमृग” पाठः प्रामादिकः ।

कुप्य[^१]कुप्यायुधाध्यक्षप्रोक्तमन्यत्र^१ नोदितम् ।

मुक्ताफलाद्यशेषास्तु भेदास्सप्तदशोदिताः ॥

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अथेशस्त्रयीकायाम् अध्यक्षप्रचा-

रिके द्वितीयेधिकरणे,

एकादशोध्यायः ।

कोशप्रवेश्यरत्नपरीक्षादितो द्वात्रिंशोध्यायः ।

१: "मित्यत्र"—ग। समीचीनमेव । कुप्याध्यक्षस्तु अध्यक्षप्रचारे सप्तदशोऽ-
ध्यायः आदितोऽष्टत्रिंशः ।

अथ द्वादशोऽध्यायः

आकरकर्मान्तप्रवर्तनमिति सूत्रम्

आ क रः सुवर्णाद्युत्पत्तिस्थानम्, क र्मा न्ता स्तत्तिकारम्भा-
स्तैषां प्र व र्त्त नं अनुष्ठानम्, आकरकर्मान्तप्रवर्तनमिति सूत्रार्थः ।
सम्बन्धस्तु कोशप्रकृतिः प्रकान्ता सन्निधातुनिचयकर्मादिभिः कोश-
प्रवेश्यरत्नपरीक्षान्तैस्तत्प्रतिपादनार्थमभिधीयत इति सम्बन्धः ।

तदाह आ क रा ध्य क्ष इत्यादि । शु ल्व^१ शा स्त्रं भूसिराज्ञानं
शाकलादि तेनाभूतपूर्वप्रवर्त्तने कूपखननादिके चोपयोगः, यद्वा शु ल्व-
न्ताम्रं, तस्य ताम्ररजतहेमता वा येनोपदिश्यते तत्कनकपञ्चाशत्क्रिया-
वादशुल्वशास्त्रं धा तु ज्ञानं धातुभ्यः सत्वपातनविधायि धातुकौटि-
ल्याभिज्ञानं, र स ज्ञा नं रसबन्धविज्ञानम् रसोपनिषदाख्यं, हस्त-
कटकादि वा पा क ज्ञा नं वर्णकोटकर्पादि कौशलं रसस्य वा पाकः
पचनन्द्रव्यान्तरयोगेन मारणजारणरञ्जनादिज्ञानं, मणीनां नामावर्णो-
त्पादनज्ञः सख^२शुल्वशास्त्राद्यभिज्ञसहायस्समुच्चयार्थो वा शब्दः ।
तद्ज्ञानवतस्तत्सहायस्य च सर्वकर्मसु, शक्तत्वात्, तथा च नास्य
ह्यशक्तिः कश्चित्कार्यारम्भः प्रसिध्यति । वियता^३ पक्षहीनस्य पक्षिणो
गमनं यथेति । त ज्ञा ता स्तद्योगाः क र्म क राः सरकपांसुधावकल-
हकारादयः, उ प क र णा नि खनित्वमस्त्रासन्दंशाधिकरणमुष्टिका-
दीन्पेतै स्सम्पन्नः समेतः, किट्टादिभिर्लिङ्गै रा का र भू त पू र्व म त्थ-
गौरवादिभिश्चाभूत पू र्व म्प रीक्षेत । किट्टं लोहमलं, मूषा मृण्मय-
मावर्तनभागम्, अङ्गारमस्मनि प्रतीते लिङ्गं चिह्नम् भू त पू र्वं यद्-
वृत्तम्, विच्छिन्न म भू त पू र्व मभिनवं भू मिः मृ त्ति का, प्र स्त रः
पाषाणो, र सः सलिलपारदादिः, धा तुः सत्वप्रकृतिः, स च भूम्या-
दिभिः प्रत्येकमभिसंबध्यते^४ । अत्यर्थवर्णमुत्कृष्टस्वभाववर्णं चक्षुषा

१ “शुल्व” इति मूले । “स्व”-धृत-८ मूले “शूल०” ।

२ “तज्ज्ञसखः”—“स ग”योः ।

३ Ought to be “ति”

४ “०ध्येत”—स ।

परीक्षेत, अत्यर्थं गौरवमतिभारिकं, तोलनेनो ग्रन्थं तीव्र-
गन्धं ब्राणेनो ग्रसमत्ययंकटूकादिरसोपेतमास्वादेन इत्येवं
चतुर्भिः प्रकारैराकरपरीक्षेत, धातोः सत्वोत्कर्षापकर्षविरूपयेत् ।
तत्र भूमिप्रस्तरधात्वोः पश्चादप्युपदिष्टस्य रसधातोरपि च लता-
फलरूपसुवर्णैकरधानित्वेन महाफलत्वादल्पप्रयासत्वाच्च ।

विलगुहादिपञ्चाधिष्ठानान् रसानेव तावदाह, प्रवृत्तनामि-
त्यादि अभिज्ञाताः पूर्वनरैर्द्रैश्चिन्तिताः तच्छास्त्रेषु^१ वा परि-
पठताः उद्देशाः प्रदेशा येषामिति । विलं सुरङ्गाकारादरी भूमिविवरं
वा, गुहा देवकृतगृहमश्मगृहकृतमुपत्यका पर्वतासन्ना भूमिः,
लयनम्पौलषेयम् दृङ्कोत्पादितगृहं गूढखातं महाशिलापिहितं द्वारम्बिल-
मन्तर्गतगूढनदी वा, एतेषामन्तर्मध्ये प्रस्यन्दिनो जम्बूफलादि
दशोपमानवर्णाः जम्बूचूतताला नि प्रतीतानि । पक्कहिरिद्राभेदः
शोधितहरिद्राभङ्गः, हरितालहिङ्गुलकौ पाषाणविशेषौ, क्षौद्र-
म्मधु, पुण्डरीकं श्वेतपद्मं, शुक्रमयूरयोः पत्रं तत्पिञ्जमेतत् ।

सवर्णावर्णसवर्णोदकाः तत्सुवर्णोदकाः, तत्सवर्णो-
पधयश्च पर्यन्तास्समीपप्रदेशा येषामिति । चिकणाः
स्पृश्यमाना हस्तासङ्गिनः विशदास्तद्विपरीता भारिका गुरवः,
रसाशिलाकन्दरादिनिष्पन्दाः, काञ्चनिकाः सुवर्णप्रयोजनाः ।

पुनः परीक्षान्तरमाह, अप्सु^२ निष्ठूता जले प्रक्षिप्ता स्तैलवद्वि-
सर्पिणः, सद्योव्यापिनः, पङ्कमलग्राहिणः अपरित्यक्तनीलपङ्क-
जमलत्वान्न स्वच्छोभवन्तीत्यर्थः । उदकप्रक्षिप्ता वा तत्पङ्कमलमादाय
गुरुत्वादधो गच्छन्तीत्यपरे, तत्पङ्कमलक्षणास्ताम्ररूप्ययोश्शतादुप-
रिवेद्धा इति ताम्रपलशते रूप्यपलशते वा स्वेन विधिना पलक-
मेकमुपक्षिप्तसर्वं काञ्चनीकरोति शतादिति पञ्चम्या वेद्धा इति

१ “सच्छास्त्रेषु”—स ।

२ Ought to be “आलयम्” ।

३ “श”-स्य “अफुल्ल” पाठः प्रामादिकः ।

गुणप्रसारणशेषं लक्षणभृद्यम् । सर्वं एवैवं लाक्षणिक्तो रसः ।

काञ्चनिक इति प्राप्ते तदपवादमाह, तत्प्रतिरूपमिति, तत्सुव्यवर्णं सुप्रगन्धरसं गन्धरसाभ्यामपिसमानं शिलाजतुविद्यात्, शिलाजतुनामद्रव्यान्तरमुपयोगान्तरादवयवव्यतिरेकाभ्यामभ्यासवशेन वा जानीयादिति केचित् । अस्तु तैलवदविसर्पणात्पङ्कमलाग्रहणाद्वा विद्यादित्यपरे ।

भूमिप्रस्तरलक्षणं सुवर्णधातुमाह, पीतकेत्यादि, पीतकाशुद्धपीताः, ताभ्याः^१ शुद्धताभ्याः, ताभ्यपीता^२ उभयवर्णा इत्येवं द्विविधा भूमिधातवः, प्रस्तरधातवश्च मध्येष्येते किमेवं वर्णा एव नेत्याह भिन्ना^३ विदारिता नीलराजीमन्तो^४ नीललेखाकीर्णाः । सुद्गमाणौ प्रतीतौ घान्यविशेषौ ; कृसरस्तिलोदनः तद्वर्णा, वा विकल्पे, दधिबिन्दुचिह्नाः दधिवर्णा, ननु वृषदाकीर्णाः, दधिपिण्डचिह्नाः, दधिवर्णस्थूलबिन्दु[न्दु]शबलाः ; तथा हरिद्रादिसप्तविधवर्णाश्च ; तत्र हरिद्रादयः प्रतीताः, यकृत्, उदरान्तर्गतः कालखण्डाख्यो मांसविशेषः तद्वत् ; लोहाडिम्बः । अनवद्यङ्कुममेतद्वर्णा वा ; किमेतेऽभिन्नाप्येतद्वर्णा एवेत्याह, भिन्ना इत्यादि । चुञ्चुवालुका सूक्ष्मवालुकेत्युपदेशेन, अन्ये तु चुञ्चुवालुकेति पठन्तः चुञ्चुपलाकाराश्चुञ्चुवालुकेति वर्णयन्ति, चूचुः चाटविकः शाणविशेषः ; लेखा राजयः, बिन्दुः प्रतीतः, स्वस्तिको नन्द्यावर्तः ; सगुलिकाः^५ निम्बफलाकारशर्करोपेताः ; आ [अ] चिंष्मन्तो दीप्तिमन्तः । इत्येवम्बहिः परोक्षामभिधायान्निप्रतानांपरोक्षामाह,—ताप्यमाना इति धमायमाना न भिद्यन्ते न स्फुटन्ति, बहुफेनाः बहुधूमाश्च

१ “ताम्रका” इति मूले ।

२ “ताम्रपीतका” इति मूले ।

३ “भिन्नाः”—स । “प्रभिन्नाः”—य ।

४ “नीलराजीवन्तः”—“श-य” योः । “नीलराजीमन्तः”—ग ।

५ “स”—इति C मूले “सगुलिका” ।

ताप्यमाना एवमेते सुवर्णधातवः कथम्पुनस्तेषां सुवर्णधातुत्व-
मित्याह,—प्रतिवाः पार्था इति ; प्रतिवापश्चूर्णीकृत्य आवर्तमाने
ताम्रे रूप्ये वा तच्छास्त्रोक्तविधिना प्रक्षेपः, तदर्थः तदेक-
प्रयोजनाः, ताम्ररूप्यवेधना इति ताम्रस्य रूप्यस्य वा हेतुत्वा-
पादनाः ।

इत्येवं सुवर्णधातूनभिधाय रूप्यधातूनाह,—शङ्खकूर्पूरे-
त्यादि तत्र शङ्खवर्णादयोष्टौ, सस्यकवर्णादयश्चत्वारः, कोविदारक-
पुष्पवर्णादयः षडित्येवमष्टादशधा रूप्यधातवः । तत्र शङ्खादयः प्रतीताः,
विमलकः श्वेतरक्तो मणिविशेषः, सस्यको नीलः, गोमेधिको
गोपित्ताकारः, मत्स्यण्डिका शर्करा, कोविदारः^१ काष्ठावस्पङ्कः,
पद्मकलायौ प्रतीतौ, पाटलो पाला, क्षौमं शुक्लपटम्, अतसी
प्रतीता, कोविदारादीनाम्पुष्पवर्णम् । ससीसकाः सीसकानुविद्धाः,
साञ्जना सीसकवत् शुक्लवर्णमञ्जनम्, तदनुविद्धा ; विस्त्रा दुर्गन्धा,
भिन्नाः कृष्णाः सन्तो मध्ये श्वेता भा, श्वेताः सन्तः कृष्णाः,
सर्वे वाष्टादशप्रकाराः शङ्खकूर्पादिवर्णाभिन्नाः सन्तस्तदस्य वर्ण-
लेखा चित्वा विन्दुचित्रा वा, मृदवो धात्वन्तरापेक्षया, ध्मा य-
माना स्तप्ययाना न स्फुटन्ति^२ न तटतटयन्ते, बहुफेना बहु-
धूमाश्च रूप्यधातव इति, रूप्यहेतवः ।

सर्वधातूनामिति,—प्रागुक्तानां भूमिप्रस्तररसानां सुवर्ण-
रूप्यधातूनां वक्ष्यमाणानाञ्च ताम्रादिधातूनां गौरववृद्धौ गुह्यत्वो-
त्कर्षे सत्ववृद्धिः सत्वोत्कर्षो मन्तव्य इति वाक्यशेषः । तेषामिति
सर्वधातूनामशुद्धधात्वन्तरसम्पर्कान्मूढगर्भा वा, स्वदोषेण
सत्वममुञ्चन्तः प्रतिविधेया इत्याह, तोक्ष्णमूत्रक्षारभाविता इति ।

१ “०तीवा०” श-यगानाम् । “स-य-त-C मूले—“०तीपा०” ।

२ “हेमत्वापादकाः”—स । समीचीनमेतत् ।

३ “गोमेदको”—“श-य-गा” नाम् । “स”—“गोमेधको” ।

४ “ताम्रपुष्पाख्यो वृत्तः”—ग ।

५ “स्फुटन्ति”—स ।

ती क्षणं नरभूत्रं, हस्त्यश्वगोजाचित्वरेषु^१ मूत्रमित्यपरे, तीक्ष्णक्षारः कदल्यपामार्गदेवताहिविवाकुचुकायवतिलादिभस्म, त ज्ञा वि ता^२, असकृत्पायिता, राजवृक्षजिच^३ विरिकालकः वटादि गोपित्तान्ता गोरोजना, महिषखरकरटभाषा^४णां मूत्रलण्डं मूत्रपूरीषं, तेन पिण्डबन्ध^५द्धा धातुद्रव्यमूत्रक्षारभावितं चूर्णोक्त्य राजवृक्षादिद्रव्यकल्केन सहवद्धपिण्डा तत्प्रतीवा पास्तच्चूर्णदत्तप्रतीवापाः, तद्वले पा भूमयः तत्कल्पोपदेहाशुद्धाममुक्तधात्वन्तरसम्पर्कदोषा स्स वन्ति स्वमूढगर्भत्वदोषञ्चोत्सृज्य सत्त्वं मुञ्चन्ति, तथा वक्ष्यमाणमपियवमाष-तिलैत्यदि कमशुद्धमूढगर्भाणां पूर्ववत्पिण्डबन्धादिप्रकारैः प्रतिकृते सत्व-मालक्षयति कनेस्य [अनेकस्य] मृदुकरणमित्यपरे ।

यवमाषतिलादयः प्रतीताः कन्दली^१ परागमोद्धेदनीकन्दलीतुल्यपत्रा वज्रकंदो विष्णुकन्द इति केचित् । सुरभी-त्यपरे, वनसूरणइत्यन्ये, एवं यदवादिक्षारं तद्भस्मगोक्षीरङ्कन्दली-वज्रकंदौ च मिश्रीकृत्य तत्प्रति [ती] वा पात् कठिनमपि हेम तारमृदु भवति ।

अन्यन्मृदुकरणमाह, मधुमधू^२ केत्यादि,—मधु क्षौद्रम् ।

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मधुकं यष्टिमधुकम् किण्वं सुराकरणद्रव्यं, अन्ये तु गलचूर्णयुतमिति पठन्तः चिक्रगुणप्रतिषेधमाचक्षते । शेषं सुबोधम् । निषेको विकृतस्य सुवर्णादिरूपयोषधकनिक्षेपः । मृदुस्तम्भनमाह, गोदन्तेत्यादि गोदन्तं गोशृङ्गं, चूर्णोक्त्य द्रवीभूतसुवर्णे तत्प्रक्षेपो मृदुस्तम्भनः, घनत्वापादना, अत्र गोशब्देन केचित् सम्प्रदायाच्छागमाचक्षते ।

१ “गजाश्वगोर्गर्दभच्छागमूत्रमित्यपरे”—ग ।

२ “(Chemically) treated”—“श”—स्याङ्गसानुवादः । अर्थोऽयं लभ्यते “in the Bower Mss. (Cf. Hoernle's ed. Index, “Bhāv”—स) ।

३ “वा”—वर्णो वर्जनीयः ।

४ “कदली”—“श-य-गा” नाम् । “कन्दली” पाठो गरीयान् ।

५ “द”—वर्णो वर्जनीयः ।

इत्येवं सुवर्णरूप्यधातू नमिधाय ताम्रधातूनाह, भारिक-
इत्यादि । तत्र भारिकादयः प्रतीताः ; प्रस्तरधातुः पाषाण-
धातुः ; भूमि भागो मृद्धातुः, वा विकल्पे । साम्प्रतं चतुरस्ताम्र-
धातुवर्णानाह, पिङ्गल इत्यादि, पिङ्गलः कपिलः, हरितो नीलो,
पाटलः पाटलीपुष्पाभः, लोहितो रक्तः ताम्रधातुस्ताम्र-
योनिः ।

सीसधातुमाह, काकमेचक इत्यादि । काकमेचकः काक-
इव कृष्णवर्णः । कपोतवर्णः प्रतीतः ; रोचनावर्णः श्वेतरा-
जिनद्वयः, शुक्ललेखाबहुलः, विस्रो दुर्गन्धः, सीसाख्यलोह
हेतुः ।

त्रपुधातुमाह,—ऊषरकर्बुर इति । ऊषरवदापाण्डुरक्तः, पक-
लोष्टवर्णः । अयन्तस्त्रपुधातुः त्रपुणः शुक्लसीसस्य धातुः कारणं ।
तीक्ष्णधातुमाह,—कुरुम्ब इत्यादि । कुरुम्बः श्लक्ष्णपाषाण-
प्रायः पाण्डुलोहितः प्रतीतः । सिन्धुवारपुष्पवर्णो निर्गुण-
कुसुमवर्णः । तीक्ष्णधातुः अयोधातुः ।

वैकृन्तधातुमाह,—काण्डवर्म्म इत्यादि । काण्ड^१ समुद्रान्तरक^२
वल्लीफलं, भूर्जफलं भूर्जामिधानो वृक्षः, तत्फलवर्णं वैकृन्तकं^३
लोहविशेषः ।

तथा च वैमल्ययुक्तम् द्विदुरं(?) सितञ्च वैकृत[न्त]कं नभो[लोहवि-
कर्त्तनं च तद्धातुवादे रससाधनं च शस्त्रे च शस्त्रं प[क]चिदै[दे]व[॥]
सज्येताम्रादिभ्य एव संयोगविशेषे कांस्थवृत्तलोहादिना[दीनां] निष्प-
त्तिरतस्तेषाम्पृथग्धात्वन्तराभावादिहानमिधानमिति ।

१ “गड”—स ।

२ “स” धृत C मूले “सुस्म” ।

३ “र”—स ।

४ “शस (C) यग”—मातृकासु “काकाण्ड०” ।

५ पूत-पितरु-कीये “वैक्रान्तक” पाठस्योद्धेखः । Oxford Collection of
Mss. H. 321, a, No. 761.

**ABBREVIATIONS IN THE FOOTNOTES TO
BHATTASVAMIN'S COMMENTARY.**

- श—Shama Sastri, R.—Arthasastra of Kautilya. Mysore, 1909.
- ख—Sorabji, I. J.—Some Notes on the Adhyaksha-Pracāra, Book II of the Kauṭīliyam-Arthasāstram.—Allahabad, 1914.
- घ—Jolly, J.—Arthasāstra of Kauṭīlya.—Lahore. Vol. I, 1923.
- ग—Gaṇapati Śāstri, Mahāmahopādhyāya. The Arthasāstra of Kautilya.—Trivandrum, 1924.

ERRATA.

Page	line	read	for
३१	२६	वेचिउयवु°	वचिउयवु°
५३	२७	°कोषे (St. Petersburg Dict.)	°कोय

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[PART III & IV.

The Journal of Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Buchanan Hamilton)
from the 1st November 1812 to the 26th February 1813,
when carrying out his Survey of the District of Shahabad :
Edited, with Notes and Introduction, by
C. E. A. W. Oldham, C.S.I.

I.—Introduction.

THE Journal that is now being printed for the first time comprises Vol. III of the Buchanan Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, Whitehall. It contains the daily record written by Dr. Francis Buchanan (afterwards Buchanan Hamilton) of his movements and inquiries in the district of Shahabad during the cold weather months of 1812-13, the sixth field season of his work on the statistical survey of the then Bengal Presidency.

The only full account of Buchanan's life and labour yet written will be found in Sir David Prain's excellent memoir,⁽¹⁾ published in the *Annals of the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta*, and therefore perhaps not so widely known as it should be. Some interesting details will also be found in Colonel Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service*⁽²⁾. Dr. Buchanan in his earlier life had made voyages as surgeon to an "Indiaman", the last of which, in the *Rose*, took

(1) *Sketch of the Life of Francis Hamilton (once Buchanan)*, 1905.

(2) *History of the Indian Medical Service*, 1914, Vol. II.

him to Bengal, where he was appointed an Assistant Surgeon on the establishment in 1794. He was not, however, destined to spend much time in the normal station duties of a surgeon in those days. His botanical knowledge and his aptitude for other sciences, such as Natural History and Geology, combined with rare powers of methodical investigation, soon singled him out for special employment in various directions. After the conquest of Mysore, the Marquess of Wellesley—with the acumen he so often displayed in choosing the right man for a particular duty—selected Buchanan to carry out an investigation into the “state of agriculture, arts, and commerce; the history, natural and civil; and the antiquities” in the ceded and allied countries. The results of these inquiries, which were carried out during the years 1800-1, were not published till 1807. Meanwhile the value of Buchanan’s work had been fully appreciated by Lord Wellesley, who had appointed him to control an establishment for investigating the natural history of India; and when the Court of Directors decided in January, 1807, that a “statistical survey” of the Bengal Presidency should be carried out, they named Francis Buchanan as the officer to whom the work should be entrusted. The instructions issued to him, obviously an amplification of those given in respect of Mysore by Lord Wellesley in 1800, have been quoted in the Introduction to Martin’s *E. I.*

Buchanan started on his work in the cold season of 1807-8, commencing with the eastern districts and then moving westwards to Purnea, Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Patna, Gaya and Shahabad, and ultimately Gorakhpur, which was the last district surveyed by him in the season 1813-14. The extent of country over which Buchanan had already completed his survey is not always realized from the headings given in Martin’s publication, owing to subsequent re-adjustments of boundaries and the subdivision of old districts. Buchanan had finished the survey of the Assam Valley area, now included in several districts, of Benares, Jalaiguri, Dinaipur, part of Bogra,

Maldah, Purnea, Bhagalpur, the Santal Parganas, Monghyr, Patna, and Gaya districts. A fine feat for one man, having regard to the mass of detailed information comprised in each report. For a true appreciation of the magnitude of Buchanan's task it is essential to remember that his work throughout this area was pioneer work: he had no previous accounts to guide or assist him; he had to formulate the methods of collecting the details required under each head of inquiry, sift, classify and check the information obtained, and finally compile and write out the voluminous reports, the manuscript of which filled twenty-five folio volumes. He was seriously handicapped by having no maps on a scale suited to such work, or even maps showing accurately the physical features of each area and the roads available. He had only Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* sheets to work upon, and these on a scale of 11 to 12 miles to an inch. After five years of continuous labour of this arduous character it would have been only natural perhaps had Buchanan shown some signs of weariness and flagging zeal; but we may look in vain for any indication of this, unless an occasional remark denoting irritation, or a perhaps unnecessarily severe criticism of some architectural feature, be attributed to this cause.

The wholly unmerited oblivion into which Buchanan's valuable researches passed for so many years was largely due to two causes, the assumption of the name Hamilton after his retirement from India, and the neglect of the East India Company to have the result of his labours published in complete form, with all his maps, plans and sketches correctly reproduced, under his own supervision if possible: and he lived till 1829. It was not till nine years after his death that the three volumes of what has all along been known as "Martin's Eastern India" were published by Mr. Robert Montgomery Martin. These volumes are simply a publication of such portions of Buchanan's MS. as appeared to Martin to be a "judicious selection". It is astonishing that the officials of the India House should have permitted these

volumes to be printed without Buchanan Hamilton's name appearing anywhere on the title-page. It is hardly necessary to discuss the question whether Martin omitted matter of material value. He obviously had neither the experience of the country nor the knowledge of the subjects dealt with to decide what was or was not of material value. I can only add that when I first studied portions of the original manuscripts at the India Office in 1903, I was amazed at the facts disclosed, and impressed with the importance of having the portions scored through (by Martin's pencil presumably) published.

Buchanan completed his tours in the Patna and (old) Bihar districts in March, 1812, and spent the hot season and rains at Patna, collating the information gathered, drawing his map of the area surveyed, and writing his Report. On the 1st November he started off once more from Patna, going westwards to Sherpur, and next day on to the Son, and, crossing it at Koilwar Ghat, entered Shahabad. On the 3rd November he started on a series of tours through the district to its furthest extremities on the south, west and south-west, crossing the plains portion in various directions; touring the whole way round the fringe of the Kaimur plateau, ascending it and its outlying spurs at several points; penetrating to the heart of the hills at Lohra, at the Guptesvar caves, and at the Chhanpatthar waterfall of the Karamnasa; examining and describing numerous sites which many District Officers even have never had time to visit. He toured about the district continuously until the 24th February, when he crossed the Shahabad border into the Mirzapur district, visiting Chakia, Bhuili, Sarewa and Saktesgarh, and reaching Chunar on the 26th of the month. The routes he followed and the towns and villages at which he halted, or which he visited have been shown on the map facing p. 201. The only village site which I have been unable to verify from the maps available is that of Lalganj, where he halted for the night of the 17th November. The site has been marked approximately.

At Chunar Buchanan halted, and as far as we know, worked up the material collected, compiled his map of Shahabad and wrote his Report. In the course of 118 days, that is from the time he left Patna till he reached Chunar, Buchanan's bare route, taking only the halting places and sites specifically named by him, covered, I calculate, a distance of some 820 miles, which means that he travelled at the average rate, all halts included, of about 7 miles per diem. During this period he moved his camp 57 times, or on the average every second day; and on 20 other days made trips in the vicinity of his camps; that is to say he was actually travelling about or moving from camp to camp on 77 out of the 118 days. When we consider that he was over 50 years of age at the time, that in addition to the constant movement Buchanan was all the while making archæological, botanical, geological, ethnographical and historical inquiries, besides collecting elaborate statistics under a variety of prescribed heads, such as topography, material conditions of the people, religions, products, agriculture, arts and commerce, and that he had to maintain a careful record day by day of what he saw and learnt, it can be realized what a remarkable personality was the author of the journal.

So far as we know at present there was no published description or record of the sites of interest in Shahabad prior to Buchanan's visit. A few stray records of individual sites had been made by travellers from time to time, such as Peter Mundy, Tavernier and the artists Thomas and (his nephew) William Daniell. The Daniells had painted at Agori (on the Son, above Jadunathpur), Rohtasgarh, Sasaram, Dhuan Kund, Chainpur, the Mundesvari hill, Ramgarh (incorrectly described as in Benares district in the letterpress) and even Shergarh. Tieffenthaler, the Jesuit missionary, was the only person who had hitherto attempted to deal with the geography of Northern India generally, but his work can have been of no help to Buchanan. Rennell's *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan* similarly did not help.

Of the district officials at the time of his survey, the only one who had been long in the district was William Cowell, who had been posted there since 1802, but as District Judge was not likely to have had much opportunity of travelling about. William Augustus Brooke, who knew the district well, having been in charge of it for several years, was not then in Bihar. Thomas Law, who had been Collector of Sarkar Rohtas for some three years, had left India. Philip Carter, Thomas Twining's protégé, whom he had appointed Superintendent of Roads, and for whom he had built a bungalow and established an indigo factory, both in the Bhojpur pargana, was still in the district it seems. Another Carter (Joshua, perhaps a relative) who had just passed through the College at Fort William, had joined as Assistant Collector in 1812. Philip must have known a good deal about the district, as he had travelled over it in the suite of Twining when the latter was Collector in 1801-3. Twining appears to have been the only official prior to Buchanan's time who left any record of travel in Shahabad, but except in the case of Rohtasgarh, Sasaram and Buxar, he treats almost wholly of administrative matters; and Buchanan cannot have had access to his papers, as he had left India. It seems probable in the circumstances that Buchanan had to map out his tours for himself.

MODE OF TRAVEL.—For Buchanan's mode of travelling and method of computing distances and areas, the reader is referred to Mr. V. H. Jackson's Introduction to the Patna-Gaya Journal (*J.B.O.R.S.* VIII, pages 163-6). I need only add that after studying the Shahabad Journal I entirely accept the conclusion so ingeniously worked out by Mr. Jackson. Buchanan generally travelled on an elephant or in a palanquin. In this journal he twice mentions that he was travelling on an elephant (see pages 45 and 143). There is no specific reference to the use of a palanquin. In several places it is evident from his description that he was on foot, and in one or two places he definitely refers to the steepness of the path or the irregularity and height of the steps he had to climb.

At other sites, if he had been on an elephant or in a palanquin, he must have got down, to have observed the details or taken (or checked) the measurements he records.

FEATURES OF WORK AND CHARACTER.—From a study of his daily journal certain features of Buchanan's work and character stand out prominently: his almost unerring flair for finding out those sites that contained objects of real importance; his discernment in giving his attention to matters of more or less permanent interest; his care to question such persons as were likely to give the best evidence, and his faculty of sifting the wheat from the chaff in accepting what was told him; and where facts were concerned, the scrupulous pains he took to record them with accuracy. He seems to have been wholly absorbed in his work; he never complains of fatigue or of discomfort, of heat, cold or rain; in fact he ignores personal conditions. When he complains of the steps up the Shergarh Ghat, it is perhaps more because their irregularity offended his eye than because the exertion of climbing them tired him. He had a keen eye for beauty of natural scenery, and seems to have thoroughly enjoyed many picturesque landscapes. His regard for scientific accuracy, detail and finish perhaps detracts at times from his judgment of architectural features; while even amidst the wild natural beauty of a deep river valley among the hills his sense of neatness revolts at the sight of untidy long grass and withered branches hanging from the trees! His grasp of the broad topographical outlines of a situation, his faculty for selecting the salient features for examination, and his minute care in recording small details of interest are exemplified in his visit to the Shergarh fortress. He had first of all three miles to go across country from his camp at Karma to the foot of the hill, and then to make the steep ascent to the summit of the plateau (817 feet above sea-level according to Sherwill). As he returned to his tents at Karma the same evening, he had only the inside of the day to explore the top, find out what buildings or remains there were worthy of description, inspect them, take numerous

measurements and record his notes, which were no doubt transcribed into his journal the same evening (as he had a long march before him next day) illustrated by no less than seven sketch plans showing the true shape of this little projecting plateau (which is not shown correctly on any of the Survey maps), the line of the surrounding battlements, the half-moon bastions, gates, path of ascent, etc., and including two plans of the buildings within the area of what he calls the "castle". Yet no more comprehensive, and at the same time detailed, description has ever been published; nor have I been able to trace any other plan of this fortress, which many who have visited it regard as in some respects more interesting than, though of course not so imposing as, Rohtasgarh.

AREA OF DISTRICT SURVEYED.—The district of Shahabad at the time of Buchanan's survey covered the same area as at the present time (1925) with two exceptions, viz. (1) the Chausa pargana had not yet been attached to the district, and (2) a small area now included within the United Provinces district Balia, to the north of the present deep stream of the Ganges, which formed part of Todar Mal's mahal Fathpur Bihiya, was still within the boundary of Shahabad, as it had been (in the then Sarkar Rohtas) in 1582. Although geographically forming part of Shahabad, as lying wholly south of the Ganges and east of the Karamnasa, Chausa pargana was long attached to districts outside the province of Bihar proper. The present decayed village of Chausa occupies an old site that must once have been of considerable strategic importance, and was probably included within the ancient kingdom of Kasi. No inscriptions have yet been found that throw light upon the history of the locality prior to the Muhammadan invasion. It may be that there is some connexion between the name and that of the country which Yuan Chwang transcribes as *Chan-chu*. However this may be, it appears that from the first arrival of the Muhammadans in Eastern India up to Sher Shah's time Chausa pargana was included in Bihar, but in Todar Mal's rent-roll (1582 A.D.) during Akbar's reign, mahal Chausa was

included in Sarkar Ghazipur. When we first find the East India Company's troops in the district, the Karamnasa was recognized as the boundary of Bihar between the hills and the Ganges. In the earliest map prepared by James Rennell, the 5 mile to 1 inch sheet of 1773, which was based on the surveys of De Gloss, Richards and Russell during the years 1766 to 1771, we find pargana "Chowsar" in "Shawabad". It should be noted perhaps that at this period the area now comprising Shahabad was included within two sarkars, namely (1) Shawabad (parganas Barahgany, Arrah, Bihiya, Bhojpur, Chausa, Dinara, Danwar, Piro, Nanaur and Panwar), and (2) Rohtas (parganas Chainpur, Sasaram, Rohtas, all now in Shahabad; parganas Siris and Kutumba, now in Gaya; and parganas Japla and Belaunja, now in Palamau). Before 1773 Mangraur, Kot and Ratanpur had been taken from Sarkar Rohtas, and Rennell in that year shows them as included in Chunar sarkar or district. In Buchanan's time pargana Chausa (1) was excluded from Shahabad (probably as a result of Balwant Singh's occupation of that area), while Siris, Kutumba, Japla and Belaunja had been included in the huge district of Ramgarh.

BOTANY.—In the instructions issued to Buchanan for his guidance he had been directed to investigate the kinds of trees contained in the forests and their comparative value, and to point out such means as occurred to him for increasing the number of the more valuable kinds, or for introducing new ones. He had also been requested to take every opportunity of forwarding to the Company's Botanical Garden at the Presidency "whatever useful or rare and curious plants and seeds" he might be able to acquire, with such observations as might be necessary for their culture. The Journal sheds no light on his activities in this direction. He mentions from time to time the most common or conspicuous trees observed in the course of his tours; and in his appendix of "Observations" he describes the crops grown in considerable detail. In the notes I have added the botanical names of all trees

(1) It was made portion of the district of Shahabad in 1830

and plants named with a view to their better identification. From other sources we know that Buchanan's botanical researches were so highly valued by experts that he was appointed to succeed the famous Dr. Roxburgh as Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Garden in 1814.

GEOLOGY.—The value of Buchanan's geological researches in Shahabad cannot be properly assessed, as it does not appear that his collection of specimens (*vide* Appendix II) was ever scientifically examined or described. In this journal he does not make any regular references to the specimens collected, as in his Patna-Gaya Journal.

ARCHÆOLOGY.—It is in the field of archæology that Buchanan did some of his most valuable pioneer work in this district, chiefly perhaps in the way of pointing out where remains of interest were to be found and recording the existence of sculptures and inscriptions, of a large number of which drawings and copies were made. Before his time the subject of archæology in India had scarcely been touched (e.g. by C. Wilkins and H. T. Colebrooke). The first activities of the Asiatic Society of Bengal had been largely directed to other subjects. It was not till much later that a sure foundation for research was laid by James Prinsep's series of discoveries (1835-8), and by the translation into European languages of the invaluable records of the Chinese pilgrims. Two of the very first papers on archæological subjects read before the Royal Asiatic Society in London in 1824 and 1827 were by Buchanan (then B. Hamilton). Even up to date, during all the years that have elapsed since Buchanan wrote his Shahabad Journal, it is doubtful if a single fresh site of archæological importance in this district has been the subject of professional investigation: most archæologists seem to have contented themselves with revisiting sites referred to by him. It is hardly necessary to add that the defective knowledge of his time rendered it impossible to decipher correctly several interesting inscriptions found; and very many of the conclusions drawn and identifications then made

must be modified as a result of the enormous advance since made in historical, iconographical and epigraphical research.

ETHNOGRAPHY.—Later writers on ethnography have at times questioned the value of Buchanan's notes on this subject. While he sometimes suggests a conclusion of his own from the evidence gathered, he generally contents himself with recording the information given him. The great value of his work in this connexion rests, however, not on his own views (which he never expresses dogmatically), but on the fact that he faithfully recorded the statements made by the people themselves. It seems to me that one of his chief claims to our gratitude is the scrupulous care with which he noted down traditions of the illiterate country folk and of the so-called aboriginal races, who as he himself somewhere remarks, often preserve genuine tradition more undefiled and reliable than the literate population of the towns and persons versed in the Brahmanical texts. It will be noticed that he devoted considerable time in the remoter parts and among the hills to questioning the people on such subjects; and the traditions so preserved may yet prove of use towards dispelling the mist that still hangs round the past history of tribes like the Bhar, Kharwar, Chero, "Siyur" or "Seoree" and Gaharwar.

HISTORY.—Perhaps the least valuable portions of the Journal are those which relate to questions of history. Take, for instance, his references to Raja Bhoj or to the family of Sher Shah, or the myth about Humayun having had the women flung down the precipice at Shergarh. Here again we must remember the state of historical knowledge at the time. No reliable history of ancient or medieval India was available to him. For Hindu chronology he was dependent on writers like Wilford. The Muhammadan histories had not been seriously examined. Buchanan seems to have had to depend upon work like Firishta, as interpreted by Dow! We must not wonder at the result.

GEOGRAPHY.—It has already been stated that Buchanan had only Rennell's *Bengal Atlas maps* to work upon (for Shahabad, see Plate III). Apparently he had not even got a tracing of Rennell's larger scale (5 mi. = 1 inch) "Map of the Southwest Part of Bahar" drawn in 1773. Even this, however, would have been of little use to him for most of his journeys, as it shows practically only towns and villages along, or in the immediate vicinity of, the main lines of road, but few of which Buchanan followed. The details of even the fringes of the hill country, except around Akbarpur and Rohtas, where De Gloss had spent nearly a week during his survey, are very incorrect: Most of the central part of the district is either blank or sketchily filled in; the Kao river, for example, which has the longest course of any stream lying wholly within the district, is not shown at all at any part of its course. Even of Buchanan's halting places, most which were comparatively well-known, more than half (perhaps 26 out of 47) are not marked. It has been deemed useless therefore, to refer to Rennell's maps in the foot-notes: the names there quoted are those entered on the latest editions of the 1 mi. = 1 inch sheets obtainable in 1924 from the Map Record and Issue Office. The Survey sheet spelling has been retained. On these sheets I have been able to trace most of the sites mentioned by Buchanan, and all the rivers and streams of any importance. Round the edges and on top of the plateau I have found considerable difficulty in identifying some of the sites, owing to the still defective condition of these sheets in respect of the hill areas. In several cases in connexion with sites on the fringe of the plateau or within the smaller outlying hills, Buchanan has added sketches in the margin of his MS., which disclose the orographical features more accurately; but, for obvious reasons, it has been decided not to reproduce all these hand-sketches. They have, however, been of much assistance in tracing sites described. I have also derived special assistance from a "Geological Map of the southern Portion of Zillah Shahabad, drawn and constructed by Lieut. Walter S. Sherwill, Revenue

Surveyor, 1846". In several respects this is a most interesting and valuable map. It shows the heights of all the most prominent hills, as calculated by him; the quarries of lime and chalk; the outcrop or occurrence of alum ore, sulphur, iron sulphate, hornstone, potstone, laterite, etc., and traces of old iron workings. It is the only map that names the principal deep valleys (*khoh* in the vernacular) that wind in among the hills towards the plateau, and constitute the most distinctive feature of the Kaimur borders, and the great charm of these hills from the point of view of natural scenery. As insets Sherwill gives a sketch of the *Raja Deo ka Pind* peak, the towers up precipitously opposite Shergarh, on the other side of the Durgavati, like a huge sentinel at the entrance to the Karamchat valley—perhaps the most picturesque bluff of all—as well as a plan, probably the only plan ever drawn to scale or published, of the Guptesvar caves.

BUCHANAN'S MAP.—The manuscript map of the Shahabad district in the Map Department of the India Office looks as if it had been drawn by Buchanan himself. The outlines of the plateau and the hills, including even the little hillocks near Jabra and Bamani and along the Son valley between Kasiawan and Parchha, and the outlying hills round the northern flanks of the plateau from the Durgavati and the Karamnasa, are all etched in with great minuteness. No name, however, is given to any hill. The courses of all the rivers have been carefully shown, and the name entered against each, except in the case of the small hill torrents. The boundaries of the Police Thanas, or "Divisions" as he called them, are shown by dotted lines coloured over. Each Division is indicated by a number in Roman numerals. The sites of towns and villages and market-places are indicated by little circles and Arabic numerals, a separate serial being used for each Division. These numerals (both Roman and Arabic) refer to corresponding numbers in his "Index to the Map", which formed an appendix to the Report. A few little circles have been marked which have no numerals attached.

These indicate the sites of villages which have not been given in the Index to the Map, but which can be identified. For example, in the extreme southern corner three circles will be noticed, which are intended to mark the sites of Jadunathpur, Sanraki and Sarodag; but these villages were evidently not regarded as market-places calling for entry with details in the Index.

Along the northern boundary of the district many changes have occurred since Buchanan drew his map, owing to the shifting of the main stream of the Ganges. Several of the places marked by him have been washed away, and other villages have been established since. On the whole the Ganges follows a more northerly course than in his day, especially to the north of Simri and of Mahuar. The courses of the *Bhagars* (*bhagar* means an old river bed) and of the streams flowing into them have, in consequence, almost wholly altered since Buchanan's time. In this part of the district Buchanan's map is extremely interesting as containing a record of the situation in 1812-13 and, specifically, as showing by the long *jhil* he has marked between Chilhari and Ranisagar (a distance of about 16 miles) an old course of the Ganges, of which traces may also be found much further east, to the north of Karisath, Masar and Arrah. The scale of Buchanan's map works out to about 11·58 miles to the inch, or practically the same as the scale of Rennell's Bengal Atlas sheet (Plate III). Buchanan has told us in his Report (MS.) that it was drawn on the *Bengal Atlas* scale. In the same place he adds:—"I have given a separate map of the hills executed by a native assistant on a scale sufficiently large to admit of the names being written at length". Unfortunately this map of the hilly tracts is no longer traceable.

The reproduction of Buchanan's map now published (facing p. 393) has been prepared by myself: its blemishes from a cartographical point of view are patent; but I have sought to reproduce as accurately as practicable the topographical details shown by Buchanan. With a view to reproduction the map was

first drawn to double the scale of the original. This of course involved a liability to error in relative positions and distances, but effort has been made to minimize such error by systematic cross measurement. All names shown on the original have been given; and the names of the Divisions and of all the places mentioned in the Index to the Map have been added. I have retained Buchanan's spelling throughout, except that the termination *ganj* has been substituted for *gunj* in one or two cases, for sake of uniformity. Having regard to the means and time at Buchanan's disposal, it will be generally conceded, I think, that it was a remarkable piece of work, and a further proof of Buchanan's versatility.

Here and there errors are noticeable; e.g. the shape of the hills is incorrectly shown, or place sites are one or two miles out. But full allowance must be made for the small scale on which it was drawn. Mistakes of a very similar nature may be found in the latest edition of the 8 miles to an inch Administration Report Map prepared in the Survey Office. On the whole, however, the hills, rivers and sites are shown with praiseworthy precision. It was a notable advance both on Rennell's *Bengal Atlas* map of 1779 and on his larger scale sheet of 1773. There was no map of the district to compare with it till Sherwill completed his survey more than thirty years later; and yet it lay among his manuscripts unused and forgotten, until the diminutive and imperfect map, intended to be a reproduction, appeared with Vol. I of Martin's *E. I.* The scale of this latter map ($21\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the inch) is only half that of Buchanan's; and, besides other defects, it shows no hills at all, and scarcely half the names of places and rivers marked by Buchanan: it gives no idea, in fact, of Buchanan's careful and valuable work.

THE OLD "FOREST".—This is not the place to review the value of Buchanan's survey under heads of inquiry the discussion of which he has confined to his Report. Only those who have studied the *Statistical Accounts* prepared more than sixty years later along with his reports can realize the extent to which the

compilers of the former were beholden to him. But certain statistics that have been developed in his Report have been based upon his daily notes recorded under the heading "Observations" in the last column of the Appendix to this Journal. I shall refer here only to one matter in regard to which these observations contain interesting information, and that is the area in the plain country covered by *jangal* and woods in his time: the hill country was of course mostly *jangal*.

From many sources we know that in ancient days a forest extended up the middle of Shahabad; and any record of the time up to which traces of this were still in existence is of interest. As he travelled from place to place, Buchanan used to note the time it took him to pass through the different types of country—rivers, hills, occupied, fallow and waste. The "waste" he generally subdivided into "broken corners", "woods", "bushes" and "long grass". These time records give a valuable estimate at least of the *proportion* of the different classes of country he traversed. I have tabulated the figures in respect of all his marches through the central part of the district, roughly speaking between the present Grand Trunk Road on the south and the East Indian Railway line on the north, and from Kochas on the west to Ekwari on the east, omitting the remaining areas, which were either more or less fully cultivated, or else hill and plateau. Out of a total of about 3,330 (I take round figures) minutes spent in 22 journeys across the central area in various directions, about 1,400 minutes represent "waste" of different types. Of these 1,400 minutes, again, 183 represent "woods", 189 "bushes", and 380 "long grass"; or adding the last three items together, we may say that 752 represent *jangal* in the comprehensive sense of the term. So that we may roughly calculate that 22 per cent. of the area traversed was occupied by different kinds of *jangal*, 11 per cent. by woods and bushes, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. by woods alone. The woods and bushes were most extensive between Ekwari and Lalganj (about 14 per cent. of the total, or say about 3 miles); between

Lalганj and Belauchi (21 per cent. or nearly 3 miles); between Dumraon and Nawanagar (47 per cent., or say 6 miles, the distance being really about 13 miles though Buchanan notes "over 10"); between Surajpura and Deo Markandeya (23 per cent., or say 3 miles); between Surajpura and Devasthan (17 per cent., or say $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles); between Lahthan and Jagdispur (35 per cent., or more than 3 miles); and between Jagdispur and Koath ($12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or about 2 miles). In most other cases the proportion of woods and bushes is very small, or else inappreciable. We are by this method able to locate with a fair degree of accuracy the position of the remnants of the old "forest" that existed in 1812-13. The statistics given in the Report show the following areas in the central portion of the district as covered by "woods, bushes and deserted villages":—

			SQUARE MILES.
Belauthi Division	...	...	... 34
Dumraon	..	...	... 110
Ekwari	..	...	... 54
Karanj	..	...	... 35
		TOTAL	... 233

Combining both sets of figures, we find the remnants of the old forest to have lain roughly within an irregular pentagon with its five corners near Bihiya, Mathila, Karanj, Bikramganj and Garhani, respectively. Such a pentagon would approximately cover an area of some 325 square miles. Within this there were large open areas that had long been populated and cultivated, which included several very old village sites. When considering the figures shown in the table above we should not forget that they must include large areas of uncultivated lands around the deserted villages over which *jungle* might have recently sprung up. As far as can be judged from what Buchanan has left on record, I think it will be safe to estimate that woods and *jungle* must have occupied nearly 200 square miles in his time: the largest stretches lying between Mathila and Nawanagar; to the east and north-east of Kesath; to the west and south-east of Surajpura; around Lahthan, Jagdispur and Baligaon; and to the south of Bihiya.

In his "Notes on Zillah Shahabad", dated April, 1849. Mr. W. Travers, the then Collector, gives the following figures of recorded "jungle"—

Pargana Bhojpur (Buchanan's Dumraon)	...	Nil	acres.
" Bihiya (Ditto Belauthi)	...	5,000	"
" Piro (western part of Buchanan's Ekwari)	...	1,250	"
" Danwar (eastern part of Buchanan's Karanj)	...	1,250	"

The total amounts to 7,500 acres, or less than 12 square miles. These figures appear to be quite unreliable⁽¹⁾. Even ten years later the extent of *jangal* in the Bihiya pargana alone must have largely exceeded the above total, as I can safely say from the description thereof given me about 1893 (while Subdivisional Officer of Buxar) by the late Mr. James Mylne of Bihiya, who had seen the *jangal* before it was all cleared.

The district had suffered very severely from the frequent passage of armies and troops between 1759 and 1765, and more particularly from the devastation wrought by Qasim Ali Khan in 1761-2. Then came the great famine of 1770, which must have largely reduced the population, the extortions of "renters" and *amils* which prevailed during the period of "experiment and error"⁽²⁾, and some disturbances in the south of the district at the time of Chait Singh's outbreak. Under Lord Minto's "moderations, firmness and capacity"⁽³⁾, security had been established, and cultivation had no doubt been re-extended. By the time Buchanan entered the district, it is most likely that the central area of *jangal* was on the decrease. The water of the Kao river was being used for irrigation, and Buchanan mentions that the whole channel near Surajpura, where the banks are very low and the bed wide, had been cultivated. This extension of cultivation continued, and Mr. C. W. Odling, c.s.i., who joined the Son Circle in 1876, tells me that he once submitted a report to the effect that there were some

(1) The correctness of Mr. Travers' estimates was also, I find, doubted in other respects by Mr. A. P. (afterwards Lord) Macdonell in 1876 (*Report on the Food-Grain Supply of Behar and Bengal*).

(2) (Sir W. W. Hunter.)

(3) (Sir John Malcolm.)

twenty embankments and irrigation channels across the bed of this river. The utilization of the Kao water must have transformed considerable tracts of waste into cultivation; but it was not until the seventies of last century that the *jungal* was practically eliminated by the opening of the Son Canal system, which rapidly metamorphosed this part of Shahabad.

THE TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPT.—The Journal bears many traces of having been written up from place to place under pressure for time. Buchanan has not aimed at any literary finish. Facts are stated as concisely as possible. He does not even appear to have read it through afterwards with a view to revision. Corrections, which are rare, were made as he wrote. Some few notes added either at the foot or in the margin were evidently added later, after looking up books of reference. Punctuation has been largely neglected. It has been found necessary to add marks of punctuation in most parts of the journal, often to avoid the obscurity of meaning that arose from their absence. Again, Buchanan generally used numerals instead of words where possible, probably to save time. This habit sometimes leads to confusion in the text, especially where he is dealing with features (e.g. at Rohtas Palace) which he has indicated by figures on his plan. In many such cases I have substituted words for figures.

Buchanan's spelling may be referred to under three heads, viz. (1) English words, (2) Indian, or vernacular, words, and (3) proper names. Buchanan always writes "cupalo" for cupola; dome is generally "domb"; gallery, "galery"; apartment, "appartment"; entry, "entery". The following spellings also often occur: "accomptant", "affar", "allways", "detatch", "skreen", "symetry", "traddition"; and many of similar type. In such cases the modern recognized spelling has been substituted. In regard to the spelling of Indian words, while Buchanan's own acquaintance with the vernacular was not deep (as internal evidence discloses), he was evidently influenced in his spelling by the pronunciation of his Bengali pandit. Hence, no doubt, we find such spellings as

Bhor, Gong, Jogdespur, Nolicha, Soti, etc., for Bhar, gaon (*ganv*), Jagdispur, naicha, sati, etc., *Anusvara* and *anunasika* are generally represent by "ng". The sound of the Sanskrit ङ and of the Persian , is generally represented by "uy". Sir David Prain, in the Memoir already cited, quotes Buchanan as having said that the Sanskrit names of localities continue, after the lapse of ages, to be "known to all Hindus of learning, while each new invasion or revolution sinks into immediate oblivion the unknown appellations imposed by modern rulers, whether Muhammadans or Christians". He therefore decided to employ the ancient Sanskrit names as more scientific and more useful, and probably more permanent. There was not much scope for this in Shahabad, but we notice signs of his effort to work up to the resolution in such spellings as Baidyonath, Narayan, Navaratna, Shahasram, Vagsar, etc. In the case of all proper names Buchanan's own spelling (as far as it can be read) has been retained.

If any word has been inserted to complete the sense, this has been indicated by the use of square brackets.

For readers conversant with Bihar and its vernaculars much of the matter in the notes may be regarded as superfluous: I have advisedly run the risk of this criticism in the interest of a wider circle who have not this local knowledge.

In conclusion, I should add that the task of editing this reproduction of Buchanan's journal in Shahabad has been much facilitated by the great care and accuracy with which a copy had been prepared in type by Miss L. M. Anstey.

C. E. A. W. O.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED.

A.S.I.—Archæological Survey of India Reports.

Martin's E. I.—The History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India, by R. Montgomery Martin. 3 vols., London, 1838.

S. S.—Survey Sheet. *Note.*—The one inch to the mile sheets have been used.

EXPLANATION.

The names printed in thick type in the notes are the names shown on the one inch to the mile sheets (topographical maps) published by the Survey of India. The spelling used on these sheets has been retained.

LIST OF MAPS AND PLANS.

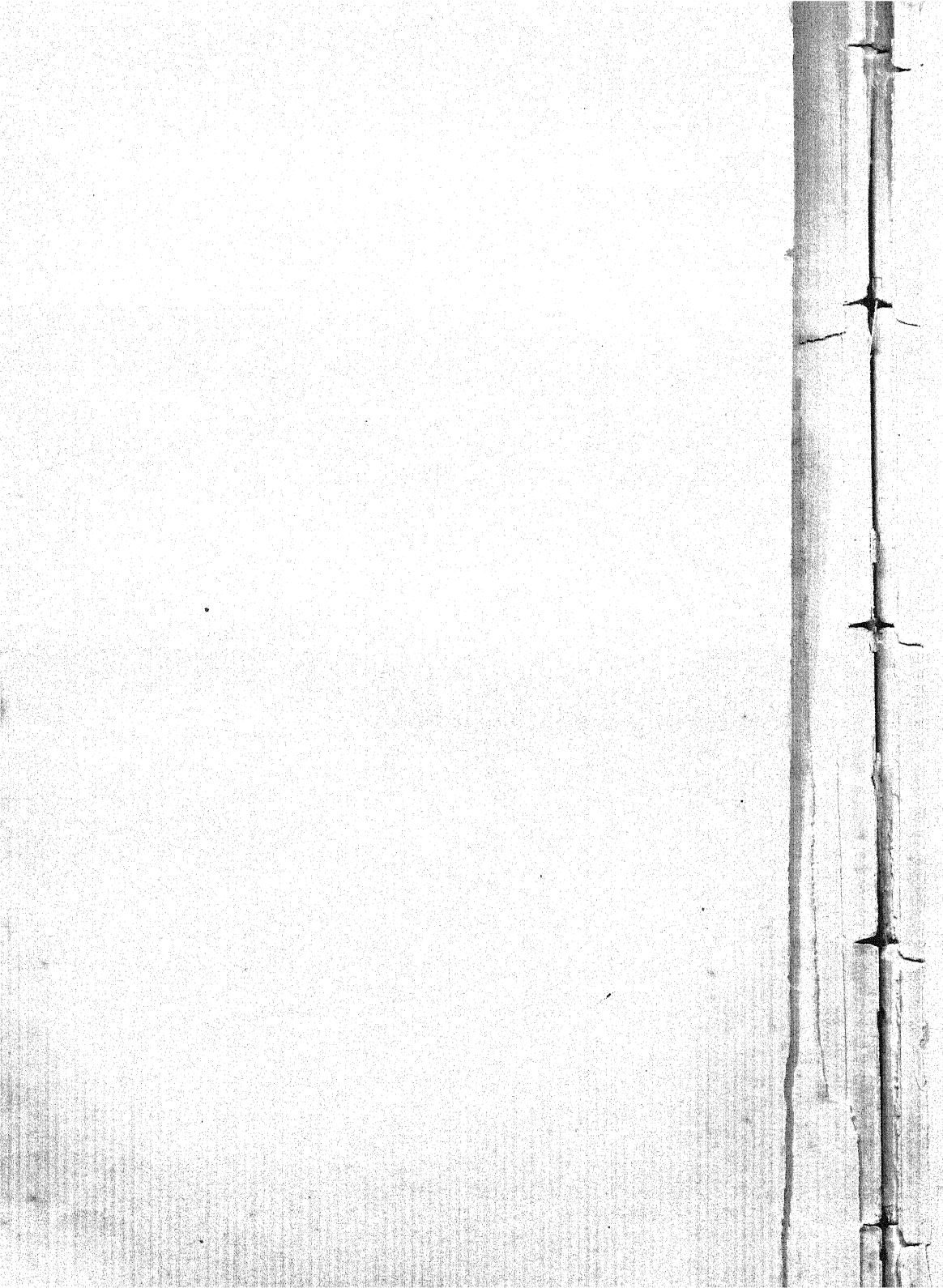
- (1) Buchanan's Map of the District of Shahabad (reproduction by hand).
- (2) Map of Shahabad District, showing routes followed by Buchanan.
- (3) Plan of the Guptesvar Caves (after Sherwill).

DISTRICT
SHĀHĀBĀD

Scale 1 Inch = 8 Miles
10 0 10

Showing Dr. Francis Buchanan's route in 1812-1813
(Route indicated by red ink lines.)





II.—Shahabad Journal.

1st November 1812.—I went to Serpur.⁽¹⁾

2nd.—I went to Koliwar⁽²⁾ ghat. The eastern channel of the Son is small and dry. The island⁽³⁾ belongs to Patna and although sandy is entirely cultivated. It is in particular planted with many palmira trees. The western arm of the Son is full from bank to bank and is never fordable at the passage, but at many places above and below contains very little water, but the sand is there so troublesome that the passengers prefer the ferry. The boats are pretty good but the descent to them is very difficult. Koliwar is a decent village with abundance of shops. Near it are some houses to which the gentlemen of Shahabad occasionally retire⁽⁴⁾ when that station is considered as unhealthy. The people say that the country formerly belonged to the Cheru.⁽⁵⁾ They do not reckon it Magadha.⁽⁶⁾

(1) **Sherpur**, in Patna district, 6 mi. east of Maner.

(2) **Koliwar**, in Shahabad district, on the west bank of the Son, 8 mi. east of Arrah. The ferry across the Son on the old route to and from upper India, *via* Patna, Arrah, Buxar and Benares, has been at this site for many centuries, since the lower course of the Son shifted westwards.

(3) **Suraudha**, a very ancient site, where, according to a tradition still lingering in the neighbourhood, Taraka Raksasi was slain by Ramacandra; and the name is believed to commemorate the event (*i.e.*, Suraudha = Suravadha = Asura-vadha, the place where the destruction (Sans. *vadha*) of the Asuri took place. Other sites, however, claim a similar distinction.

(4) Buchanan seems to refer to the district officials. The same reputation still attaches to the site: Indian gentlemen of the district have long maintained "garden-houses" there.

(5) *i.e.* the Cheros, who are supposed by some to have been a branch of the Mundas, at one time powerful in Shahabad.

(6) *i.e.* Magadha. The earliest records yet available indicate that the Son, though fordable in places for half the year, has always formed a dividing line between peoples racially or linguistically distinct. The area now comprised within the district of Shahabad formed part of the ancient Karusa desa, and was never regarded as included in Magadha. Crossing the Son from Magadha, crowded with sites associated with the history of Buddhism, and teeming with archaeological evidence of Buddhist influences, into Shahabad, one enters a country over the greater part of which there is scarcely a trace of Buddhist remains, amongst a people proverbially of a more turbulent nature, who not only speak a different dialect but even use different words for some common objects and plants.

3d.---I went 8 miles to Arrah through a very fully occupied country and by a very good road with brick bridges wherever there is occasion and in some parts a row of trees on each side. In the rains it becomes impassable. The country finely wooded, but scarcely any palms and no bamboos. No villages near the road. The people as dirty as in Behar ⁽¹⁾. Between 3 and 4 miles from Arrah is the Sanna, ⁽²⁾ a small creek with a little stream and a bridge of 2 arches. The river in Arrah has at present no stream but some dirty water in puddles. The bridge pretty long but very narrow, probably a Muhammedan work.

6th November.—I went about 6 miles to see an antiquity at a village called Mosar; ⁽³⁾ for about 4 or 5 miles I followed the great road to Baksar ⁽⁴⁾ which is as good as a road merely of clay without any hard materials can be and over every water course has good brick bridges in excellent repair. In fact it is just what the roads of communication between capitals of zilahs ought to be, only that in some parts I understand that it is not sufficient raised and becomes impracticable in the rainy season. On this road I crossed several small channels containing stagnant water, but whether natural or artificial I cannot say; they are called Nalas. The road seems to run along the bank of an old channel of the Ganges. ⁽⁵⁾ Having gone towards 5 miles on

(1) Here, as elsewhere below, Buchanan means by Bihar the old district of Bihar (see map facing p. 1 of Martin's *M.I.*, Vol. I) the survey of which he had just completed, and not the province of Bihar.

(2) Nagin N. The bridge referred to is the Qaimnagar bridge, where Captain Dunbar, in attempting the relief of Arrah, halted his force on the night of the 29th July, 1857, just before it was ambushed and nearly annihilated.

(3) Masar.

(4) Buxar. Buchanan elsewhere spells it "Vagsar", which more closely represents the correct vernacular pronunciation. The name is pronounced in the local dialect Baghsar (Sans. *vyaghvasara*). The road from Koilwar to Buxar had been constructed by W. A. Brooke, the eponymous founder of Brukganj on Buchanan's map.

(5) Buchanan's surmise is correct. At one time the Ganges, after passing Chausa and Buxar (between which places its course seems to have altered little since Pauranic times) took a much more southerly course than it takes now; and traces of this old bed are to be seen to the east of Manjhwari, north of Old Bhojpur, close under New Bhojpur, not far from Dhakaich and Nuaon, by Nimej and Sarna and, further east, to the north of Karisath, Masar and Arrah town. The memory of this course seems to be preserved in the name Gangi, given to portions of old *nalas* to the north of Katea and Arrah. We do not yet know at what period the river followed this route. There is reason to believe that in the

this road I turned south to a small indigo work on the Barcar⁽¹⁾ a small river in a clay soil containing however a good deal of dirty water nearly stagnant and running towards the west. I followed its left bank for a little and proceeded west to the village where the ruins are. The country finely planted with Mangoes and Mahuya⁽²⁾ chiefly. No palms but a few bamboos, which however do not thrive. The villages much such as in Behar but less raised, and I see no mud castles. On the west side of Mosar is a pretty considerable ruin of brick, extending perhaps 50 yards each way and in the centre rising to a considerable height and said to have been erected by Ban Asur,⁽³⁾ a Dhanu.⁽⁴⁾ On the summit of the central heap in a cavity the head and shoulders of an image project and are of a colossal size. I sent people afterwards to dig it out, and found that it entirely resembled those called Vasudeva in Behar with a male attendant on one side and a female on the other. The natives consider it as a representation of the Dhanu and therefore pelt it with bricks, and its vicinity is a common receptacle for the offerings to Cloacina; Yet they say that they are very much afraid of it, and allege that a man who attempted to dig it up was punished with death for his temerity. The owner of the village,

7th century A.D. when Yuan Chwang was travelling eastwards from Benares, the Ganges flowed closer to Masar and Arrah than now. When Todar Mal's rent-roll was drawn up (c. 1582 A.D.), it would appear from the description of the *mahals* included within the *Sarkar* (then Rohtas) that the course of the Ganges was little different from what it is now, except that as *mahal* Fathpur Bihia included portion of what is now the eastern corner of the Balia district, the deep stream probably curved further to the north at this point.

⁽²⁾ i.e. Mahua (*Bassia latifolia*).

⁽¹⁾ Banas N.

⁽³⁾ Traditions regarding a powerful ruler known as "Ban Asur" are met with over great part of northern India, from Assam through northern Bengal and Bihar to the U. P.; and remains at numerous places are ascribed to him. Possibly these legends carry us back to Bana, king of the Daityas, mentioned in the Puranas; possibly the king intended is Vana, the reputed son of Bali Vairocana; possibly there has been confusion, as we so often find, between the two names. I think the original name must have been Vana Asura, which becomes Banasur in the local vernaculars. *Vana* in Sanskrit, which becomes *ban* in the vernacular, also means "forest", and we know that a great forest extended close up to Masar and Arrah in ancient times. The Banas river no doubt preserves the memory of this forest in its name (Vanavasi).

The image, now thought to represent Vishnu, and to be of the Gupta period, was removed to Arrah in 1882, and set up in the Dumraon Raj garden there. For illustrations of this and some other images seen by Buchanan at Masar, see Martin's *E. I.*, Vol. I, 414.

⁽⁴⁾ i.e. Danava. See below, p. 33, Note (1).

a Rajput, would willingly, he says, take the bricks to build his house, but he is afraid. At the north end of the heap of bricks there projects an octangular column ending in somewhat like the Phallus of a Linga and it is considered as such by the natives. I saw several undoubted Lingas about the village, and the people said that there were many images taken from the ruin in private houses, partly lingas partly of other forms, but the houses were inaccessible to males, belonging mostly to Rajputs. Banasur lived very long ago and after him the country was subject to the Cheru, a chief of which tribe resided at the place. There are 2 old tanks, one to the south and a larger one to the east of Banasur's house. Along the south side of this last is a long heap of ruins which the natives say has been occupied by various small temples ever since the time of Banasur, rebuilt from the ruins by various sects, and this account seems abundantly just. Beginning at the east end of the heap I shall notice what I observed in walking to its western extremity. First I observed a Linga under a tree, with the head and neck of a female carved on one side of the phallus and called Gauri Sankar. Then I came to a Linga of the common form. Near this was lying a very rude representation of the nine planets (Nauagraha)⁽¹⁾ and by it was erected a slab the chief figure on which was a male with two arms called Bairub⁽²⁾ but different somewhat from any image in Bihar. My people seem to think it represents Narud.⁽³⁾ Then I came to a Linga like that called Gauri Sangkar. The principal object of worship among the orthodox now came in view, although all the others are allowed occasional Pindi as the people say; but this has a Brahman Pujari who covers the image with a cloth and anoints it with oil. He calls it Maha Maiya ⁽⁴⁾, but it evidently represents

(1) *Navagraha*, the "nine seizers", usually known as the nine planets. These are the Sun and Moon, the planets Mars, Mercury, Venus, Jupiter and Saturn, and the ascending and descending nodes, Rahu and Ketu.

(2) *i.e.* Bhairava. See also below, p. 27, Note (1).

(3) *i.e.* Narada, the famous Rishi.

(4) Maha Mai, "the great mother"; often regarded as a form of Devi, probably an aboriginal goddess that has been promoted to the Hindu pantheon as Jagadamba Devi. The name is sometimes also applied to Sitala Devi, the goddess of small-pox.

the female Brahma as it has the three faces of that god and being seated on a throne rests its foot on the goose sacred to him. On each side is the lion rampant of the Buddhas. It is seated on a small terrace of brick elevated about 4 feet, and on this are placed many images and fragments partly representing gods and partly groups. On each side is an image exactly like that called Ban Asur but here called Chotorboj⁽¹⁾ as they have 4 arms, and they have 2 angels, as usual in Behar, hovering over their heads. Those of the great Banasur have been broken away. Beyond this is a male figure with 4 arms, standing and chucking under the chin a female also standing. This is called Krishna and Rada⁽²⁾ but my people allege that it has the emblems of Hargauri. I now came to a new temple which is building by Sunkar lal, a Jain merchant of Ara.⁽³⁾ Before the door on a slab is a figure entirely resembling those above mentioned called Chotorboj, but this is called Krishna. On the back of this slab is a small image of Brahma seated with many ornaments over his head. It must be observed that most of the slabs here have figures on both sides, which I have nowhere else observed. The principal figure on one of the sides is generally much larger than that on the other, and the empty space above the smaller figure is filled with various fantastic ornaments. Except one small apartment the foundations alone of the now Jain temple have been erected. The one which formerly stood in the place is said to have been erected by a Hurji mul, a merchant, and was probably of no great antiquity, as many old images that belonged to previous temples and ornamental stones were found in

(1) *Chaturbhujā*, i.e., four-armed.

(2) Radha, wife of Krishna.

(3) **Arrah.** Buchanan's spelling here is correct (आरा). Many suggestions have been made as to the derivation of the name, e.g., *aranya*, a forest; *ara* (आरा), a saw—the usual legend being related in explanation thereof; *aramnagar* (the name also given on an inscription found at Masar), etc. But I think it quite possible that the name simply means "the place on the high bank", as it stood at the eastern end of a stretch of higher ground that once formed the southern bank of the Ganges, आड़ meaning a "protection", or an "embankment". The word आड़ is still used in the vernacular in the sense of a high bank, of a river, etc.; and the cerebral *r* constantly becomes liquid in the current speech (and *vice versa*).

digging for the foundations and in taking up bricks for the new building. In the chamber now completed are 8 small images of the personages worshipped by the Jain. These were formerly in an equal number of chambers, and it is said that in the new building each will be placed in a separate temple. They are very small and rude, with both hands crossed on their lap, and have short inscriptions on their thrones which are supported by animals. They are nearly all alike, and the inscriptions on 7 are said to be the same with that given along with the drawing of one of them, and are placed immediately under the legs. The 8th has one inscription on the bend under the animals and another on the back of the stone. Both kinds are nearly of the same era, that is about 400 years old. Along with them are some other images, one very like that of which I have given a drawing in my account of Behar, No. 84, and another similar to the Krishna and Rada before mentioned. In the centre of this apartment on a small cubical altar is placed a Linga, an object of worship with the heretical as well as orthodox Hindus. The images that have been dug up in searching for materials are placed under a tree west from the foundations and near the end of the heap of ruins. They are mostly slabs with figures on both sides. The principal figures that I noted were two like the Krishna or Chotorboj before mentioned, a Ganese,⁽¹⁾ a female sitting on a lion with a child on her knee as in No. 125 of the Behar drawings, a Krishna and Rada as before mentioned. The slabs used in these images seem to be the freestone of Chunar, which being very inferior to the potstone or hornblende of Behar the images are more rude. The strong resemblances however induce me to think that these also are the work of the Cheru.⁽²⁾ What is called the house of Banasur has been evidently a temple with

(1) Ganesh (Ganesa).

(2) Elsewhere also, it will be noticed, Buchanan ascribes to the Cheros remains which later research would indicate as being of Gupta age. It is possible that during the period of confusion succeeding the breaking-up of the Gupta rule, or even at a later date, the Cheros swept over Shahabad, and appropriated images which they found ready-made to their own forms of worship, calling them after the names of godlings and deities whom they propitiated, just as followers of the Brahmanical cults have appropriated Buddhist images all over South Bihar.

some small buildings round it, probably the habitations of priests. There is no appearance of fortification. I returned to Ara by the same route.

Ara stands on a small elevated space surrounded by numerous creeks and low land liable to be occasionally flooded,⁽¹⁾ so that the town cannot be extended without erecting embankments, and then the houses would be damp. The only remedy would be digging tanks and building on the earth thrown out: but enlarging such a place is no object as it is already abundantly large for containing all the attendants of the courts of justice, and it is not a place suited for trade. In an estimate made by the Collector, but without an actual enumeration, it is supposed to contain 2,775 houses, with 8 people to a house. The former I do not think can be exaggerated. The buildings are in general mean and close huddled together, but some decent roads have been made through it, forming tolerable streets. The Buxar road runs its whole length and at its east end has a close built town on both sides, but towards the west and on its north side is an open lawn in which are placed the court houses, the accommodations for the judge of circuit and the houses of the Judge⁽²⁾ and

(1) The lower parts of the town have for centuries been liable to flood on the occurrence of high floods in the river Son. Much damage was done in this way so recently as 1923, when the Son rose to an unusual height.

(2) William Cowell was judge of Shahabad from 1802 to 1814, and was, therefore, the judge at the time of Buchanan's survey. The East India Register corrected up to December 30th, 1812, shows Robert Morrisson as "Register" of the court, while the next issue, corrected up to September 1st, 1813, shows that he had been succeeded by Thos. C. Robertson. The Collector at this time was David Burges, and the Surgeon was John I. Gibson. The house (no longer standing) then occupied by the judge stood in what is now the middle of the town, to the north of the main (Koilwar-Buxar) road, just on the western side of the Chhapra Ghat road, opposite the civil court buildings, which stood on the eastern side of that road. From information for which I am obliged to Chaudhri Karamat Husain of Arrah, it appears that the house was originally built by the well-known William Augustus Brooke, who became Revenue Chief of Patna at the end of 1781, a position which at that time involved the performance of the functions of the Collector of Shahabad. Brooke acquired an area of 42 *bighas* odd in Mauza Murshidpur, and built a residential house—as well as subsidiary buildings—which was called "Arrah House". William Tayler seems to have occupied this house while judge of Shahabad, the post he held before he became Commissioner of Patna. Mr. E. Littledale, who was the District Judge when the mutiny broke out, also occupied this house till he joined Wake, Coombe and the others in Boyle's house (in which the District Judge now resides).

Surgeon, all buildings sufficiently commodious but no sort of ornament to the place. Two fine broad roads pass south at right angles to the west end of the great road, and about their middle are crossed at right angles by another parallel to the [great] road. This is the handsomest part of the town. At its west end are the Collector's office, his and his assistants houses and those of some Europeans not in the service; none of the buildings in any degree ornamental. Good roads with abundant small bridges surround the town in all directions for a little way, and are kept in very good order by the convicts. The Jail is a very poor building. There are 2 or 3 small mosques and temples in good repair but in no manner remarkable. The soil seems poor and the plantations rather stunted, but several of the natives seem fond of gardens, in which they have collected a great variety of trees and a good many flowers. The environs are very neatly cultivated and well watered.

November 11th.—I went to Pauna⁽¹⁾ about 11 miles. I was told that there was a good road for carts but my guides chose to conduct me through by-paths in which I met with much difficulty in some rice grounds. Near Arrah the plantations are not numerous, are stunted and contain a few palms and bamboos. Farther on they became superfluous and have thriven better. These consist chiefly of Mangoes and Mahuyal. The villages very poor and 2 of them deserted. At Bukri⁽²⁾ about 3 miles south from the judge's house is a small elevated piece of ground said to have been the residence of Bankasur. It looks like the foundations of a village in Behar, increased by the accumulation of mud from the huts that have gone to decay. The road to Pauna is not in fact that by which I should have gone. I should have proceeded to [by?] Nimsagar to

(1) **Pauna**, a large village, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Garhani.

(2) **Bakri**. The name is supposed to be connected with that of the legendary Asur Bakra (Vakra) or Bakula (Vakula). For the story of this "cannibal demon of the wilderness", see *A. S. J.* III, 73; and Watters—*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, 60, 61. Traditions of a powerful asura named Vakra or Vakula may be traced through the fringes of the hilly country to the south of the Ganges from the Birbhum to the Shahabad district.

Sawara,⁽¹⁾ where the Daroga of Ekwari usually resides, and by that route the road is very good. Although the Daroga knew this very well he permitted my people to provide themselves with Ekhas : of course after coming in these for about 3 miles they were under the necessity of sending their carriages back and proceeding by foot.

12th November.—I went about 8 miles to Ekwari,⁽²⁾ the road to Sawara being represented as almost impassible. Ekwari is a wretched village of farmers without a shop, on which account although the Thana is situated there the daroga privately resides at Sawara, and no one complaining, the judge supposes that he is at Ekwari. There was scarcely any trace of a road. The country in a wretched state. A great deal of it said to be flooded. The villages high as in Behar. No mud castles. The houses poor, but all mud. Plantations superfluous.

15th November.—I went between 10 and 11 miles in a westerly direction to a village called Deo Barunarak⁽³⁾ to see an old temple. The country finely wooded but poorly occupied, and the houses and appearance of the people and their cattle all equally miserable. The country rises into gentle swells, with about an equal proportion of flat land between in alternate spaces about a mile wide, and running southerly and northerly. In one place on the swelling land I observed a little gravel. About 7 miles from Ekwari I came to a considerable elevation, but consisting only of earth.

(1) **Sahar** on the Survey sheet. Buchanan apparently means that he should have been advised to go to Sahar, where the Darogha of the "Division" usually resided—a much pleasanter situation, close to the bank of the Son (and where the Police-station now is), and that in order to reach Sahar, from Arrah he should have turned off to the south-east near Nima, before reaching Pauna.

(2) **Ekwari**, still an unimportant place, though an old site. It is not clear why this village was selected to be the headquarters of a Division, to which it gave its name. In Todar Mal's rent-roll, Nannor (Nanaur, which is still the name of a *pargana*) gave its name to the *mahal*.

(3) **Deo**, 8 miles in a direct line west by south of Ekwari. This is Deo Barunarak, to be carefully distinguished from the other village Deo (Markandeya) in the Sasaram Subdivision, about 6 mi. north by east of Nasriganj. For the remains at Deo Barunarak, see *A. S. Ben. Cir. Report* for 1903-04.

It is attributed to the Cherus, and is called Palmari⁽¹⁾. Not quite 3 miles farther on I crossed the Banas,⁽²⁾ a very small and shallow channel in clay with pools of stagnant water.

Deo Burun Aruk is a small village belonging to a moslem as Aimah⁽³⁾. On three sides it is surrounded by a wide canal, a good deal obliterated but which still contains a good deal of water at this season. The 4th side towards the north is shut in by the old temple which is said to have been built in the dwaper⁽⁴⁾ yug by Burun Raja, a Rajput who resided at Baraung⁽⁵⁾, 3 coses north from the temple and 5 from Ekwari. The Cherus⁽⁶⁾ possessed the country after his time. The temple has occupied an elevated terrace constructed of brick and surrounded by a brick wall, and all the parts are very ruinous. East from it a considerable way is a tank said to be about 5 russies⁽⁷⁾ from N. to S. and 2 or 3 wide and much filled up; before the gate, which is on the east side of the terrace, are a small temple and column. The temple which is on the N. of the gate has fallen, and the image which is lying on the ruins represents a male standing with only 2 arms, his head and feet wanting. A young Sakadwip Brahman who is Pujari has contrived no name for him, which need excite no wonder as he is

(1) Panwari.

(2) In South Bihar the streams that have their sources below the hills (in the "Gangetic alluvium") have clayey beds, while those that issue from the hills carry along sand, finer or coarser, according to the strength of the current. The clayey nature of the bed of the sluggish Banas also indicates that the sand deposits spread by Son floods can have rarely reached so far west as this stream, even in ancient times. The embankment of the Arrah Canal now prevents any Son sand being deposited to the west of it, though the canals themselves carry very fine sand in solution, especially when the Son is swollen after rain.

(3) Aima (Arabic ائمة), land given by a king as a favour or reward at a very low rent: a fief.

(4) i.e., *dvapara yuga*, the third cosmic age of the Hindus, who reckon four:—(1) *Krita*, *Satya* or *Dharma*; (2) *Treta*; (3) *Dvapara*; (4) *Kali* or *Tisya*.

(5) Baraon, eight miles north north-east of Deo, and two and half miles north of Piro.

(6) For the late Dr. Bloch's views, see *Arch. Sur. Ben. Cir. Report* for 1903-4.

(7) One *rassi* = 20 *laggi*. The *laggi* varies, but in South Bihar may be said to be generally of six *hath* (cubits); so one *rassi* will usually mean about 120 cubits, or 60 yards. 60 *rassi* = one *kos*.

far from anxious in extending his nomenclature and worships several for whom he has no name, and in this he shows prudence as he has been far from successful in his attempts. The column is curious and is south from the gate. It is quadrangular at the base and capital, and octagonal in the centre and a good deal ornamented. On the base there are 4 figures which being half buried I could not make out. On the middle are 8 figures which are called the 9 planets, and the usual figure of Rahu⁽¹⁾ is very distinguishable, but Ketu⁽²⁾ is wanting having probably remained unknown when this pillar was carved. On the capital are 4 figures, one riding on a winged person, called Krishna and Garur⁽³⁾, a second riding on an elephant called Indra, a third called Kuber⁽⁴⁾ and like the figure so called in Gaya, and a fourth called Yom Raj⁽⁵⁾ a man riding on a buffalo. The gate projects from the building and the outer door faces the south, after which you turn to the left to pass through the wall surrounding the terrace opposite to the chief Mandir, which however has been but a small place. It has had in front a Nat⁽⁶⁾ mandir supported by 4 stone columns a good deal more ornamented than usual in Behar, but the roof has fallen entirely in. In this are placed against the wall several images and fragments said to have been mutilated by Kasem Ali⁽⁷⁾. I observed 4 or 5 fragments resembling what were called Vasudeva in Behar, 3 Gauri Sangkars⁽⁸⁾ such as usual there and 2 Ganesas. The Pujari oils the 2 last kinds, and gives them these names. The arched chamber of the shrine still remains and is very small, but most of

(1) and (2) For a succinct but reliable account of the legendary lore and rural worship in connexion with these two so-called *danavas*, or *asuras*, see Crooke's *Folk-lore of Northern India*, I, 19. Rahu and Ketu are included now in the "Nine Planets," see page 4, Note (1) above.

(3) Garuda, the vehicle (*vahana*) of Visnu.

(4) Kuvera, the god of wealth.

(5) Yama, the god who presides over the lower regions.

(6) Nata (Sans. *nat*, to dance), an outer chamber leading into the main chamber of the temple.

(7) i.e., by the Nawab Qasim 'Ali Khan, in 1762, when he personally visited Shahabad, to quell the "turbulence" of the local zamindars, and, if rumour be true, to pay off an old score against one of them. See also page 29. Note (3).

the Mandir has fallen, especially its East face; the back is pretty entire for some way up. The image is called the Sun⁽¹⁾, but resembles more Vasudeva and has no horses. The next largest Mandir of this temple is north from the above and has been nearly as large but has had no porch. The Pujari calls the image Kamari.⁽²⁾ It is a male with two arms and a flower in each and a crown on his head. It stands on a throne of stone, the figures on which seem to represent horses. This therefore has a greater resemblance to Surya than what is called by that name. I suspect the image was not that originally intended for the throne as it is supported by a mass of clay and bricks placed on the stone, and must be a modern addition; the original image no doubt was placed on the throne without the intervention of such vile materials. East from this Mandir is a small shrine shaped somewhat like a lantern, and apparently much more modern than the two chief Mandirs. It contains a female with two arms and in a standing posture. The Pujari makes offerings but has given it no name. Another similar shrine is placed near the porch of the great Mandir. The image of this seems to be a Gauri Sangkar and is worshipped at marriages, but the Pujari gives it no name. Behind this towards the West is a small shrine containing Mahadeva, very ruinous but the roof still entire. At the SE. corner of the terrace has been a small chamber the roof of which has fallen, but several images have been placed in it. One resembles Gauri Sangkar, but a child is seated at the feet of the female, while a bull as usual attends the male. A Ganesa. A fat male image like Kober with 2 arms, called Bhawani or the goddess. A female with 4 arms seated on a lion⁽³⁾ and called by the same name. One of the hideous empty-bellied monsters like Jaradevi⁽⁴⁾ with 4 arms

(1) One of the very few sites in Bihar where temples to the sun are found.

(2) ? Kumari. Mistakes as to the sex represented by images are commonly made by illiterate rustic priests.

(3) Probably Parvati.

(4) From the description this seems clearly to have been Chamunda, of non-Aryan origin, but absorbed in the Hindu pantheon as a form of Durga.

and seated on a carcase. I suspect that what I supposed armour may have been meant to represent bones⁽¹⁾; as we depict death by a skeleton. The arms and head of this image have somewhat the appearance of the human skeleton. The Pujari calls it Kankali⁽²⁾. The best informed people at the Thana attribute the creation of the temple to Kumur dir Saha⁽³⁾ an Ujeyini⁽⁴⁾ Rajput who lived at Baraong about 150 years ago, and it is probable that the small lantern like temples were in fact erected by him and he may also have repaired the larger. The name of the temple is usually corrupted into Deo Bunaruk.

Ekwari is a pretty large village of cultivators, but has few shops or artificers.

November 17th.—I went between 10 and 11 miles to Lalgunj⁽⁵⁾. The country finely planted with Mangoes and Mohual⁽⁶⁾ scarcely any palms, a very few bamboos, villages very poor. I passed through a wood of stunted palas⁽⁷⁾ on the banks of the Banas which is rather less than 5 miles from Ekwari and is a very small dirty stream in a narrow deep channel of clay. From thence is about 5 miles to a still smaller rivulet called Nullar⁽⁸⁾ which has no stream. From thence to the boundary between Ekwari and Bilaungti is rather less than half a mile, and from the boundary to my tents just beyond Lalgunj was about half a mile. No road.

(1) Her body is represented as very emaciated.

(2) Kankali (Sans. कङ्काल, a skeleton), Kankalini is one of the forms of Durga.

(3) and (4) Perhaps Kunwar Dhir Sahi, but he is not known to fame; unless the tradition preserves the name of the same person who has been elevated to the rank of a godling as Kunwar Dhir, or Sanwar (see Crooke—*Folk-lore of N. I.*, I, 205). Ujeyini = Ujain, by which is meant a Pramara Rajput, one of the Agnikula clans. The Pramaras (Ponwar in the local vernacular) of Shahabad claim to be descended from the rulers of Ujain in Malwa.

(5) Lalganj is not marked on the Survey sheet. According to Buchanan's own map it lay within the Belauthi jurisdiction, somewhere near the village of Baligaon, shown on the Survey map.

(6) Mahua [see page 3 above Note(2)].

(7) Palasa (Sans. पलाश vulg. *paras*, the *Butea frondosa*; the "flame of the forest". Brandis described the trees when in flower as looking like fire on the horizon, and an Urdu poet used a like simile—دن میں آگ لگی)

(8) Maia N.

November 18th.—I went about 14 miles to Bilaungti.⁽¹⁾ The country, wherever it is not actually forest, overwhelmed with useless plantations, part of them indeed has gone quite waste and in the Biya⁽²⁾ forest through which or along its skirts I passed for about 4 miles I see many traces of former plantations especially a great many Mahuyals and tamarinds, almost the only large trees. The others are stunted. The palas is the most common but there are many mimozas⁽³⁾ and prickly jujubs, an indication of a rather poor soil, also many Nim, Bat and Pipar. Many villages of cowherds seem to be scattered in its skirts, perhaps all through it, and some places in it are covered with long grass, being low land fit for winter rice. About 7 miles from Lalgunj I came to a small dry torrent in a soil of stiff clay, immediately beyond which I entered the woods, which continued for about 4 miles. They end where the country slopes down to the plain watered by the Ganges. The slope well cultivated with rubbi⁽⁴⁾ and watered. From thence I went almost 2 miles west at no great distance from the forest when I came to the great road between Patna and Benares at a bridge of three arches over a small stream of which the women washing in it could not tell me the name ⁽⁵⁾, probably owing to their confusion

(1) **Belauthi.**

(2) **Behea.** In ancient times there would seem to have been an extensive area of *jangal* in Shahabad, reaching nearly up to Arrah. From Buchanan's account the southern half of the Bihiya pargana and the south-eastern portion of the Bhojpur pargana, to the east of Kesath, Chaugain and Dumraon appear to have been largely covered by *jangal*. In 1857-8, the *jangal* still extended from Jagdispur northwards to Bihiya, and special measures were taken by Government, after the campaigns of those years, to have it cleared (see *Gazetteer*, 1924, page 171). A small area (a few acres) was kept uncleared by the grantees, immediately adjoining Bihiya House, to show what the whole tract used to be like.

(3) Possibly Buchanan noticed many *siris* (*Albizia* sp. and *khar* (*Acacia Catechu*) trees, which come under the Sub-Order Mimoseae. By prickly jujub he refers to species of *haur* (*Zizyphus* sp.) Nim = *Melia Azadirachta*, Linn. Bat (Sans. बट), the bar of the local vernacular = *Ficus indica*, Roxb., the "Banyan tree". Pipar (Sans. पिप्पल), the pipal or pipar of the vernacular = *Picus religiosa*.

(4) The *rabi* or spring crops. The word, like many others used even in the local dialects, is a purely Arabic word (ربيع = spring).

(5) **Chher N.** The word has several meanings, one of which fully explains the reticence observed, apart from the natural modesty of Indian women when addressed by a stranger. This is one of the remarks that rather bears out Wilson as to Buchanan's limited acquaintance with the vernacular.

and reserve. From thence I proceeded along the great road to Bilaungti. By the road side this day I saw 3 or 4 small ruined mud forts.

A Cheru from Yagodispur⁽¹⁾ says that there are in that vicinity 10 or 12 families. They are all in the service of the Babu⁽²⁾ as hunters. They shoot deer, hogs and hares (लमहा Lamha)⁽³⁾. There are two Deer, Chitra and Kulsar⁽⁴⁾ that is the axis and antelope, the former living in the forest the other in the plain. In the rainy season they collect medicinal herbs. They call themselves Nagbongsi⁽⁵⁾ Rajputs, and the tribe mostly reside in Nagpur under their own Raja. There they speak a peculiar language, but it is not known to the people here. Their old forts here are Bihiya and Turaung⁽⁶⁾ south from Dumraung. They eat like the Rajputs here, and wear the thread. They do not drink. A Kanaj⁽⁷⁾ Brahman is their Guru and Puruhit. They pray to a male god called Kuwar⁽⁸⁾ represented by a heap of mud. They do not know to what sect they belong.

23rd November.—Bilaungti is a poor bazar with nothing remarkable in its vicinity. The country south-east and west from [it] rises into very gentle swells of a hard ash-coloured clay, which however becomes a very soft loose mud by watering. Plantations vastly too numerous and rapidly increasing. They consist of Mahuyal and Mango trees with a few bamboos and scarcely any palms. I went along the Banaras road about 9 miles to a Mango grove in a Mauza called Brahmapur⁽⁹⁾, but there were no houses near.

(1) Jagdispur.

(2) i.e., the head of the Jagdispur branch of the Ujain (Pramara) Rajputs in Shahabad. Sahibzada Singh was the Babu in Buchanan's time.

(3) i.e., lam-kanno, or long (लम्बा) ear (कर्ण).

(4) Chitra means "spotted", the *Cervus axis*, or chital deer. "Kulsar" is the *Antelope cervicapra al. bezoartica*, the "black buck".

(5) Nagavamsa, "of the serpent race".

(6) Turaon, about two miles south south-east of Nawanagar, once a place of importance, now almost deserted and forgotten.

(7) Kanaujiya.

(8) Unfortunately Buchanan has not given the full title. There are many godlings, generally deified ancestors or heroes, with this prefix worshipped or (sometimes) appeased by tribes of non-Aryan origin and illiterate Hindus.

(9) Barhampur.

The boundary between the Thanas is about 5 miles from Bilaungti at a bridge over a small channel⁽¹⁾ of stagnant water. The road is pretty tolerable. At Brahmapur is a temple of Siva, a good deal frequented. It is surrounded by a high brick wall, within which are two shrines built after the Muhammadan fashion and each containing a Linga. They are quite modern, but some old stones remain about them. The threshold of the door has at each end a lion couchant, and near it is a small image of Ganesa. There is also an old image very much defaced. The Linga is called Brahmeswar because, as an old dotard the Pujari says, it was inserted by Brahma. He has just sense enough to deny all knowledge of the person whom every one remembers to have built the place. A Sakadwipi⁽²⁾ Brahman at the tents passed the whole day in prayer, standing on his neck and shoulders with his legs turned up over his head. He had done the same at Bilaungti yesterday. When advised to practice his austerities in some place where he would not be seen of men, he said that was his intention so soon as he had perfected himself in the various penances which he intended to pursue. He proposed passing a whole cold season in the water, and says that he eats nothing but milk and fruit. Gram⁽³⁾ as raised by the labour of the ox he considers as impure.

November 24th.—I went above 8 miles to Dumraong.⁽⁴⁾ About a mile from my last night's quarters came to a bridge over the Gurhatti, a small stagnant nullah. About a mile and a half farther on I left the great road, where I had been joined by the Bojpur Rajah⁽⁵⁾ and his brother, and proceeded through the fields with them, my tents being at their house. The great road very good. Near the Rajah's house, the

(1) Not named on the Survey sheet. It is the little stream that passes under the Koilwar-Buxar road between Ranisagar and Maharajganj.

(2) The original home of the Sakadwipi Brahmans is supposed to have been ancient Magadha (see Sherring, *Tribes and Castes*, I, 20, 102).

(3) *Cicer arietinum*, the chick-pea.

(4) **Dumraon.**

(5) i.e., the Raja of Dumraon, at that time Raja Jaya Prakas Simha, created Maharaja Bahadur by the Marquess of Hastings a few years later.

country rises very high.⁽¹⁾ It is finely planted with a few palmira⁽²⁾ trees intermixed with the Mangoes.

26th November.—I went with the Raja to see old and new Bojpur ⁽³⁾, the seats of his ancestors and both now small towns situated on the banks of a long channel filled with water which from its size would appear to have been the principal channel of the Ganges at no very remote period, and probably continued so until after new Bojpur was deserted. This is still a good village and some of the houses are pretty good although built of mud. Traces remain to show that it once extended far along the banks of the Ganges on a high swelling poor bank. There are traces of a small fort and some pretty considerable buildings of brick which are said to have been deserted by Rudra Saha, who went to live in Baksar properly named Bagreshwar⁽⁴⁾. Whether or not this was at the time when Bojpur and Patiyali⁽⁵⁾ were destroyed as nests of robbers I cannot say. I could not in decency ask the Rajah, who is a most attentive and obliging person. The largest ruin is called a Navaratna⁽⁶⁾ and has been faced with enamelled tiles, some of which still retain their colours. This had been the seat of the family from the time of its second arrival in the country, which the Rajah says was in the time of Timur⁽⁷⁾, but he imagines that this was 500 years ago

(1) The high, sandy stretch here appears to be due to the flood deposits of the Kao river in ancient times.

(2) *Borassus flabellifer*.

(3) Bhojpur Qadim (old) and Bhojpur Jadid (new), respectively. Portion of the old channel of the Ganges to the north of these two villages now forms a large *jhil*. For a short account of the history of the Dumraon family and of their different headquarters, see *Gazetteer*, 1924, pp. 168-169. The account given by Buchanan is defective. Dumraon, to which Raja Horil Singh moved in 1745, was in Buchanan's time, and is still, the headquarters.

(4) The name, still pronounced "Baghsar" by the rural folk, is supposed to be a corruption of *vyaghra-sara*, or the "tiger tank". (For legend, see *Gazetteer* 1924, page 163.)

(5) Patiyali is the "Pattiali" of the Bihar Report, see Martin, *E. I.*, I, 30. Martin substituted "Patna"! In this reference to Bhojpur and Pattiali being destroyed as nests of robbers, Buchanan must have had in mind Zia-ud-din Barni's account of how Sultan Balban destroyed Kampil, Bhojpur and Pattiali—all places in the Doab, near Farrukhabad, in a distant part of Hindustan! See Elliott, III, 105, and IV, 455.

(6) The word means "nine jewels", a name often applied to a building of importance.

(7) Timur invaded India in 1398.

and that Timur was king of Hindustan. Old Bojpur he considers as having been the residence of Raja Boj⁽¹⁾ his ancestor, son of Vikrama of Ujeyin, a Pomar Rajput of the family of the sun. At first he said that he lived perhaps 14 centuries ago, but he afterwards corrected this on the supposition of the era now in use being derived from this Vikrama. He laughs at the idea of Bhoj being connected with Vikrama by marriage, both having been Pramars. Some time after the Pramars had held this country they were expelled by the Cherus, and retired to Ujeyin from whence they did not return until after the Muhammedan conquest. The remains of Old Bojpur are very trifling. A small heap of earth is shown as the place where the throne was placed, and various places are shown as having been appropriated to various purposes, such as the elephant stables and the like; but no traces of buildings remain, nor are many bricks scattered on the surface. This however is no absolute proof of the whole story being a fable. Cultivation may have removed the whole, and the Raja says that many bricks are found in digging wells and that his father saw some coins with Hindî characters that had been found in the place. I suspect that this town was that destroyed by the Moslems in 1266 as a nest of thieves⁽²⁾, and that the fort now shown as the Rajah's residence was that built by the Moslems, as there is a ruinous mosque close by it and no sort of appearance of temples. It is probable also that the Ujeini Rajputs were on this occasion first brought here and placed as a garrison in the new fort, and the country given to their chief in order to eradicate the robbers who probably were

(1) The local genealogists had mixed up legend with history. Raja Bhoja (Pramara) ruled at Dhara, not Ujain, in Malwa, from about 1018 to 1060. The importance of the family seems to have declined after his time. Probably members of this, as of other Rajput clans, were driven eastwards by the ravages of Shihab-ud-din Ghorî and his generals, whose conquests and raids extended over great part of northern India, and carved out for themselves estates in South Bihar, where the confusion following the downfall of the Pala dynasty produced conditions suitable for such adventurous spirits.

(2) See in this connexion Buchanan's historical résumé in his Report on the Bihar and Patna districts [Martin's *R.* I., I, 30 and Note (5), p. 17 above].

Bhors⁽¹⁾ The Ujeini Rajputs probably brought with them the story of their ancestor Boj having lived here formerly, being misled by the name.

The Rajah's house at Dumraong was reduced to an entire ruin by Kasimali⁽²⁾, and the family retired into the woods. The fortifications have not been repaired and the buildings at present are not considerable, but the Rajah, who received the estate very much encumbered, has begun to enlarge them and will probably render it a respectable abode as he has already discharged a considerable part of his debts. He has lost his genealogy from Raja Boj, which was destroyed in the house by Kasem Ali. Whether or not it had any foundation in truth I know not; but although I think his family never was here until 5 or 6 centuries ago, it is very possible that it may have been descended from the Kings of Ujein. The account given by the Rajah's Purohit in writing seems reasonable enough. Pritap Rudra⁽³⁾ was brother of Narain Mul, and he being killed in battle Rudra managed for his nephew and built new Bojpur. The proper caste is Prammar. Kalidas lived at the court of the Prammar Boj⁽⁴⁾. This the Pandit from the south also

* Bhoj Raja according to Mr. Bentley began to reign A.D. 982 and governed 100 years. See for this date, A. R. IX, 156. In the south of India, page 157, he only governed 50 years. After him came his adopted son Jayananda, who died without issue, and was succeeded by Chaitra Pala or Jytepala of the Towara family, who fought with Mahmud in 1002 and is called Vikrama, page 167. Jayananda died 998 of Christ, see also page 177. Chaitra Pala was son of a powerful zemindar of Ganda. When Jaya (page 168), the son of Bhoja died there was none of the Pomaras fit to wear the crown, on which account it was given to the Tomaras, see history of the Palas there and in page 203 (5).

(1) The Bhars were anything but "robbers". Numerous remains attributed to this most interesting people found throughout Oudh and the eastern and south-eastern districts of the U. P. would show that they had attained a high degree of civilisation. (P. Carnegy, *Notes, etc.*, pp. 19, 22, 28; Sherring, *T. & C.* pp. 307-375; Crooke, *T. & C.*, s. v. Bhar).

(2) In 1762, (see page 11 above). The *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin* is silent as to this.

(3) Raja Rudra Pratapa Narayan Simha.

(4) Kalidasa probably lived in the time of the "Imperial" Guptas, Chandragupta II and Kumaragupta I. See V. A. Smith, *O. H. of I.*, pp. 158-9, and A. B. Keith, *Classical Sans. Lit.*, page 32.

(5) This is a marginal note of Buchanan's quoting from an article in Vol. 9 of the *Asiatick Researches*, the information contained in which has been superseded by more recent research.

acknowledges. He has seen the ruins of Daranagur⁽¹⁾ where Boja resided, 18 coses from Ujain. Many old monuments at both places.

In the Raja's yard I observed a fine male stag which he calls Samar or Sabar⁽²⁾. It is of a dark blackish brown and has very long harsh hair on all sides of the neck. The horns have one lateral branch and are bifurcated at the end and are said never to be larger. It strongly resembles the stag I saw at Mysore, but is darker coloured. It came from the hills of Rotas. A male axis was called Jhangk⁽³⁾, the female Chitri.

In a spring flowing into the old channel of the Ganges at new Bojpur the thermometer in the evening being in the open air at 76 degrees rose to 82 degrees.

Dumraong is a pretty large country town surrounding the Raja's house on all sides. Few of the houses are good, nor is it so well built as either Bojpur.

The Pandit from the south contends that Kikat⁽⁴⁾ and Magadha are perfectly synonymous.

29th November.—I went rather more than 10 miles to Nawanagur. The country high and rising even into slight waves. I passed through a great deal of stunted woods and most part of the way had a forest at a little distance from the road to the east. The road passable in a cart. Nawanagur⁽⁵⁾ is a very

(1) Dharanagar—the Dhara of page 18, Note (1) above.

(2) The *sanbar* or *sabar* (Sans. शम्बर), *Cervus unicolor*.

(3) *Jhankh*, vulg. *jhank* means a stag, the "horned" deer, H. भांख meaning a thorny plant—not भांख a "peep" or "glance", which is of different origin.

Chitri is simply the feminine form of *chitra* (page 15 above).

(4) In the Report (see Martin's *E. I.*, I, 405) Buchanan cites Kikat as a name applied to the country between the Son and the Karamnasa. The view of the pandit of the south is probably more correct. *Kikat* appears to have been an ancient name of Magadha, when Shahabad formed part of *Karusa desa*. (See *Rigveda*, III, 53, 14; *Vayu P.*, ch. 105; *I. A.*, 1922, Sup., 100).

(5) **Nawanagar**. The "younger branch" referred to seems to be the Kesath family.

wretched small town occupied chiefly by Goyalas⁽¹⁾. It belongs to a younger branch of the Pramara family which has consisted of 5 generations and has subdivided into 3 shares. Its wretched state seems to be owing to their inactivity. They do not manage their own affairs, but have farmed out their rents, and the Tikadars have neglected Ahars so that the whole crop almost has failed, the country being fitted for rice. The country all to the west is quite flat and of a rich clay land, but is mostly overgrown with stunted Palas⁽²⁾ trees. The chief of the family, a wretched, dirty, starved-looking creature, said they had no strength to cultivate and that the wild cattle⁽³⁾ from the neighbouring woods eat every thing up that was sown. His ancestors on receiving the village as an appanage made a kind of fort in the form which I have considered very ancient. A deep and wide ditch was dug round and the earth taken out was thrown up into a solid terrace, on which some brick buildings and huts have stood for their accommodation, while the ascent from the ditch and the counterscarp was defended by a parapet and round bastions at the corners.

30th November.—I went to Suryapur⁽⁴⁾ by a route of about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Having followed the road to Sasaram⁽⁵⁾ for rather more than a mile I turned off to the east to visit the old fort of Turaong⁽⁶⁾ about half a mile from the road. The ruin consists of an

(1) *Goala* (*gwala*) or Ahir, the most numerous caste in the district. The Shahabad Ahirs have a fame all their own. The thieving propensities of members of their community have given rise to the proverb well-known in Bihar—"Don't go to Bhojpur. If you do go, don't eat. If you eat, don't go to sleep. If you sleep, don't feel for your purse: if you do, don't weep."

(2) An invariable indication of old *jangal*. The old central forest had extended as far as this.

(3) This reference to wild cattle, now so rare, is of special interest, not only because their existence in Shahabad is little known, but also because their survival bears out the persistent tradition of a wide extent of thick *jangal*, which in ancient times must have been linked up with the forests on the Kaimur hills. A further note about these wild cattle will be found in Appendix B.

(4) Surajpura.

(5) Sasaram.

(6) Turaon. (See also page 15 above.)

elevated space perhaps $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile square. There are no traces of a fortification, and the surface rises into various irregular heaps without any symmetry of form and of various elevations. It seems to consist chiefly of bricks, the broken fragments of which are thickly scattered on the surface and for a considerable way round. In one place I could trace the walls of some small chambers on a level with the surface, and by digging many would probably be found entire at least for some part of their height. I saw no stones except one broken image, and the people said that they never had seen any other. The image has been quite broken, only a part of loins and thighs remaining, so that it is impossible to say what it represented farther than that it was somewhat in the form of man and less than nature. On the east side of the building has been a Tank called simply Pukhori⁽¹⁾. It has extended the whole length but is nearly filled up. The ruin appears to me to be evidently that of a considerable palace. It is called Turaong by the people of a small village situated on its South end, and is attributed by them to a Cheru Rajah called Phulchand, who before he built it lived at a place called Deo⁽²⁾ SE. towards the Son.

1st December.—I went rather more than 12 miles east to Deo to see the above mentioned ruin which has been a small mandir with a nath mandir, both built of brick and placed on an elevated terrace of no great size, also constructed of brick. The terrace, partly by decay partly by the fall of the buildings, has become a shapeless heap, on the surface of which are 3 or 4 Siva Lingas, one adorned with 4 heads. On the south-west corner has been a very small temple

(1) *Pokhari*, a small tank, diminutive form of *pokhar*, the vernacular for Sans. पुष्कर.

(2) *Deo*. This is Deo Markandeya. Buchanan writes that he went 12 miles east: the direction is rather south south-east, but the distance is correct. For accounts of the remains here see *A. S. I.*, XIX, and *A. S. I. Ben. Cir. Report* for 1903-04. In the latter (page 10) Dr. Bloch wrote:—

"The local people quote a Sanskrit verse which says that the main temple was built in Vikrama Samvat 100 or A.D. 63 by Gobhavini, the queen of Raja Phulchand Chero, but this of course is quite fabulous."

of Siva still containing the image, but only part of the walls remain. The chief temple was in the centre. The walls of the Nat mandir remain in part, but the roof is gone. In it is a stone leaning against the wall which contains an inscription very rudely cut and much worn, but most of the characters are still distinct enough. All the upper part of the shrine has fallen and the arch has given way, but the bricks and plaster still exclude the rain. The throne, although much decayed, still remains and is pretty large and has probably supported a large image that has been removed, while some small broken images which formerly were ornaments have been placed on its side. One is evidently Ganesa, 2 seem to have been like the Gadadhar of Gaya, and one like that usually called Surya in that district. The door of the shrine has been of stone, very much and not inelegantly ornamented. The lintel is lying in the Nat mandir, and in the centre in place of the Ganesa usual with the orthodox is a female figure seated like a Buddha. The two sides of the door are not at all alike, which induces me to suppose that they have been taken from some older ruin.

About 100 yards north from this temple is another small and more entire building of brick which contains an immense Linga with a large humanlike but ugly face carved on one side. The ears very large. This is called Gauri Sankar. About half a mile further north is another small square brick building without a roof, and said to be modern. It contains an image called Devi, but which represents a male with 4 arms with a two-armed female seated on his knee, as usual in Behar, and has probably been taken from the temple attributed to Phulchand Cheru. There is no trace whatever of any house belonging to such a personage having ever been in the vicinity, but all the people say that he built the temple and refer to the inscription for a proof, although I doubt much whether any person in the vicinity can read it.*

*The era being Vikrama and not Sombot probably commences A.D. 441, See A. R. IX, page 150. [Marginal note by Buchanan.]

Deo is 3 coses from Daudnagar, and the villages in its vicinity look better than usual in this district as most of them have mud castles and as some palms are intermixed with the groves of Mango and Mahuyal, but they are very mean. Rather more than a mile from Suryapur I crossed a wide space of fine land containing pools of stagnant water. In the rainy season it is said to be a river called Ka⁽¹⁾, and as the water dries up the mud receives a slight ploughing and is cultivated. It was just now ploughing. No traces of sand. It is about 500 yards wide.

3rd December.—I had a visit from Rikinidas a priest of the Duriya pangth⁽²⁾. This order was established by a Muhammedan tailor who took the name of Duriya Das and rejected the prophet, admitting Hindus into his society and adopting the worship of the supreme being alone under the name Sutti Sukrit⁽³⁾. They have no images, but call on his name and offer fruits, sweets, milk, &c., placing them on the ground, for they have no temples unless the grave of Duriya Das at Dorkunda⁽⁴⁾ 4 coses from Surjapur west northerly. Many people place their offerings there; but they invoke only the deity. Hindus of all ranks or Moslems may be admitted into the priesthood, after which they all eat in common, and will eat from the hand of any of the laity who follow their rule, but they reject even the food of a Brahman who adheres to the old doctrines. They give an upadesa⁽⁵⁾ to the laity, but do not interfere with the rules of their caste nor their using Brahman purohits at their ceremonies, but they are to pray to no God but Sutti Sukrit, who created all the Devatas. They kill no animal nor drink any strong liquor, but some of them smoke tobacco, but all the priests carry

(1) **Kab**, but pronounced Kao locally throughout its course.

(2) *i.e.*, Daryapanth. The founder called himself Darya Das. *Panth*, literally "path", is applied to a religious order or sect. For short accounts of the *Daryapanthi* sect, which never attained a very wide celebrity, see Buchanan's Report (*Martin's B. I.*, I, 499-501, and *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. V, Pt. I, 243).

(3) Apparently = *Sati sùkriti* (the good and righteous one).

(4) **Dharkandha**. From Dinara it is only four miles north-east.

(5) Upadesa (Sans. उपदेश), instruction; also preaching, sermon.

a peculiar kind of hukah⁽¹⁾ as their emblem and call it Raitana and Nolicha⁽²⁾: they also carry an earthen vessel for holding water. They shave the whole head and abandon women and their families. They are buried. The laity of Hindus are burned, nor do the priests interfere to prevent windows from burning. At Dorkunda there remains the Takot⁽³⁾ or throne of the tailor, and the chief priest who sits on it is called Mahant. All his disciples are called Das and Chelas⁽⁴⁾. Duriya Das is called the Pangth. His throne was occupied first by Gunadas then by Tekadas, now alive. Two other persons have the title of Mahant but their abodes are only called Mokams⁽⁵⁾: one is at Dungsi⁽⁶⁾ in Betiya, the other at Telpa⁽⁶⁾ near Chupra. To these 3 houses perhaps 70 priests belong, but they are constantly wandering about making converts and levying contributions. At Darkanda they have 101 bighas given them by Kasem Ali. Duriya Das composed 18 volumes in the Hindi language, of which the Pandit has the names of 17; the other has been lost. They reject the Purans and Koran and are quite ignorant of the Vedas. They say that the essence of all books are contained in theirs, although few of them pretend to understand the whole. They in general can read more or less. Of the three whom I examined one was a Rajput, one a Kaistha and one a Kurmi. The laity are allowed to read. They reject burnt offerings. They have no science, grammar, metaphysics, law or astrology. The reason they assign for not killing

(1) *Huqqa* (Arabic هوق), pipe.

(2) in the Report (see Martin's *E. I.*, 8, 499) we find *ratna-nalita*. *Ratna* means a jewel or gem. *Nolicha* is probably the Bengali pandit's pronunciation of *Nolicha*, a hybrid word made up of the Hindi *nali* a tube, and the Persian diminutive termination *cha*. The correct word is *naicha*, the tube or "snake" of the *huqqa*.

(3) *Takht* (Persian تخت), a throne.

(4) *Dasa* and *chela* (Sanskrit दास; चेलक) Both words originally meant slave or servant. *Chela* is now used in the sense of disciple or follower; and both words are used in this sense here.

(5) *Muqam*, an Arabic word meaning first "staying", then "place of staying", and so "abode".

(6) In the Report both places are described as being in district Saran. Telpa is about two miles from Chhapra. I have been unable to trace "Dungsi".

animals is that they are all portions of the deity. They condemn the burning of widows, but do not judge it prudent to interfere. They do not prevent their laity from being soldiers. Very good men go to God; bad men are born again often as low animals. No other punishment. The priests will not give their books to infidels, but the laity will. He thinks that the 3 Mahants may have in all 20,000 houses [of] followers.

Another road to heaven, Dadu Pangthi⁽¹⁾, was discovered by another Muhammedan tailor, but I have not yet learned the particulars.

I went about $3\frac{1}{2}$ coses west to see a celebrated place of worship dedicated to Kali under the name of Devi. It is situated in a forest chiefly consisting of Khoyer,⁽²⁾ which is not allowed to be cut except for fuel by the pilgrims, yet has not attained to such a size as I have seen in Ava, although the soil is very rich—a strong hard clay. The forest is thick only near the temple and seems to be extending, scattered thickets occupying a considerable extent of land that has been evidently once cultivated for rice and is now covered with harsh grass quite burnt up. The buildings are of little note. A square area of no great size and surrounded by a brick wall in tolerable repair contains 3 small temples without porches and each covered by a single dome in a Muhammedan style of architecture. The largest contains an image of Kali, and I am told that it represents her with 8 (eight) arms, but the place is so dark that I could not distinguish the form. The next in size of the temples contains a Linga, and at each side of the door has been placed the fragments of an image so much defaced that no conjecture can be formed of what it represented. The

(1) For a good account of the *Dadupanthis*, see *Encl. of Rel. & Eth.*, Vol. 4; also Crooke, *Tribes & Castes of the N. W. P. & O.*, II, 236-9, and Oman's *Mystics, Ascetics & Saints*, pp. 133, 189. Dadu (A. D. 1544-1603) was born in Ahmadabad of Brahman parents. He said:—"I am not a Hindu, nor a Musalman. I belong to none of the six schools of philosophy. I love the merciful God."

(2) *Khair*, the *Acacia Catechu*. Buchanan does not tell us the name of the village where these temples were; but as he calls the place *Tevisthan* in Appendix I, it must have been Bhaluni, where an important *mela*, or fair, is still held in April and October every year.

smallest temple contains what is called Bhairva⁽¹⁾ but it is a Buddha seated as usual. On a small platform at a corner of the area is a fragment of an image called Sita, which seems to me to represent one of the female attendants usual in the images called Vasudeva in Bihar, and near it is built into the wall a row of small images carved on one stone and seeming to me to be quite like those rows called *Asta sakti* ⁽²⁾ in Behar; but it is a good deal defaced, and the deities it represents have got quite other names perhaps as appropriate as those given in Behar, especially as one of them at least called Bhairav is allowed to be a male as the figure represents. There is only one hut near the temple occupied by the officiating priest, a Brahman of Sakadwip, but I understand that the family has multiplied greatly and occupies a village at some little distance. Two tanks have been dug, one in front of the temple lately and the other at a little distance behind, which is more ancient. There are at the place what are called 4 Kunds⁽³⁾ or pools where offerings are made. These have been small tanks but have in a great measure been filled up. The priest who was making offerings to Kali on my arrival said that when his ancestors came these kunds were all that remained in the forest, where the goddess now worshipped manifested herself to him. At one time the priest said he was the 6th, and at another the 10th, in descent from this fortunate discoverer; but another branch of the family I am told claims a succession of 100 generations. The appearance of the temple founded by the discoverer of the image is by far most

(1) Bhairava, regarded as a form of Siva, the special deity of the Kapalikas (an ancient sect of Saivas), has numerous forms. (See Gopinath Rao's *Hindu Iconography*. II. Pt. I, 180-182.) The name literally means the "terrible" one, but Bhairava also has the attributes of a protector or "supporter". It is very noticeable how frequently male Buddhistic images are nowadays called Bhairava (Bhairon, Bhaironath in the vernacular) by the local folk. Cf. the Jaina worship of Bhairava. Indeed the subject of the connexion between Bhairon and Bhairava, and their origin involves interesting questions. Here again we have possibly an example of a non-(or pre-) Aryan deity being elevated and absorbed.

(2) *Asta Sakti*, properly the 8 "energies" or active powers of the deities personified as their wives; impersonations of the female energies of nature.

(3) *Kunda* (Sanskrit), originally meaning a jar or pot, now applied to a pool or small reservoir.

easily reconciled with the first of the three eras. The priest said that in digging into one of the 4 old Kunds close by the hut which he occupies in order to procure water for domestic purposes, the other images were found, and he supposes not irrationally that it contains many more. On the west side of this old tank or kund I could observe some stones in a row like the foundation of a building, and presume that there had been here some temple which had probably been destroyed by the Muhammadan invaders, and the images thrown into the tank. The sage to whom the image of Kali manifested itself took advantage of the reverence which the neighbouring peasants still showed for the place, and has established his family on a very advantageous footing.

Suryapur⁽¹⁾ is a small town with a market place of another name. It belongs to a family of Kaiasthas⁽²⁾, of which two brothers have large brick houses not plastered on the outside and exceedingly dismal to appearance, but larger than those of the Bhojpur Raja. The family held the office of Kanongoe⁽³⁾ for a third part of the Perganah, by which it acquired its wealth. The elder brother resides, and although he is a civil man, he has a cunning disagreeable manner and keeps all the people at a distance; so that little information could be procured, although the officers of police advised me to stay here rather than go to the Thanah as being more likely to procure what I wanted. The second brother is Dewan of Bhojpur.

5th December.—I went rather more than 13 miles to Noka⁽⁴⁾, which was called 5 coses, and I was told that the road was good, but although traces of a road remained it was so neglected and destroyed by the

(1) Surajpura.

(2) *Kayastha*, the "writer caste". Nearly all the large landed proprietors in Bihar had Kayastha diwans—Superintendents of the revenue and financial administration; and in many cases the office remained in the same family for generations. The present head of the Surajpura family was granted the title of Raja in 1919: his father had also received this title from the British Government.

(3) Correctly *qanungo*.

(4) Nokha.

operations of agriculture that in many places it cannot be followed even by loaded oxen. The boundary is about 6 miles from Suryapur. About 3 miles from Noka a small tank has been dug and laid bare some rude masses of stone, the produce of the place and not brought by men. Noka is a small, poor town built round a castle belonging to a family of Ujeini Rajputs. The castle is very large, perhaps 100 yards each way, and consists of a high irregular wall of brick not plastered and without embrasures, loopholes, turrets or any flanking defences, but without it is surrounded by a rampart of earth and ditch, neither of which is in good repair. The three branches of the family reside within, but none of the houses rise above the wall so as to be visible from without, and I did not go in least I should give offence. The late zemindar was the chief chief in Bojpur and at the same time a very haughty overbearing man. While Kasem Ali was in the district as a subordinate officer of the Mogol officer, this descendant of the Sun took the utmost umbrage at the Moslem nobles having presumed to ride before him, and is said to have hamstringed his horse⁽¹⁾. On Kasem Ali's succession to be Subadar he was determined to revenge this insolence and assembled a force in Behar for the purpose. The whole Ujeynis rose to defend their brother and assembled in considerable numbers on the banks of the Son, determined to oppose the Moslems, but as these advanced the hearts of the Hindus failed and it was discovered that the banks of the Son were not a fortunate⁽²⁾ place. They then retired to the banks of the Ganges, where a similar discovery was made, and they dispersed and retired beyond the boundaries of the Subadar of Behar, leaving their numerous castles and property to be destroyed by Kasem Ali and his ferocious agent Sumeroo⁽³⁾. The eldest son of

(1) This interesting story does not appear to be given elsewhere. Buchanan evidently refers to the celebrated Pahalwan Singh.

(2) i.e., auspicious.

(3) The notorious "Samru" (Walter Reinhardt). The *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin* tells us that about the time referred to by Buchanan (1762), Samru had been stationed by Mir Qasim Ali at Buxar with three or four regiments of disciplined Talingas.

the Noka chief has died, leaving a boy now under the tutelage of the Collector. Two other sons remain, very civil men like all the other persons of the family that I have seen; but very hard favoured and vulgar in their appearance, which is indeed the case with the whole except Jai Prakas⁽¹⁾ who is rather handsome, and except that he speaks to Europeans in too humble a manner, has in other respects very much the appearance of a person of rank and appears to be a kind-hearted, well-disposed man. The quarrel with Kasem Ali threw the Ujayinis into the party of the English, and they seem very thankful for the treatment which they have received from these conquerors.

6th December.—I went rather more than three miles south-west to the small hill Jubra⁽²⁾, at which is a Thanah of invalids⁽³⁾. It may be a quarter of a mile long and 150 feet perpendicular height. It is one of the barest rocks that I have ever seen, and possesses all the ruggedness of granite, but is evidently disposed in horizontal strata. These, however, have not that regularity which resembles strata supposed to be deposited from water, and the fissures by which they are separated are probably the production of decay. The strata are all of the same nature, and consist of a very hard stone very much resembling the hard useless mill stone at Kamaiya in Laheta⁽⁴⁾ near Munger, but less changed from a perfect granite. It consist chiefly of small grains apparently united by a small quantity of powdery cement with many

(1) See page 16, Note (5).

(2) **Jabra**, three miles west by south from Noka.

(3) i.e., one of the numerous settlements for invalid sepoy maintained by the E. I. Co. Traces of these so-called "thanahs" may be found in many parts of South Bihar, e.g., in villages called *Arazi Inglis*, or where *Inglis* has been added to the village name. Buchanan frequently mentions them in his journals. In his time Colonel Hutchinson (see Patna-Gaya Journal, under date 18th February, 1812) seems to have been the "Regulating Officer of the Jaghirdar Institution" at Patna. Thomas Twining gives a very interesting account of his connexion with settlements under his control some ten years earlier, when Colonel Hugh Stafford was in charge of them (see *Travels in India a hundred years ago*, page 507 f.). This organisation, which evinced the solicitude of the Company in their behalf, was much appreciated by the soldiers.

(4) See Martin's *E. I.*, II, 180, 260, and Buchanan's Patna-Gaya Journal *J. B. O. R. S.*, VIII, 256.

black specks, probably of schorl⁽¹⁾, interspersed. The larger grains are glassy quartz, and the smaller particles composing the greater part of the stone have a reddish tinge and are probably felspar, but both kinds of particles have lost their angles probably changed into the powdery cement.

From Jubra I turned south-east and rather more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from it came to an old fort called Hatniya⁽²⁾ built by a son of the Noka family. It entirely resembles that of Nawanager, being a large square heap of earth thrown up from a wide and deep ditch, by which it is surrounded, and strengthened at each corner by a circular bastion on a level nearly with the plain. The ditch is still full of water. It was destroyed by Kasem Ali. The people resided on the summit of the mound, but the defence of the place consisted in the ditch and parapet on the countercarp. From thence to Barang⁽³⁾ is about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile.

8th December.—I went about 3 miles to Bamina⁽⁴⁾ at the southern end of the small range of rocks extending from thence to Noka with many long interruptions. The different parts of it are called by the names of adjacent villages and entirely in structure resemble Jubra. Bamina consists of a cluster of 7 or 8 peaks which surround the village. Pahari⁽⁵⁾, the next cluster, consists of 3 peaks united in a row with some little detached masses at the south-west end in particular. The village is situated at the west side of its north end. On the highest part of the ridge a Sunnyasi⁽⁶⁾ lately built a small temple, but the speculation seems to have failed and it has been deserted. Kusmi consists of one small hill like Jubra. Gimela⁽⁷⁾ consists of 3 small hummocks. No granite peaks can be

(1) A mineral occurring in black prismatic crystals.

(2) **Hathni.**

(3) **Barawan.**

(4) **Bamani.**

(5) **Pahara** (the hill), and **Pahari** (the village).

(6) *Sannyasi* (Sanskrit संन्यासिन) literally one who has "renounced" the world.

(7) **Gonalla**

more rugged or naked, yet horizontal fissures are every where predominant and often widen into little caverns. The country all round dis a perfect plain surrounding them like a sea, nor is a single stone visible near, except such as have evidently fallen from the peaks, so that the clay reaches the hills, just as the ocean does the sides of an island from which a few broken rocks or islets may be detached. If things have not been so from the beginning, three suppositions may be formed. These hills may be masses of stone thrown upon the plain. They may be the summits of a rocky ridge, the lower part of which have been buried in a plain deposited round them, or they may be peaks that have been thrust from below through a superincumbent plaint⁽¹⁾.

9th December.—I went a mile east to see some broken images at a village named Jakini⁽²⁾. Every village almost in Raotas circus⁽³⁾ so far as we have come seems to have had a mud fort similar to that called Hatniya, although I have not seen any so regular or well defined. Near one of these built by the Noka family the images are lying under a tree upon a small platform of mud, and are an object of worship under the name of Jagadumba⁽⁴⁾. Besides a few irregular fragments I could trace the lower part of seven images with the feet and legs only remaining, and these much defaced by the chisel. So far as I can judge from their position and from the appearance of somewhat like the lower part of the prominent belly on one of them they have been like those called Kuber⁽⁵⁾ in Behar. The people say that they were

(1) Probably thrust up, and alluvium subsequently deposited around.

(2) Jakhani.

(3) By "circus" Buchanan may mean "circle", or more probably perhaps *sarkar*, as up to 1787, the southern portion of Shahabad district was included within Sarkar Rohtas, which formed a district, including some parganas now in the Gaya and Palamau districts.

(4) Jagadamba (Sanskrit जगत् , world, and अम्बा , mother), the Mahamai of the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal people, commonly known to the village folk under the more comprehensive term Devi.

(5) Kubera (कुबेर), or Kuvera (कुवर), both forms being found, the Indian Plutus, the god of wealth.

destroyed by a set of Dhanu⁽¹⁾ who came this way. Dhanu are a kind of impious monsters or cannibals like Daityas, Paisachhi or other such infidels.

11th December.—Baraong is a small town with a ruinous mud fort belonging to Ujayenis, as usual in this neighbourhood. I went this day three coses to Saheseram⁽²⁾. The approach to which from the north is very fine. The two domes of the monuments of Shere Shah and his father are visible from afar amidst fine plantations intermixed with palms, and the hills behind give the whole a grand air. A want of water is the chief defect in the prospect. Sahasram is a large town extending more than a mile each way and more closely built than usual. Many of the houses are of brick and all seem to be tiled, but they are slovenly to the last degree, and the streets narrow and crooked. It is not quite so miserable as Behar. It is filled with tombs, most of the principle inhabitants I presume claiming a descent from some saint. Tombs are also scattered all over the environs, for the place is chiefly inhabited by Moslems. A Perzadeh⁽³⁾, who is called the Shah Sahib, very civilly ordered his garden to be opened to me. It is crammed with fruit trees, flower and pot herbs in the most slovenly condition, and contains a house of recreation, the most wretched place I have ever beheld for dirt. It consists of a centre and two wings. The centre consists of a hall with an open gallery at each side, but the roof of one of the galleries has fallen. At one end is

(1) Danava, meaning "descendant of Danu". Opinion as to the nature of Danavas, Daityas, Dasyus, Nagas, Pisacas and Raksasas has changed much since Buchanan's time. Probably all these were originally names of peoples of non-Aryan race, against whom the Aryans had to contend, some of them perhaps inheritors of an ancient civilization, others perhaps of wild or even savage habits. As bitter antagonists of the Aryan invaders and the Brahmanical cult, they were regarded with hatred and aversion, and in Sanskrit literature their very names became synonymous with fiends and demons. The Asuras had better be differentiated, as of other origin probably, though this name also became synonymous with demon, and used in association with the others.

(2) **Sasaram.** Buchanan returned to Sasaram on the 4th January, 1813 (page 91 below), when he dealt with the local antiquities in detail.

(3) Pirzada, "born of a spiritual guide". The gentleman referred to was the *Sajjada-nashin*—he who is sitting (نشین) upon the prayer carpet (سجادة)—or incumbent of the *khanaqah*, the Muhammadan religious establishment or convent at Sasaram, the most important of such institutions in Bihar and Orissa.

a small room with a fire place. In the wings seem to be kitchens and rooms for servants. The owner probably considered it as very fine. There was no article of furniture in it. He did not make his appearance, but sent a present of fruit by a decent servant. His house which is near is large but not at all neat. I shall say nothing farther of the great monuments of the place until I have examined them thoroughly; I only observe that it was said that Shere Khan's house was north from the town, where a small heap of bricks⁽¹⁾ remains on one side of which a Hindu temple has been erected. This heap may have indeed been the place where his father lived and where he was born⁽²⁾, but the size of the heap is vastly too small for supposing him to have resided in it after his fortunate elevation, as the people with whom I conversed imagined. If after he was raised to empire he ever visited Sahasram it must have been in the fort that he dwelt, where there is still standing part of a very large building⁽³⁾. North at a little distance from his tomb is a considerable heap⁽⁴⁾, and I observed that in digging into it the people had laid bare a large Siya Linga, probably the image that had been worshipped in a temple destroyed by the Moslems.

12th December.—I went to Tilautta⁽⁵⁾ by passage between the hills. Between the town and this passage about three miles distant there are many banks, very irregular but still having somewhat the appearance of having been works of art. In the broken ground at the foot of the hills are found many calcareous nodules which are burned into lime. The hills, although very stony, and although they contain

(1) Buchanan means at Kuraich. Khan Bahadur Saiyid Aulad Haidar Khan of Koath, writes to me it was Islam Shah, Sher Shah's younger son and successor, who laid the foundation of a residential house at Kuraich. The site was subsequently appropriated by the Hindus, and a Mahavirasthan now stands there. For the question of Sher Shah's residence at Sasaram, see Appendix D.

(2) Farid Khan, afterwards Sher Shah, was born at Hisar-Firoza (see Niamat-ullah, *Makhzan-i-afaghana*), that is before his father Hasan Khan Sur ever came to Sasaram.

(3) See Appendix D.

(4) It is not clear what site Buchanan refers to here.

(5) Buchanan went to Tilothu by the Tarachandi gap, through which the Kudra breaks away to the west.

many abrupt precipices of naked rock, are not near so rugged as those of Behar and the western parts of Bhagalpur, but contain much more soil and are in general covered with stunted trees. They have on their summits tablelands some of which are regularly cultivated by the plough. They evidently consist entirely of horizontal strata, many of which are thin and fit for flags, while others may be procured very excellent for building. A good many are quarried at the passage. The stone may be called a sandstone, although it is harder than the good sandstones used in building in Scotland; but it cuts smooth with the chisel and is vastly softer than granite, although it consists of small particles of different kinds aggregated together. In some places it is whitish or pale ash-coloured, in others a reddish brown, in others dark grey. The pass is not very difficult, ascending by the side of the Kudra river, which contains some dirty stagnant water in pools but no stream. At the top of the pass has been carved on a ledge of the rock an image called⁽¹⁾ which seems to me to represent a woman sitting on a man's knee, but not in the usual form of Hargauri, and so besmeared with oil and red lead that I am not certain about its form. Near it a natural excavation of the rock aided by a little art forms a shed where some people sit daily to sell provisions to votaries and passengers. On a ledge of the rock within this is a very long inscription⁽²⁾ in the Deva Nagari character.* In a little space beyond this I crossed the Kudra twice. A person of the family of the Shah Sahib had built stone bridges over it, but the channel being sandy they soon give way. This river sends off [to] the right a small channel which passes to the east side of the

* It respects Jaya Chandra, last emperor of India of the Rattor tribe. See A. R. 9, page 171 (2).

(1) Blank in the MS. This is Chandi Devi.

(2) One of the inscriptions of a local chieftain named Pratapadharva (dated *Vikrama Samvat* 1225), others being found at the Tatrabi waterfall and on the Rohtas plateau (*Gazetteer*, 1924, pp. 175, 183, 191; *I. A.*, XIX, 184). Buchanan's pandit apparently did not see the Asoka inscription (*I. A.*, VI, 155; XXII, 299).

(3) This is a marginal note of Buchanan's. See Note (2) above. Raja Jayaccandra of Kanauj is referred to in the inscription.

Northern hill and forms the Ka⁽¹⁾ river, while the main channel runs through the passage and passes west of Sahasaram. From the pass I went south-east about $4\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the boundary of Tilautta, when I had a detached hill on my left and the great range on my right. This detached hill called⁽²⁾ is much covered with wood, but I could observe the horizontal strata on its summit, and the stones at its bottom consist of sand, partly whitish with ochraceous spots and partly iron spots. The horizontal disposition of the strata on the great ridge is very distinguishable from a distance, there being on them many perpendicular precipices of the naked rock. From this to Tilautta is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles. All the way from the pass to Tilautta there is much brushwood. The road all the way practicable in a cart.

14th December.—I went first a little more than five miles to Ramgur⁽³⁾, an old mud fort in a wood at the foot of the hills south-west from Tilautta. It is of inconsiderable size, a square rampart with a round bastion at each corner and a gate towards the north. There have been some small brick buildings within, and under a Pipal tree it is supposed that a Muhammadan Saint was buried, but the whole is overgrown with thorns through which I had great difficulty in cutting a way. It is attributed to the Cheru, but has no resemblance to any other of the works of that people which I have seen, and I suspect that it is rather of Muhammadan construction.

From thence I went about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles north skirting the hills, which have very abrupt rocks showing the horizontal strata, but wherever these do not interrupt, have a good deal of soil covered with small trees and a few bamboos. The ridges are not at all broken, but run tolerably level at from about 2 to 3 hundred feet perpendicular. At this distance from Ramgur I came

(1) The Kao.

(2) Blank in the MS. The small hill lying partly in Guraila and partly in Bharkunria.

(3) Ramgarh (?). Not marked on the Survey sheet; apparently about one mile south of Rampur.

to the⁽¹⁾ torrent from whence a canal has been dug for irrigation, and a dam of stone has been constructed to turn the water into the canal during the rainy season. This torrent is now quite dry, and its channel filled with rounded stones. It comes from a circular recess⁽²⁾ in the mountain about half a mile deep, which is very grand and terminates in a magnificent abrupt rock forming a smaller circular recess at the bottom of the larger, and from 180 to 250 feet high. Both recesses have a good deal the appearance of what may have been supposed to have been craters. In the centre of the smaller is a deep pool filled with water which receives the torrent as it falls⁽³⁾ down this immense rock from a gap at the farthest end of the recess. This gap may be 30 feet wide, and the perpendicular height over which the water falls to the pool I reckon to be about 180 feet. At present the stream is very inconsiderable and is broken quite into drops before it reaches the bottom. I have called the rock perpendicular, but that is not exactly the case. For about 60 feet from the pool it inclines backwards at an angle of 75 or 80 from the horizon; but the upper part of it overhangs, so that the summit of the rock is in fact nearly perpendicular from the base. The dung of the wild pigeons that nestle on the higher ledges falling on the edge of the pool as do the drops of water that now come from above. The horizontal nature of the strata is here also perfectly evident, especially towards the summits of the rocks, but in the lower parts where the centre of the rock as it were has been laid bare the real original nature of the mountain is clearly shown to be entirely similar to those of the silicious hornstone⁽⁴⁾ or jasper already often described. That is it consists of trapezoidal masses formed by horizontal and

(1) Blank in the MS. The Kachhuhar Nadi: one of the many descriptive names (the "tortoise-catch" river) found in South Bihar.

(2) This circular recess is not apparent from the contours shown on the Survey sheet; but on Lieut. W. S. Sherwill's *Geological Map of the Southern Portion of Zillah Shahabad, 1846*, the circular recess and the waterfall are very clearly shown, just as Buchanan describes them.

(3) The **Tutrahi** waterfall. Buchanan's estimate of the height is still the only one available!

(4) The occurrence of hornstone here is marked on Sherwill's map, from which the exact site can, therefore, be identified.

vertical fissures. On the superficial strata the horizontal fissures are the most conspicuous and have a slight inclination to the north, while the vertical fissures are most clearly marked in the lower part of the rock, especially those which run north and south with a slight inclination to the west. Still, however, even there the horizontal fissures are very clear, giving the trap⁽¹⁾ or stair like form to the ascent from the bottom to the first 60 feet of the precipice. The rock here is of a dark grey granular hornstone⁽²⁾ exceedingly hard and having a perfect conchoidal fracture. It contains many black specks and the freestone of Sahasaram seems evidently the same stone in a state of decay. I have long thought that the changes produced on mountains by the action of air, water and other causes are much less considerable than are usually supposed, and I have here a strong confirmation of that opinion. On the rock at the very back of the recess at the highest part of the slope and just at one side of the cataract is an image of Mohoo Mardini⁽³⁾ which has been long an object of worship. A rude outline of the deity has been carved on the face of the rock, and several persons who have visited the place have carved their names around. One inscription⁽⁴⁾ of some length and by a person of some note is dated between 8 and 9 centuries ago, during which long period the letters have remained perfectly distinct, nor can the rock have lost the 100th part of an inch, although every particle separate from it must be constantly washed away, and it is peculiarly exposed to every change of air, and during the rainy season to the constant spray of an adjoining cataract. If under

(1) A word of Teutonic origin, meaning step or stair, applied by geologists to certain igneous rocks.

(2) The occurrence of hornstone here is marked on Sherwill's map, from which the exact site can, therefore, be identified.

(3) Mahisha-mardani, or, more correctly, Mahisasura-mardani, the slayer of the buffalo-like Asura Mahisa. Many legends centre round this Asura in the early mythology. Accounts are found in the Varaha, Vamana and Markandeya Puranas and elsewhere. Among the illiterate rural folk of South Bihar the goddess is regarded as a form of Devi: in the Hindu pantheon she is an aspect of Durga. Katyayani and Chandika have also been credited with the slaying of this Asura.

(4) One of the inscriptions of the Nayaka Pratapadhavala (see page 35 above), who made a pilgrimage with his retinue to the fall.

such circumstances such trifling changes are made, the alterations made so as to affect the appearance of a country by washing down mountains and of their débris forming secondary strata would require a time far beyond imagination. The image that is at present an object of worship represents the same deity carved on a detached stone of a different nature and has a short inscription.

From thence I proceeded down the channel of the torrent to examine some lime quarries. The south bank of the torrent within the recess is the highest, and in many places is covered with thick masses of calcareous toffa⁽¹⁾ which has involved various small masses of khari gheru⁽²⁾ a white crystallized matter, hornstone, &c. I observed two small univalve shells among other involved matter, and have one of them in a specimen. They appear to me to be shells of snails found in the fresh waters of the country, and after much search I could find no more. The quarry is in an abrupt bank with much of this tufaceous breccia lying in the channel below it, having been undermined and fallen down. There is also lying at the edge of the channel many large masses of what are considered as imperfect or unformed limestone, which probably was what appeared on the surface. It differs little if at all from the perfect limestone, except that it is not so much divided into thin plates. It has a complete conchoidal fracture, but is much finer grained than the great strata of the mountain. On the surface of some of its plates are found rhombic crystals of calcareous spar.

The proper limestone has also some of these crystals and the same fracture, and is disposed in thin parallel layers, white and horn-coloured, which dip towards the west from the horizon at about an angle of 40 degrees. The lime which it gives is beautifully white. I see no traces of animal exuvia in it. Among the stones in the channel of the river and that are imbedded among the soil of its banks are some

(1) Tuffa, meaning of porous, vesicular character.

(2) *Khari* (खडी), chalk; *geru* (गेरु), red earth or red ochre.

that are considered as decayed limestone, but which are vastly lighter and are of a pale yellowish colour and entirely resemble Khari. Although divided into plates, they in many places retain somewhat of the conchoidal fracture, and I have no doubt possess a common origin. In fact I presume the whole were originally hornstone and have been partly changed into limestone, partly into this kind of Khari.

From the entrance into the recess I returned to Tillautta by a direct road, about four miles.

The Rajewars⁽¹⁾ who burn the lime say that, like those of Behar, they derive their name from being cutters and workers in stone and earth. They are paid by day's wages $1/12$ of a rupee, and both cut the wood and quarry the stone, but know nothing of what the total expense amounts to. They never work except when employed by the merchant.

They say that they kill the spotted deer which lives below the hills. The Kharwar⁽²⁾ who live in small villages above, 4 or 5 coses from each other, kill the Sambar and Gaur⁽³⁾ who abound on the table land: they don't call these deer. They say that on these hills also there are wild buffaloes⁽⁴⁾. All are shot with balls. No nets used here.

15th December.—I went to the hills in order to see a quarry of Khari and another of mill stones. The Khari may be a mile⁽⁵⁾ north from the opening of the

(1) Rajwar, a cultivating and labouring caste, generally associated in South Bihar with the Bhuiyas, and probably of "Kolarian" origin. Colonel Dalton (*Eth. of Ben.*) reckoned them among the "mongrel" tribes. Sir H. Risley classed them as Dravidian (*Tribes & Castes of Bengal*, II, 192). For fuller details, see Russell, *T. & C.*, *C. P. and Crooke*, *T. C.*, *N. W. P. & O.*, s. v. Bhuiya and Rajwar.

(2) For the Kharwars, see also p. 83 below, and Appendix J.

(3) Here Buchanan refers to the bison. It seems clear from what he states here and in the Report that in his time bison wandered as far as the Rohtas hills; but they have not been seen there within recent times. Bison are said to have been met with in the Mirzapur district some 80 or 85 years ago. They are still found in Sarguja State, and small herds move thence at times into the south of the Palamau district near Netarhat, and even as far as the Kerh *jungal*.

(4) It is very unlikely that even in Buchanan's time wild buffalo were found in Shahabad. See also Appendix B.

(5) Quite two miles. These chalk quarries are marked on Sherwill's map about half a mile west south-west of Belwai.

recess which I visited yesterday. Between the two a hill called Balmunuya⁽¹⁾ projects a considerable way into the plain, and between it and the continuation of the ridge are two crater-like circular small recesses⁽²⁾. The quarry of Khari is on the lower part of the main ridge, about half way up a moderate ascent to the bottom of a perpendicular rock which descends from the summit to about the middle of the hill, as usual in these mountains. The moderate slope consists of fragments of the common rock with a little earth. At the quarry 5 or 6 shafts have been made, the roofs of which fall in with the first rains, and the Khari has not been long wrought, having been discovered when Mr. Marcus⁽³⁾, was digging for lime. All the shafts have now been choked, and a Kamst⁽⁴⁾ had just begun with a number of Rajewars to form a new one. I only saw therefore the upper or perhaps outer stratum, for so far as they had gone they had dug into the hill horizontally, but they said that they were about to sink a perpendicular shaft. They were working a rotten stone in thin plates, very much like the best limestone in the quarry which I visited yesterday, but which is useless. They had dug into this about 4 feet and expected to sink in to it 3 feet more. They then expected to find 2 cubits of limestone called Gotti⁽⁵⁾ of which they showed me many fragments. It is in thicker plates than those in the quarry of yesterday, the piece being from 4 to 6 inches thick and it is less decayed having very much the appearance of hornstone. Below this they expected to find 3 cubits of a substance called Chanar⁽⁶⁾ which resembles hornstone in plates about half an inch

(1) The name is not on the S. S., but the projecting hill is shown.

(2) Clearly shown on Sherwill's map, south-west and north-west, respectively, of Belwai.

(3) This must be the John Paul Marcus, indigo planter, who purchased "Arrah House" from William Cowell (see page 7 above, and Appendix A). I cannot find his name in the East India Registers of Buchanan's time. His daughter was buried at Arrah in 1834, and his wife and a son were buried in the Circular Road cemetery, Calcutta.

(4) Illegible. "Attempt"?

(5) A doubtful word; perhaps from गुद्दी, a small lump of hard matter, or of stone.

(6) Possibly derived from the Sanskrit शान, a grindstone. But both these words are obscure.

thick. Below this they expect to find four cubits of a white earth called Rak or ashes, but what had been dug out last year owing to its powdery nature had been washed away. Below this they expect to find the Khari four cubits thick. It seems of an uncommon fine quality, being very soft and white. Under the Khari are found large contiguous masses of stone, a white sandstone with some red stains and apparently of a better quality than any I have yet seen on these hills, but it is considered as useless. Having examined this, I went about half a mile farther north and ascended to the summit of the hills by a very difficult road to the quarry of millstone called Surai.⁽¹⁾ The slope at the lower part is moderate but afterwards I came to the foot of the perpendicular rock until I came to a more moderate ascent over Gaighat, up which I ascended by a zigzag until I reached the summit and went along that to the quarry, which is north-west from the quarry of Khari. The country above the ascent is very uneven, rising into small hills and valleys but nowhere sinks into the level of the plain. A low valley however extends west from Gaighat⁽²⁾, through which I could see the low country⁽³⁾ south from Sahasaram. The surface does not rise into peaks, but is very stony and arid, but contains a good deal of withered grass and small trees thinly scattered. No water is to be had, except in a river⁽⁴⁾ which passes about two miles west from the quarry to Duya Khund⁽⁵⁾. The stone everywhere on the surface of the hill where I was appears to be of the same nature, being a kind of sandstone flag, but it is only in a few places that it is found fit for working, being in most places too hard and the layers not separating with sufficient ease. The workmen called Ghor try various places until they find what splits easily into flags 3 or 4 inches thick, which they cut into

(1) Indistinct in the MS.; may be Ourai. Not marked on the S. S. unless it be **Saina**.

(2) Not marked on the S. S. The word simply means the pass, or path (over the hill) used by cattle.

(3) *i.e.*, the Kauria valley.

(4) The **Dhoba**, the headstream of the Kudra and the Kao.

(5) Dhuan Kund (see below, page 103).

stones for hand mills and carry down on their heads to the plain, whence they are carted to the Son to be embarked for Patna. The quarries extend from 2 to 3 cosses in length at various ghats, and the Ghor⁽¹⁾ who work [them] live in Thilautta and Amdira⁽²⁾. They never work except on commission, and when employed remain night and day on the hill under sheds made of the branches of trees.

Of the face of the hill a little below the summit has been wrought a quarry of very thin flags or slate approaching to the hornstone of Totula⁽³⁾ devi, but much changed. It had been wrought by an European for indigo works. He used it instead of tiles to place over the burgers that supported the roof. The difficulty of carriage I imagine rendered it dearer than tiles. It is light and not above $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch thick. Lower down, the solid rock forming the abrupt precipice is in thicker strata, evidently horizontal, but the vertical fissures are very distinguishable, although not so evident as at Kotula⁽⁴⁾ Devi, where the stone has suffered less change. This rock and the thin flags or slates show the gradual transition to the millstone flags where the strata are completely horizontal and the vertical fissures of no importance, and in my opinion shows that what are called horizontal strata do not always at least arise from deposition from water but from a certain stage of decay, as vertical fissures or strata arise from another state.

17th December.—Thilautta including⁽⁵⁾ is a close built small town, almost all tiled, with many houses of two stories. One or two of brick, very large.

(1) It is difficult to state definitely what caste Buchanan refers to (*passim*) by Gor or Ghor. I think he must mean Gonrh, regarded as a sub-caste of Kandu in Bihar, who work as grain parchers, as stone-cutters, makers of stone plates and utensils, and even as wood sawyers.

(2) Possibly intended for **Ramdihra**, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Tilothu, or for **Anra**, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles south-west.

(3) Totala, a form of Devi, supposed to be able to destroy all sins; now regarded as an aspect of Gauri by Hindus. In a paper read before the R. A. S. in 1824, Buchanan described the falls of the Tutrahi as a holy place "sacred to the goddess Totala" (Trans. R. A. S., 1826, page 203).

(4) Thus is MS.; evidently for Totula, as above.

(5) Blank in the MS. **Saraiya** immediately adjoins Tilothu.

The streets very narrow. It is inhabited almost entirely by Iraki⁽¹⁾ Muhammedan traders, but they have entirely lost the Arabic, and live by merchandise. They pretend that they formerly dealt to a great extent in cloths with Ratnapur⁽²⁾, but that about 20 years ago having suffered a severe loss by robbery the trade has been abandoned. So far as I can learn however the trade went formerly by Mirzapur and it was on that road that the robbery took place. Since then I believe that road has been abandoned, but this has been opened. There is not round the town the smallest cultivation, but it is buried in Mango groves among which are many tombs. An Imambari built lately, very neat but small.

I went five coses to Kasima⁽³⁾, all the way near the Son, which is an exceeding wide channel with many streams of water, perfectly clear but quite fordable. Boats of 300 mans⁽⁴⁾ come up, but they advance very slowly, being often obliged to turn back finding the channel which they have chosen too shallow. In the rainy season it often is quite filled, and after continuing so a few days, in 10 or 12 days more will be fordable. It is only in the dry season that bamboos can be floated down, and they advance very slowly, often having to clear the way by digging. I saw no pebbles in its channel here, and in vain inquired after petrifications.

In the afternoon I went about two coses to Amjhor⁽⁵⁾ in order to visit a mine of Kasis⁽⁶⁾ which was discovered by an European whom the natives call

(1) Iraki (عراقي), belonging to 'Iraq', a name applied since the Arab conquest to the Euphrates-Tigris plains, anciently known as Babylonia. Cf. reference to two "Irakis, or descendants of Russian merchants, residents of Tilothoo" in the *Calcutta Review*, 1878, Vol. LXVI, page 396 ("Chronicles of Rohtas").

(2) Ratnapur, now in Bilaspur district, for many centuries capital of Chhattisgarh under the Haihayavamsi dynasty. The ruins are said to cover some 15 square miles.

(3) Kasiawan.

(4) *Anglice* "maunds".

(5) Amjhar. Not marked on the S. S.; but the name Amjhar is written on Buchanan's sketch map, with a sign like that used for a fort. The exact site is clear from the map drawn by Sherwill, who not only marks the "sulphate of iron" lode, but also a "Ruined Bungalow", evidently the house referred to by Buchanan.

(6) Kasis, sulphate of iron, manufactured from the iron pyrites found impregnated in the "Bijaigarh shales".

Zogel⁽¹⁾, who showed them the art of preparing the mineral and built indigo works in the vicinity. He died after four years residence. Both these works and his house have gone to ruins. Amjhor is a semicircular recess in the mountains into which I could proceed some way on an elephant by a road a good deal frequented, chiefly I believe by those who cut bamboos, of which the woods in the recess chiefly consist, but I am persuaded also in part by those who carry away the mineral, although the people deny that any is now taken. But I saw a heap lying a little beyond the place where I dismounted, and the guides said that it had been thrown there by the people who brought it from the mine on their heads until it could be carried away by oxen, as the road from thence is both steep and very difficult. The recess of Amjhor is semicircular and placed in a projecting part of the mountains. On its north side is a small detached hill⁽²⁾ which like most others here contains limestone at its foot. The mountains surrounding the recess consist as usual of a perpendicular rock reaching about a third way down from their summit, below which is a steep slope consisting of fragments of rock intermixed with a little earth and covered with trees. Towards the bottom of the recess the perpendicular part descends lower down and is exceedingly bare. The horizontal fissures, although sufficiently observable, are not near so remarkable as the vertical, as was also the case in the other deep recess into which I went. A large torrent⁽³⁾ comes from the centre of the recess, and falls down a still greater height than in the other recess, and is said to form a large pool, but I was not able to visit that. Where I crossed the torrent it was quite dry. I then ascended a torrent which falls into the above from a small recess towards

(1) There is no Zogel to be found in the *East India Registers* of the time. There was one Alexander Zeig'ar "near Benares" from 1803 onwards, who is described in the later years as an "indigo manufacturer" and is last shown apparently in the volume for 1814 (corrected up to 7-12-1813). This may possibly be the person.

(2) Not shown on the S. S.

(3) Apparently the **Bakwa N.** of the S. S., though this is therein shown as rising at the foot of the hills.

the north and followed it for some way by a very rugged channel full of fragments of rock and descending very rapidly, until I came where there is a precipice about 20 feet perpendicular, which stopped my progress, but the mine is at its bottom. Down this precipice came a small stream which runs about 100 yards before it is entirely absorbed. The precipice in most places consists of large detached masses of rock which have probably fallen from above; but the strength of the torrent in the rainy season has laid bare the mine, the only matter in its original situation within my reach, for the rock at the bottom of this recess down which the torrent comes seemed to be about 200 yards beyond the precipice, and must be at least 200 feet high. I cannot state its nature, but in the masses of which the precipice nearest me consists I observed three kinds of rock, two granular, the one whitish the other reddish, and the 3rd a black stone approaching to the Songk Mouser⁽¹⁾ of Behar. The space of stratified matter laid bare may be about 20 feet long and 6 or 8 high, but were the fragments of rock removed the extent is probably considerable. The greater part consists of horizontal plates, and where most perfect these entirely resemble Gentle slate or the Alum ore of Stirlingshire. The great mass is of this kind, which seems to be a transition from the black strata of which I found masses in the precipice, but is much lighter. At its upper end much white matter has effloresced from it, and the mine is supposed to be better. At its lower end it has become still whiter, is quite rotten, and when broken is found to contain much ochraceous matter. Between these two extremities and below the most entire part of the stratified matter is a mass or nest of marked pyrites⁽²⁾ about 10 feet in diameter. The other parts are in regular horizontal plates, but this forms an uniform mass, which I therefore consider as a nest or vein if it should extend far. It is covered with a yellowish efflorescence called the flowers of

(1) This is the black potstone, which Buchanan calls Song Musa, or stone of Moses (سنگ موسی) in his Bihar Journal (*J. B. O. R. S.*, VIII, 162); the "indurated potstone" shown by Sherwill at the same site.

(2) Crystallized iron disulphide.

Kasis. Not only all the three stratified matters but the pyrites and the efflorescence from this substance are said to give Kasis by the same process, although I should suspect that the produce would be very different; that is that the slaty matter would give alum, and the pyrites sulphate of iron. The people indeed say that the Kasis produced by the different kinds differ in appearance, that especially from the lower rotten end of the stratified matter which is reddish, while all the others are greenish; but all are used by the chintz makers. The process is to break the ore into powder, to soak it in water and to evaporate the brine. The mine may be about 1/3rd up the hill.

18th December.—I went between 6 and 7 miles to Majangwa⁽¹⁾ near the foot of the easiest ascent⁽²⁾ to Rautas. About three miles on the way I came to the north end of a small detached peak⁽³⁾ of a pyramidical form, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile long and 200 feet high. The strata are horizontal, with a considerable dip, however, towards the west. The strata are thin, and the masses consist of various layers of different shades of grey, black, white, red and ash colour, and their surface in many places is covered with crystallizations. They seem to be all of the same nature; but those alone at its south end are reckoned limestone. The mass of rock there laid bare by nature is very considerable, and quite on the plain. I have seen no such fine quarry of limestone in India, as it is near both the Son and abundance of wood for burning it, but it is very hard and some of it has, as usual here, much the appearance of flint.

From the south end of the hill I went about a mile to a channel containing a small stream which comes from the gap north from Rautas passing

(1) **Majhigawan.**

(2) i.e., Raj-ghat, the south-eastern approach. Tieffenthaler (I, 432) describes four ghats.

(3) **Murli Pahari**, the "shaven-headed hillock", a common name in South Bihar for a hill with a bare top. For lime quarrying operations in this neighbourhood, see *Gazetteer*, page 95. Still more important operations have since been started by the Associated Portland Cement Company further south.

through a small camp of Marattah horse⁽¹⁾ in the utmost confusion. There was nothing of military show or regularity, nor do I believe a single sentry. Beyond the river is the town of Akberpur⁽²⁾ which is mostly tiled with mud walls, and although there is the utmost abundance of stone and lime close at hand no one building is erected of these materials. The environs are however extremely beautiful. A fine plain well cultivated extends east from the town to the Son. The groves about the town are very fine, and to the east⁽³⁾ are magnificent hills, wooded at the bottom but perfect precipitous rocks towards their summits. The same kind of view extends in fact all the way from Thilauta, only that the banks of the Son are here better cultivated, the rich soil reaching to the river.

Two people that I sent to Murli top brought me specimens of the stone. A little way up they found a breccia like that from Kotula Devi⁽⁴⁾ towards the summit, and there the rock resembles the lime and has some parallel layers of different colours and crystallizations, but its fracture is more perfectly conchoidal.

19th December.—I went up to Rohtas⁽⁵⁾ by the Rajghat, which is the southern ascent and reckoned the easiest. In fact there is very little perpendicular rock there, but the same is the case in many parts as may be known by the growth of grass and trees. The ascent however is uninterrupted and very steep, even to the first guard, which may be $\frac{3}{4}$ of the way, but a road formerly existed so far, and if made smooth,

(1) It is probable that these were Pindaris, and not "Marattah horse". See H. T. Prinsep, *Political and Military Transactions*, &c., I, 34, 47, where he describes how a party of Pindaris led by Fazil Khan penetrated, in 1812, through Rewa into Mirzapur district, "and, turning east as soon as it reached the Mirzapur frontier, advanced to the neighbourhood of Gaya, and then disappeared up the course of the Soane, on its way back to Malwa by the Chandya Ghat, before a single soldier from any British cantonment could come up with its track." The incident is very remarkable, and it is unfortunate that Buchanan should have treated it so summarily.

(2) Akbarpur.

(3) A slip for "west".

(4) See page 43 above, Note (3).

(5) i.e., Rohtasgarh, "the fortress of Rohita", son of Hariscandra, and grandson of Trisanku, of the Solar race of Ayodhya. For a further note on this ancient site, see Appendix C.

which might be done with very little pains, persons on horseback might ride up and down with great safety. At present a horse without load even can pass with great difficulty. Above this guard the ascent has been by a stair now very ruinous and at all times bad, the steps having been from 12 to 18 inches high, but as the most excellent materials are at hand an excellent stair might have been formed with ease. This part of the hill, although not perpendicular, consists of rock; below nothing but fragments are to be seen. The works at this ascent are very strong, unless they could be destroyed by artillery from below; and they flank each other so judiciously that any attempt to force them while nearly entire would, I conceive, be fruitless. Within the gate is a considerable building called the Pangch⁽¹⁾ Mahal or five halls. It is exceedingly irregular and totally destitute of the slightest taste, but its ruins have from their irregularity a picturesque appearance. Some of the chambers are entire, but the roofs of others have fallen, although the whole has been constructed of stone, in some parts squared but in most parts covered with pillars. It was designed as a treasure storehouse and as accommodation for the guard stationed at the gate, and as the residence of the Kiladar when any person of high dignity occupied the castle. From thence I went about half a mile east to the Mahal Serayi⁽²⁾ or castle, which was the usual residence of the Killahdar⁽³⁾ or governor, an officer appointed by the Vazir of the empire, to whose Jaygir⁽⁴⁾ this fortress belonged. He usually had with him 400 or 500 soldiers, but this did not compose the whole garrison; they were his private guard. Attached to the artillery were 1000 men under an officer called on that account Hazari, whose office seems to have been hereditary, four persons of the same

(1) *i.e.*, *Panch*.

(2) A clumsy term, both words having the same meaning (mansion, palace).

(3) The commandant of a fort or fortified town, *gal'adar* (Persian (قلعه دار)).

(4) *Jagir*, an assignment of land, either in perpetuity or for life, as a reward for services.

family having held it in succession, and from the son of the last I take my account. The family was originally Rajputs but had been converted. Their soldiers were of both sects, and all had their families here and were married. Their houses formed a town. Besides these there were usually stationed in the fort two Rasalahs⁽¹⁾ of Matchlock men each consisting of about 2000 men. These corps were frequently changed and many of them were horsemen who of course could only go to the plain one by one, and proba[b]ly 50 could not pass down in an hour⁽²⁾. These were also cantoned through the vast extent of the fort. The chief market seems to have extended from the gate by which I ascended to Mahal Serai, but is now totally deserted. Tradition universally attributed [it] to Ruedas Kumar a Hindu prince, and therefore the name is undoubtedly Ruedas ghur⁽³⁾ although the Moslems have corrupted it to Rohtas. It continued in possession of the Hindus until the time of Shere Shah, when it belonged to a Chandra Ban⁽⁴⁾, a Brahman, to whom all the hilly country belonged quite independent of the Moslems. He lived on Ruedas hill, but seems to have trusted entirely to the natural strength of the place, which was sufficient against enemies of such little enterprise as the Moslems. The only works attributed to various persons of this family are three tanks called after their names Ben Raja⁽⁵⁾, Gaur Raja

(1) *Hisala*, properly speaking, should only be applied to mounted troops.

(2) A very low estimate, surely!

(3) The second part of the name is *garh*, a fortress, not *ghar*, a house, as Buchanan seems to have thought.

(4) Elliot (*History of I.*) writes Churaman, quoting Abbas Sarwani. In Khwaja Ni'mat-ullah, *Makhzan-i-afaghana* (B. M. Egerton MS. 699) I read "Chintaman *zunnar-dar*", the latter expression meaning Brahman (literally "belted", i.e., with the sacred thread). He is usually described as the Naib, or Deputy, of the Raja of the district. It is hardly correct to say that he trusted to the natural strength of the place, which was captured by a stratagem described by many historians.

(5) Buchanan seems likely to have been mistaken as regards these names, which are probably the names of legendary or ancient aboriginal or Kshatriya rulers. Ben Raja, for instance, is probably the Vena of the Mahabharata and Puranas, who "has from Rohilkhand to Bihar a fairly familiar reputation as a Chakravarti or universal emperor" (E. T. Atkinson, *Bijnor Statistical Account*). The Gaur Rajputs are still numerous in the U. P. and the C. P. Chandrabhan may possibly have been the name of the Raja who possessed the fortress in Sher Khan's time [see below, page 78, Note (1)].

and Chandra Ban. They are now overwhelmed with weeds and become almost dry in the heats of spring. Shere Shah made a large tank and built some houses. He seems not to have fortified any of the ascents, trusting like his predecessors to their natural strength, but in the centre of the area was erecting a citadel* and employed an Abyssinian⁽¹⁾ as superintendent of the works, which were only commenced, the wall of the north and east faces being still incomplete, while the west has not even been commenced. The south side would have been defended by the natural precipices of the hill. This fort seems to have been intended to have included all the tanks, and thus although the hill had been carried the assailants must have been obliged to retire for want of water. This superintendent died on the place and has been buried in a large stone monument somewhat in the style of his masters at Saseram, but much smaller. The present fortifications and most of the buildings, especially the quarters of the Kiladar and the castle, are attributed⁽²⁾ to Man Singha, although entirely built in the Moslem fashion. Nor is there any symptom of the Hindu except two elephants⁽³⁾ carved on the gate of the castle, a gryphen carved on a gate of Katautea and a small but very handsome temple of stone called the sivali,⁽⁴⁾ but the image has been taken away and the floor of the shrine dug up in search of treasure, probably whenever the power of Man Singha was at an end. The roof of the nat mundir is [of] the same

*This citadel seems to have been intended to include the space now occupied by the Pangch Mahal and the Mahal Serai, and would probably have been a mile from east to west and half a mile from north to south. [Marginal note by Buchanan.]

(1) Known as Habsh, or Hawas, Khan. *Habash* (حبش) means an Abyssinian.

(2) The existing buildings were undoubtedly built for Man Singh, but not in his private capacity; and he knew that succeeding governors were practically certain to be Muhammadans.

(3) The Hathipol, or "elephant gateway" (हाथी पौर) was a feature in other Muhammadan forts since the time of Akbar, e.g., at Delhi, Agra and Monghyr.

(4) i.e., *sivalaya*, a temple dedicated to Siva. Thomas Daniell painted a fine view of this temple (*Oriental Scenery*, Vol. I, Plate XI). By the end of the last century the temple had fallen down, and the stones lay scattered around. It has been rebuilt, under the orders of Government, Daniell's view of it, as it stood in 1789-1790, being utilized.

structure as that of the Vishnupad⁽¹⁾. The whole building is the lightest and handsomest of any Hindu work that I have seen. It is situated in the middle of where the bazar stood. Near it is a small temple like an oven, also supposed to be the work of Man Singha, but the object of worship would appear to have been the feet of Jain⁽²⁾: a stone with these remains in the temple, but it has been displaced in search of treasure⁽³⁾. The last Kiladar, Nisar Ali, was a dependent of Kasem Ali, to whom the fortress had been given by Ali Gohar⁽⁴⁾ the King. Kasem Ali after his defeat at Uduya nullah⁽⁵⁾ sent 1700 of his women, his wife and treasure here under the charge of Lalah Nobut Rai, who soon died. At Buksar the Kiladar was with his master having left the fort in charge of his dewan Shah Mull. Shah Mull seems to have behaved with honour. When Kasem was finally defeated his wife joined him in his flight with all the cash. The other women with many effects were left behind. The dewan of the dewan's family, a very good looking old man, says that only the gold was carried away. The silver was left behind as too bulky. About a month after the battle Colonel Goddard⁽⁶⁾ came and assembled the garrison without arms and told them that such as chose the company's service he would entertain and that such as chose might go to their own home. The dewan of Shah Mull says that Kasem Ali had directed him to deliver the fort⁽⁷⁾ in preference of the Vazir who had used him ill. The women dispersed as they pleased. One among them was an European⁽⁸⁾ who joined Mrs. Goddard. The Colonel remained in the fort about two months, and destroyed all the military stores. A small guard

(1) At Gaya.

(2) i.e., of a Jaina Tirthankara.

(3) An anonymous writer in the *Calcutta Review* (Vol. LXVI, page 397) records that to his knowledge a quantity of bar silver was extracted from between the plaster and the stone of the wall under the *Takht-i-Badshahi* in 1873.

(4) The emperor Shah Alam (whose name was 'Ali Gauhar).

(5) Udua Nala, 5th September, 1763. For the best account, see Malleson's *Decisive Battles of India*.

(6) Then Captain Thomas Goddard, who afterwards achieved fame by his march across Central India and campaign against the Marhattas (1778-1781). He had taken possession of the fortress from Shah Mal two months before the battle of Buxar.

(7) *sc.* to the English.

(8) Possibly a captive, taken at Patna or elsewhere.

remained for about a year⁽¹⁾, when the place was totally destroyed.

20th December.—I went about a cose to the eastern extremity of the hill to see Ruedas Chauri⁽²⁾ supposed to have been built by that personage. It consists of a small conical mound, the top of which has been enlarged by art so as to form a small terrace to which there is an ascent by 84 steps, perhaps 8 inches by ten and ten feet long, so that it is by far the best stair about the place. The steps are quite entire and it does not appear to me that they can be of an older date than the time of Man Singha. On the terrace is a small Mundir of stone. The lower part of the shrine although ruinous is still standing and the arch of its roof entire, but the pyramid and nath Mundir are both completely fallen. The image has been removed but the door contains some figures. A Ganesa on the middle of the lintel. Above it 4 animals, so rudely carved that it is impossible to say to what class they belong. They have somewhat more the appearance of the Hangsa⁽³⁾ than any thing else. On each side at the bottom is a man in the act of drawing his sword. Behind (east) the temple a small mosque has been built, it is said by the orders of Alungir,⁽⁴⁾ to whose zeal the idol probably owes its destruction. It is possible that Ruedas may have had a place of worship here, but we may with safety refer the present building to the time of the last Hindu dynasty who held the place. Near the bottom of the stair is a small but very neat temple attributed to Man Singha, and nearly in the same state of decay with the stair and the buildings known to have been actually built by him. The image from this also has been removed. Near this is a large heap of stones, still perhaps 20 feet high but which has lost all symmetry. If any ruin about the place can be attributed to Ruedas this must be it, and

(1) Longer than this, as Captain De Gloss in his Journal, under date 20th December, 1766, records that Lieutenant Muskett had joined with three companies to relieve Ensign Johnson who was there with a detachment of sepoys. The fortifications were never "totally destroyed".

(2) Known as Rohasan, "the seat of Rohita", or perhaps more generally by the local folk as *chaurasi sirhi*, "the 84 steps".

(3) *Hamsa*, goose.

(4) Aurangzeb. This unsightly structure has since been demolished (*Gazetteer*, 1924, page 180).

it may have been such a pillar⁽¹⁾ as that called the seat of Jara Sandha. From thence the view is uncommonly fine. The hill is only fortified in particular places called Ghats.⁽²⁾ The eastern ascent called Mirara⁽³⁾ has no accommodations for troops near it, but where I went to-day has been scattered houses.

21st December.—I went to the western gate of the fort called Katautea⁽⁴⁾ about 3 miles from the Mahal Serai. The country within the fort rises into considerable swells, but not into very steep hills, although the surface of most of the considerable swells is very much broken and rocky, as is also a great deal of the more level parts. Perhaps 3/16 might be cultivated with the plough. Meruya and Kulthi⁽⁵⁾ are the only crops on which dependance can be had, but hill cotton will also grow, and where manure can be had the people say that Maize will thrive. There may be 10 or 12 acres which have been cultivated for rice by means of a reservoir, and this is rather ruinous and it seems doubtful whether it would be worth while to repair it. This kind of cultivation seems to have been carried on merely from ostentation⁽⁶⁾ and to save the consciences of the Kiladars when they declared to the emperor that everything might be reared in their fort in order to prevail on him to keep up such a monstrous and useless establishment.⁽⁷⁾ Wherever the soil is

(1) Jarasandh ka Baithak, on top of the Girek hill. See *J. B. O. R. S.* VIII, 283, where Buchanan describes it correctly as a "conical mass of brick" (and not as a "pillar").

(2) The word ghat (Sans. घट) has many meanings. Originally it was applied to a landing-stair, a flight of steps leading down to the water's edge. Then it came to be used for the passage across the water, the ferry or ford; then for the passage across or through a range of hills; and further, as here, for a road or pass up a steep hill-side on to the top. In the last case steps had sometimes to be cut or built to obtain a foothold, and hence no doubt the term came to be applied to such approaches.

(3) **Marara Chat**, the north-eastern ghat, now generally used as being nearer to Akbarpur and the railway station. **मंडरा** or **मेंडरा** conveys the idea of "circling", i.e., "winding".

(4) Kathautiya, i.e., shaped like a trough or basin (कठौता), a name applied to other sites also, where there is a trough-like depression.

(5) Marua (*Eleusine coracana*), a cereal; Kulthi (*Dolichos biflorus*), a pulse.

(6) Buchanan goes too far here. We know from earlier accounts that such cultivation was carried on; and it is likely that when the forest vegetation was denser there was more moisture.

(7) Buchanan seems to have overlooked the great strategic importance of the fortress in the old, pre-artillery days.

tolerable there are the remains of stone fences and the ruins of huts in which the garrison lived scattered. Many mango and Mohuyal trees have been also planted, and still produce a small revenue. There are also many spontaneous trees of various kinds but in general rather stunted, and between the clumps the country opens into fine lawns with respect to extent and situation, but they are to the last degree dismal, as the grass is either quite withered or has lately been burnt down. In the rainy season some buffaloes come up for pasture, which is then very abundant. In the dry season they frequent the woods at the foot of the hill. No bamboos grow above; many grow below. A few buffaloes only remain through the season, but by planting pipal and but (1) trees for pollards a considerable number might then be preserved. At Katautea the hill of Ruedas contracts suddenly by two recesses. That to the south is semi-circular and of inconsiderable depth, but that towards the north comes winding from the Kolurea (2) gap and forms a deep glen with exceeding abrupt sides. The neck at the narrowest part between the two recesses is not above 200 yards wide but it suddenly enlarges to at least double that size and the land there rises into a little rugged hill towards the south with a narrow level towards the northern glen which is called Guloriya. (3) An irregular rude ditch has been dug across the narrowest part of the neck. In this has been left standing a kind of truncated cone flattened at the sides, against one of which are two or three steps. This my guide, a Dhangar, (4) said was the God which guarded the

(1) The *vata* (Sanskrit वट), pronounced *bat*, or more generally *bar* in the vernacular; *Ficus indica*; the "banyan tree" of the English.

(2) Apparently meant for the *Kauriari*, or Koriyari, valley. Buchanan's description here is not as accurate as usual.

(3) Guloriya Khok, so called from the occurrence of *gular* (*Ficus glomerata*) trees.

(4) Dhangar, a people of so-called aboriginal origin, probably of "Kolarian" stock, who came from the hilly country, as the name suggests. The Dhangars found in South Bihar are either quite distinct from the Dhangars of Bombay and Hyderabad (who are recognised as a shepherd caste) or have been so long separated from them as to have lost all trace of the connexion.

territory of Ruedas and that it continued to be worshipped by the Koirwar,⁽¹⁾ as was indeed evident from its being daubed with red lead. The Dangar assigned no name for this deity. Immediately within this ditch rise the works which were erected by Man Singha, as is declared by an inscription on a gate in Persian and Sanskrit, of which former I procured a copy. The works form the finest castellated ruin I have ever seen.⁽²⁾ Two fine gates, one about 30 yards from the other, each with many winding passages, bulwarks [and] half moons defined the passage along the narrow plain, while both they and the ditch are commanded by a double line of bulwarks, half moons, curtains, &c. &c. all finely embattled, which rise along the small hill and tower to a height of 60 or 70 feet above the plain beyond the ditch for an extent of about 400 yards. From that plain their view is exceedingly grand and imposing, but as a defence in modern warfare they are quite contemptible, as they are commended by a rising ground about 200 yards west from the ditch, and their great height and exposure would soon enable a few guns there to shake them to pieces and to fill the ditch with their ruins. A near view is not favourable. They are very badly contrived for giving access to the various works, so that they would require to be lined everywhere with troops, the passages from one work to another being almost as difficult from within as from without. The walls are not thick and the masonry is exceedingly rude, as indeed is the case in most of the works of Man Singha. The stones even where squared are not in uniform rows. Large stones are often even placed erect with their flat side out and the interstices built up with smaller ones, every thing in fact done to save the trouble of cutting. About 400 yards east from these works is another set, not near so conspicuous but perhaps better contrived. One gate, called from the red colour of some of its stones, the Lal

(1) Kharwar.

(2) Anyone who has viewed this towering mass of ramparts from the plateau on the western (Rehal) side of the gap will appreciate Buchanan's high praise. The massive grandeur of this corner of the fortifications recalls the bastions of Tughlakabad near Delhi.

darwazi,⁽¹⁾ secures the narrow plain between the northern precipice and a second small hill that is adjacent to the northern. This gate is not strong, but the advance to it is flanked by low works that run south-west along the hill. The whole passage however could not have resisted artillery, and although it is said that vast numbers of guns were in the fort it does not appear to me that these works were fitted for receiving them. The embrasures appear to have been intended entirely for musketry or wall pieces, although perhaps some very small guns may have been mounted and fired through holes about a foot square. I am inclined to think that abundance of good water might be had in many parts from reservoirs, wells and tanks.

22nd December.—Having procured a ground plan of the Serai Mahal, I took an especial view of the whole which I found as follows.

The greatest length of the building which is called Mahal Serayi extends north and south, and the principal front is towards the west. Although superior to the others, it is quite irregular, and is entirely destitute of either taste or grandeur, being a plain wall of the bad masonry usual among the natives, in general of no great elevation and having only one door, and a few pitiful windows scattered at great and irregular distances. The door is the most ornamented part, and is a large Gothic arch, having on each side a rude figure of an elephant, from whence it is called the Hatiya pol.⁽²⁾ Within is another arch of the same dimensions which leads into a guard room (A).⁽³⁾ one of the most elegant parts of the whole building. Two sides (2,2) are surrounded by a stone platform for the guards, in place of the benches usual in our guard rooms, while in three of the corners, behind the buttresses (1,1,1,1,) which support the roof are kind of room-like recesses (3,3,3) probably for the

(1) Lal Darwaza. There is no diminutive form *darwazi*.) Illiterate people usually give the explanation quoted by Buchanan; but the name Lal Darwaza occurs elsewhere, applied to an important or "principal" gateway: and *lal* is used in association with other things in a similar sense.

(2) See above, page 51, Note (3).

(3) The letters and figures inserted by Buchanan in this (perhaps excessively) detailed description of the palace buildings correspond with those given on his plans (see Martin's *E. I.*, I, 439).

higher ranks of the guard. The room (4) in the 4th corner is larger than the others, has no air but by a very small door, and resembles strongly a dungeon. The roof of the guard room is plastered in the alcove form with many small compartments somewhat like those in the stone roofs of our cathedrals, but intended merely for ornament, and consisting entirely of plaster, the roof being supported by beams and flags of stones, passing horizontally from wall to wall. The arches which in some places pass under them are so rude as scarcely to be able to support their own weight. The roof is divided into 4 great compartments, one in the centre, one in front, one towards the north and the fourth towards the south. The only passage into the interior is by this last, through a high double-arched gateway (5), which leads into an open area (B) or Chauk. On the west side of this is a gallery (1) open in front, and terraced above. The pillars in front are square, and the cornice, as usual, consists of sloping flags supported by brackets. The door (3) leads into a small outwork (4), which commands the gate. The door (2) leads into the area of another court (C), which is only distinguished from the former by being elevated a few steps. This open gallery was intended for the accommodation of persons who came on business, and who approached to the presence of the Kiladar or chief person of the place by the door (2), the great man sitting in his office, which occupied the centre of the inner area (C). No person durst proceed straight up in front. This building for the transaction of business is perhaps the most regular part of the whole palace, and that in the best taste. It is called the Baradwari⁽¹⁾ or 12 gates, and communicates its name to the square (B) in its front. An elevation of the northern face has therefore been given in the drawing. It has in front an open hall (C') supported by 4 double columns, and two double plasters with the usual cornice. Over this are 5 small windows, and above them a kind of pediment, in which there is a window, before which there is a balcony 4 or 5 foot square, which is covered by a dome

(1) *Barahdvari*, or, more usually, *barahdari*.

supported on 4 pillars. On each side of the colonnade is a small plain door, and above each a similar balcony rather below the level of the windows above the colonnade.

The hall within the colonnade (1) was occupied by the clerks, while those who came for admission, having sneaked from the corner door, stood with joined hands on the threshold until one of these clerks was pleased to communicate his business to the governor, who sat in a hall behind (2), and issued his orders through the clerk. The two halls communicated by 5 doors of a proper size, so that a man can pass through without stooping, but which could not admit a waggon. In general, however it must be observed, that in native buildings no medium is observed in the size of the doors: they are either monstrous gates or mere creeping holes. Above each is a small arched window, but except that in the centre, these do not penetrate into the inner hall. At each end of the outer hall is a small square room with 4 doors (3,3). The roofs of these 3 rooms in front are flat, and are supported by stone beams covered by flags. The end rooms are very low, but the central hall is of a good height, rather more than its breadth. The great hall behind (2) is a fine room with an alcove roof divided into 3 compartments: that in the centre high and round, those at the ends low and semicircular. At the back it has one door with a window over it, the door leading into the area; and at each end it has the same. These doors at the end of the hall lead into two low square rooms (4,4) which are open in front, and supported by a double row of small square columns. At the east and west ends of the building, near the front corner, a stair (5,5) leads up to a small door, and passes up from thence through the thickness of the wall, being as usual here narrow, dark and steep. After ascending a short flight, a door leads into a small chamber (6,6) over those on the ground floor (3,3) with an alcove roof and 2 alcove recesses. There is a window in front, with a balcony as described when speaking of the external appearance of the building. In the recess towards the front hall (1) are

two windows, one opening into that, and the other into a vault above it. The other recess leads into a narrow passage (7,7,7) through the wall between the halls (1) and (2), above the doors by which these communicate, and has a view into both by the windows, which I have mentioned as being above these doors. This passage, called a *Shah neshin*,⁽¹⁾ is about 2 feet wide, and forms a communication between the upper parts of the two ends of the building, the central hall No. (2) occupying the whole height. From the narrow passage at each end is a door of communication with a small handsome room (No. 8,8) over those marked No. (4,4). These rooms have a coach roof, and open in front with three arches supported on short pillars. Each has a window in the end opposite to the door, and another which looks into the great hall (2) below.

The same stairs by another very bad flight lead up to the flat foot of the building (see additional plan), surrounded as usual by a heavy parapet wall about 6 feet high, part of which in front is raised into the pediment, and you enter by a small gallery (9) supported by 4 pillars into the balcony or *Gumji* (2), (10) described as in front of the pediment. On either side of this gallery a stair (11,11) still more execrable than the others leads down into a very low roofed vault (see additional plan), (12) which is above the front hall (1), is lighted by the 5 small windows in front of the building, and is divided by 4 gothic arches into 5 compartments. This served as a treasury. Behind the extreme compartment, at each end, there runs south into the thickness of the wall an arched gallery about 3 feet wide (13,13), and reaching to the back part of the building, but without any opening except the small door, by which it communicates with the vault. These galleries held the money, while the vault in front was the office of the accountants, &c. The vault at each end looks down into the small

(1) *Shah neshin*, literally "king's seat", generally applied to the balcony from which the king showed himself to the people; also used (as here) for a gallery.

(2) *Gumji*, a dialectic diminutive from the Persian word *gumbad* (گنبد), vulg. *gumbaz*, a cupola or dome.

chamber (6) by the small window mentioned when describing it. To return to the roof, at each end towards the north front is a small dome (14,14), supported by 8 pillars, forming a cupola or what the natives call a Gumji. Were it not for the monstrous parapet wall these would have a very good effect, as such cupolas are the only light or showy parts of Hindustani buildings; but from below no part of them can be seen except the very summit of the domes. (15), (16), (16) are elevations (Chabuteras) on the terrace, on which the people sat to enjoy the cool of the evening. The five windows behind these in the parapet wall gave a view of the country; and it would seem, that in fair weather the evenings and nights were usually passed on the roofs, on which account these were always surrounded by walls or screens.

There is nothing else remarkable in this court (C), except that it had to the east a lower area (D), distinguished from it only by being on a level with (B) and having in its centre a small tank. These two areas (B) and (D) served as parades for the guards, where they assembled to be viewed by the governor seated in the Baradwari. In the area (B) is a small door (No. 4) with a window over it. The door leads into a den under a stair, and the window into the stair itself. The small court (E) is called Rosun Sahidka Chauk⁽¹⁾ from its containing the tomb of a martyr (No. 1) named Rosun. The west end of this court is chiefly occupied by a gallery (No. 2) open in front. This was intended for persons in waiting. The door (No. 3) leads into the gallery and is merely meant for uniformity; No. (4) leads into an execrable stair, which is long, dark, narrow and steep, and which in its course has been defended by two doors. Ascending this stair we come to a narrow landing place, having a door to the right, and another in front. It brings us into some apartments above the main guard (A), as may be seen in the plan of the upper story of the building, and terminates in a small closet (1) with

(1) *Roshan shahid ka chauk*. Nothing seems to be known of this martyr.

a door to the south (2), from whence there was a door leading to the roof of the gallery (1) in the area (B), which has on both sides a low parapet.

Another door (3) leads into the corner of an open terrace (4,4,4) surrounded by a high parapet wall. Another more elevated terrace (5,5,5,5), about 4 feet high, projects from the west wall of this area, and occupies most of its space. On the centre of this elevated terrace is another octagonal one (6), still higher and probably intended as the evening place of recreation for the chief officer of the guard. In the western wall of this area are two doors leading into two small chambers (8,8) in front of the gate, where each has a balcony (9,9) covered as usual with a cupola and between these is another small chamber (10), with which both communicate, and in front of which is a small window (11) immediately above the point of the arch of the outer gate. The northernmost of these 3 small chambers communicates by a door (12) with the interior of the palace, to which I shall afterwards return. On the south side of the area is a stair (13), open above, leading to the roof of the small chambers, a terrace surrounded by a parapet, and having in front two small cupolas, in which the low minarets of the gate (14,14) terminated. It seems to have been afterwards discovered that this terrace commands a view of the women's apartments, and a rude high wall appears to have been built above the original parapet, and this was covered with a pent roof, which must have disfigured the date, the only external part of the building in the least handsome. These additional works have in a great measure fallen.

The area F was the abode of the eunuchs. The chamber No. (1) is handsome, with a coach roof, and has in front and at one end 2 fine open galleries (2, 3). The chamber No. (5) has a plain coach roof. No. (6) is handsome, having an alcove roof divided into many compartments, and a large arched gate, and two small windows towards the area. At its west end is a small door leading into a hovel (7) under a stair

which enters however from the area (F). This stair is perhaps the best in the building, being 4 feet wide and the steps tolerably easy. It leads up to an area above the chamber No. (6) which is surrounded by a very high parapet wall (see plan of the upper story No. 15). On the east side of this area is a small neat chamber No. (16) above No. (5). It has an alcove roof in compartments and two windows, one of which looks into the women's apartments, the other into the area (F). This has before it a balcony and cupola as usual. This apartment is called the Ronggomahal⁽¹⁾ or abode of pleasure, and seems to have been the sleeping room of the Rajah Man Singha. A stair (17) leads up to its roof which in place of being surrounded by a parapet wall, is surrounded by a row of square pillars, about 4 feet high, which have been united by screens of stone fretwork, most of which is gone. This roof commands a full view of the women's apartments, and was probably a place where the chief might sit concealed to watch their conduct.

To return to the lower apartments at the west end of the area (F), in front is an open gallery (10) supported by 4 columns and 2 pilasters, with a sloping cornice as usual. The roof is supported by 6 great arches which divide it into 7 narrow compartments again arched. At each end a wide arch conducted into two chambers (11) and (12). Behind this gallery and lighted from it by a wide door and 2 windows is an ugly hall with an arched roof (9), and having at each end a small door communicating with two dismal dens (13 and 14), which communicate also with the rooms (11) and (12) that are before them. Beyond this are 3 retiring closets, one within the other (15), (16) and (17). They have no light, but from the outer door of (17), and no covered communication with any other part of the building. It may indeed be observed that in the whole palace there were scarcely any covered communications from one set of apartments to another; and that very often indeed there was no

(1) *Rang mahal*, "pleasure apartment".

going from even one room to another in the same set, without being exposed to all the inclemency of a burning sun or to the torrents of rain which pour down in such a climate.

Above these apartments is a large terrace, as will be seen in the plan of the upper story (No. 18). This area is surrounded by high parapet walls, which totally exclude a view of the women's apartments so that the male attendants of the Rajah or his friends might be admitted to his principal place of residence (28) through the apartments above the main guard (A). In the west of this parapet are 3 small windows looking out to the court in front of the castle. North from these is a handsome room (19) with a door to the south and another to the east, while on the west there is a window with a balcony covered as usual, but larger than common, as it is covered by 3 cupolas. The roof of this chamber has been composed of flags joined in a bad manner, and some of them therefore have given way. A narrow hanging stair (No. 20) led up to the roof; but some of the steps have given way, and it is no longer practicable. This and the other hanging stairs in the building although they at first sight resemble those so called in Europe, are of a very different and rude structure. One step is no support to the others; each is upheld entirely by the end built into the wall, and although the projecting part never exceeds 2 feet in length, many have given way. At the north end of this area a short open stair (21) leads to a small area (22), on the west side of which are two retiring closets (22,23) above No. (15) and (16), and each has in front an open area (24,24).

Returning again to the area (F) on the ground we find a chamber (18), which was the station of a guard of eunuchs, and it forms the chief entry into the women's apartments and also into the area (H), the more peculiar residence of the Rajah or prince.

The area (G) was probably the place where women waited in the open galleries (1) and (3) for admission into the eunuch's lodgings, either to sell commodities,

or to be carried into the inner apartments. The passage from without was through the alley (R) and the door (1) in the court (M). The guard room (2) was the entry into the interior.

The area (K) is surrounded on three sides by buildings, and was probably kitchens for the ladies.

The open space (M), to which no buildings are immediately attached, seems to have formed a general route of communication, and had in it a small tank (2), to which all the domestics might resort.

The apartments round the area (L) appear to have belonged to the male domestics of the Raja, and the stair leads up to the terrace, by which they are covered, and from thence into a chamber, which may have been above No. (1) in the area (K), but the roofs of both upper and lower chambers have fallen, and I know not whether or not the communication went farther. These terraces overlook all the area of the baths (N) and the space (M), into which therefore the ladies never came.

The baths in the area (N) consist of an antechamber (1), a cold (2), and a hot bath (3) with boilers (4) heated from without, and a retiring closet (6), with a passage (5) opening both to the antechamber and to the open space (M). The baths, both hot and cold, have been dug up in search of treasure.⁽¹⁾ They are lighted from above by a small circular opening in the summit of the dome, by which each is covered. From the area of the baths (N) into the area (O) are two doors for the sake of symmetry, for one would have answered every purpose equally well as will be seen by the plan.

In the centre of the area (O) has been a small reservoir of water. The apartments here seem to have been intended as a place of repose after bathing. A stair leads to the roof of the buildings, which as usual is terraced.

(1) Cf. above, page 52, Note (3).

The small area (S) at its north end has had some buildings (1) between it and the area (I), the use of which, as they are very ruinous, is not very clear; but in the central projection (2) there is a niche, above which is an opening about 6 inches high and 3 feet long. Terminating in this I observe 3 water pipes, and it probably formed an artificial cascade, as in the area there is a stone basin evidently intended to receive the water. The use of the niche, over which the water fell, was probably in order to contain a light to illuminate the cascade, when it ran in the dark.

The area (S) communicates by an open stair (3) with the large terrace (T), on which a building called the palace of flowers is situated, and which forms also a part of the buildings which surround the area (I). Under the side of this terrace which fronts the area (S) are 6 small recesses. Under its end, which faces the area (D), is a kind of cellar (1) with one door. Finally under its side towards the area (I) is a long gallery (2) supported by square buttresses, and behind this gallery is another cellar (3) with 2 doors.

The building called the Phul Mahal or palace of flowers, as will appear from the separate plan, occupies the whole terrace (T) contiguous to the areas (D) and (B), from which its outer wall rises perpendicular; but along the area (S) there is a walk (1) about 4 feet wide; and towards the area there is an open terrace (2) as far back as the gallery and cellar. An open stair leads up to this at the west end of the area (E). The building consists of a central hall (3) with three small doors towards each side, and another at each end. A man cannot pass any of them without stooping. The end doors open outwardly into wide arches (4,4). In the centre of this hall has been a cistern and jet, destroyed in making accommodation for the family of Kasem Ali. On each side of the hall is an open gallery (5,5) with a door in each end, like those in the ends of the central hall, terminating in wide arches (4,4,4,4). On each side of the terrace (2) a stair leads up by the walls which bound the

terrace. That on the east is for the sake of uniformity, and ends at a false door : that towards the west leads up by an execrable covered stair to the roof that is surrounded by an high abominable parapet wall, 7 feet high, in which there are various peep holes. Under this, all round, has been a cornice of the usual form, and had this been surmounted by a balustrade instead of the parapet wall, the whole building would have been neat. The building forms a neat set of apartments designed for a place of cool retreat, in which surrounded by jets of water the Rajah might sit to transact business.

The chief entrance into the area (I) is by a guard room (4) which has stone benches for the guards on each side of the passage, and holes at one end (5,6) I presume for holding ammunition. Adjoining to the guard room a stair leads up to the roof of the adjacent buildings, and near to this is a passage into a retiring closet (8). South from this is the door of a small chamber (9) by which there is a communication with the area (B). Opposite to the guard room is an open gallery (1) for the accommodation of those in waiting. In the centre of this area (I) has been a reservoir and a jet of water.

The area (P), to which there is admission through two small guard houses (1,2), seems to have been designed as a kind of theatre or place for looking at dancers or singers; and the apartments round the area (Q) were intended for their accommodation, to dress and refresh, before they began to perform. These apartments have been placed at a distance from those of the ladies, and in the vicinity of where the Raja could go under pretence of business, in order to avoid the offence which the ladies might take at his frequenting such company.

Returning to the area (H), which was the principal seat of the chief's grandeur and more legitimate pleasures, we find on the ground floor some large apartments. No. (1) has a large arched gate in the centre, on each side of that a large window, and beyond

each of these a small door. Its roof is low, and supported by 6 gothic arches, dividing it into 5 compartments, each of which has a pavilion or coach roof. Behind this is (2) a long low-roofed hall which communicates with the gallery by one wide arched door, and two windows; but is not so long as the gallery, a stair which leads to the upper story being taken from the south end. Behind it communicates by one small door with a long dark cellar (3), which at its south end under the stair has a recess. In the north is a small door leading into a small arched room (5), behind which is a dark cellar (4), the door of which is not above 2 feet high. Opposite to that door the chamber No. (5) communicates with a suite of three rooms (6,7,8) of which that in the centre is very handsome. It is supported, and highly probable that the lower apartments of this area were the wardrobe and depositories of other valuable effects. At the end of this suite is a chamber (9) which completes the north side of the area, and formed the chief passage with two very wide gothic arches into the ladies garden, which was separated from the east side of this area by a wall surmounted by a balustrade.

The stair (10) which conducts from these lower apartments to the second story is exceedingly bad, and an irregular and dangerous landing place at its top (see plan of the upper story). No. (25) has two doors, one to the right, and the other to the left. The latter forms the communication with the upper parts of the buildings at the west side of the area (F). That to the right leads into the end of a very fine open gallery (26), with a flat roof supported on each side by 4 massy buttresses, and 4 semicircular arches with fine cornices, so as to have a grand solid appearance, although rather heavy. At the north end, opposite to the door of entry, is a recess with an alcove roof in a very good style.

Behind this gallery is a very fine hall (28), called the Emperor's throne (Padshah Takht), in the same style, but it has an alcove recess at both ends. It communicates with the gallery by a grand door, and

two very large windows which have been screened by fretwork in stone. This differs a good deal from the windows of our cathedrals and does not equal their appearance, although it has a very fine effect. It is intended to conceal from full view, without excluding the air. In the back wall of this hall are two small windows towards the western face of the castle, and each has had a covered balcony, but these windows are not regular, the one being towards the south end of the hall, and the other being within the northern recess, from which also there was a window that looked into a small chamber (29) at its north end, through which there was a passage to the terrace on the roof of the ladies' apartments. The Raja therefore, even sitting in state, had an opportunity of seeing what was going forward in that quarter. The style of architecture in this hall, and the gallery before it, will be understood from the elevations accompanying the plans.

Before the gallery is an area (27), open above but shut in towards area (H) by a high parapet wall, so as totally to exclude a view of the ladies. At its north end is a door, by which, turning towards the left, there is the passage to the small chamber (29) above mentioned, through which was the entrance into the terraced roof of the ladies' apartments; and by the right was an open passage along the roofs (30) of chambers (7), (8) and (9).

At the south end of the terrace (27) is a stair partly open, partly covered. Although tolerably light, and rather wide, being from 3 to 4 feet, this stair is exceedingly steep. It leads to the roof of the great hall and gallery (26, 28), which is surrounded by a wall and balustrade, and to some buildings forming the third story of this part of the building, of which a separate plan is given. In the north parapet, towards the west end, is a small cupola leading to a window and covered balcony (1) overlooking the terrace on the roof of the ladies' apartments. At the south-west corner is a handsome square room (2) supported by 4 gothic arches, behind the southern of

which is a semicircular recess. This room has one door, and 2 very small windows. At the south-east corner of this terrace is another stair (3), partly covered, partly open, which leads to the fourth story of this part of the building on the roof of the chamber in the third story just now described. Of this fourth story also a separate plan is given. The small chamber (1) is open towards the north, where it is supported by 4 slender columns. The area on the terrace in front of this chamber has been surrounded by stone pillars, between which there were screens to conceal the ladies who might occasionally be admitted. A very narrow passage leads from this small apartment along the stair to a cupola (2) supported by 4 pillars, which commands a most magnificent view, having not only the whole country but almost every area of the castle perfectly exposed. This is the highest pinnacle of the building, and has a showy, light appearance (1).

I now proceed to the flower garden (Phulwari), as it is called by the Hindus, or (Khaneh bagh) house garden, as it is called by the Persians, which is in fact the abode of the ladies, or zenana, as we call it from the Persian zenana mahl (women's apartment); but this term appears too plain to Hindustani jealousy, which chooses to exclude altogether the mention of the sex. It forms a large square from the south-west corner of which the area (H) has been taken; but on every other part it is surrounded by apartments one story high, as will be seen on the plan. The most usual form of each apartment consists of a hall opening towards the garden with a wide door, and having at each end a room which is sometimes lighted by one window, but sometimes receives no air except through the hall. There are however several irregularities, as will be seen by the plan. It is probable, that, when not too much crowded, each lady had one of these apartments for herself and slaves. Three staircases, as will appear by the plan (7, 22, 44), led up to the roof near the south-east, north-east and north-west corners, where there are buildings, to

(1) To follow this description, see the small plan of the upper story, known locally as *Man Singh ka baithak*.

which we shall afterwards return. There are also two private entries from the outside of the castle, marked No. 11 and No. 38. The latter is guarded by two small chambers (39) and (40), which form a projection; but to my great surprise there would appear at the other passage (11) to have been no precaution except a wooden door. I am inclined however to suspect that both these passages were made by Colonel Goddard, to give access to his men, probably quartered in the flower garden, and that the passage No. 11 had been originally a stair like No. 22, and that the passage No. 38 has been like that marked No. 26, which leads into two chambers projecting in conformity with numbers 39 and 40, and which probably served as baths. The passage No. 18 led into a small area (U) surrounded by nine apartments, as will appear from the plan. Nos. 7, 8 and 9 seem to have been retiring closets, the others surrounding this area seem to have been the apartments of careful women attendants. In the wall between (8) and (9) has been a stair leading to the terrace on the roof.

The area called the Phulwari has probably in fact been a flower garden, and is divided into numerous parterres by various narrow paved roads, crossing each other at right angles. The flowers of course have long ago vanished.

The chief ornament of this area is a square building called the Aina Mahal, or mirror of palaces⁽¹⁾, the residence of the chief's married wife. It is placed near the centre on a terrace (W), to which on three sides there is an ascent by a stair leading to a cistern (1, 2, 3), in which there was probably a jet of water. On the west side were two stairs, and no cistern. The building is very clumsy. Each side in front has three doors, and some way above them a cornice in the usual form. Above the cornice is a window with a covered balcony, and the parapet is crowned with a clumsy balustrade. In other respects the whole of each front is a dead wall, varied only

(1) More correctly "the mirror apartment", an apartment hung round with mirrors. The same names are found in many palaces of the Mughal period.

by six windows, placed regularly indeed but entirely unornamented, and quite pitiful in size. Within on the ground floor, which was probably the usual resort of such of the ladies as enjoyed the wife's favour, are 12⁽¹⁾ chambers, and a stair, the distribution of which will be seen from the plan. The rooms (5), (6), (7) and (8) are tolerably light and airy and high in the roof, which consists of a plain semicircular arch. The rooms Nos. 9 and 11 are neat, being octagons with two doors and four windows, two to the outside, and two towards the rooms Nos. 6 and 8, and 5 and 7. The roof forms a hollow hemisphere and is rather too lofty. Nos. 10 and 12 differ only in being square, and are also very neat. The central room No. 7⁽²⁾, were it lighter, would be also handsome; but its four doors are very low, as the stair passes over one of them. Each door has over it a window; and, had that under the stair been sacrificed, the doors might have been made of a good height. The hemispherical roof, which covers the centre, is supported by four gothic arches, and within the arches at each end is a semicircular alcove completing the roof in length.

The stair which goes up from No. 8 is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, but very steep. It leads up to the roof, or second story, the form of which will be seen by the plan. The terrace (31) is surrounded by a high parapet wall and balustrade, in which, as I have mentioned, are four windows with four covered balconies (33, 33, 33, 33), and it surrounds an elevated terrace (32), and a small building (35) above the stair, through the middle of which there is an arched passage (36). Above this a stair, exceedingly steep, leads to a small platform (38) on the summit, which is covered by a cupola (39) supported on four pillars not quite so high as that above the Padshah's throne, but still commanding a most noble view both of the country and castle. At each corner, above the chambers (9), (10), (11) and (12) is a small square room (34) covered by a dome, too low to have any effect from below. Each chamber has a door, and two small windows.

(1) Should be "9", judging from the plan.

(2) Should read "No. 4", according to the plan.

I now return to the buildings above the roof of the ladies' apartments, which is flat. Above the doors and windows their front towards the area was ornamented all round with a sloping cornice, above which was a low parapet wall, sufficient only to prevent those walking on the roof from falling over, but above the roof on the opposite side, the outer wall of the castle rose 10 or 12 feet above the terrace (40) which formed their roof.

Above the stairs Nos. 44, 22 and 7 are three small buildings (41) which cover the stair, and open with a door to each side from the landing place. A stair (42) leads up from the terrace to the small platform on the roof of each of these buildings, on which has been constructed a small cupola or Gumji, supported by 4 pillars (43). On each of the three corners of the roof of the ladies' quarters above the apartments (9), (24), and (42) is a square chamber (44), which on two sides towards the terrace has a door and window over it, and a window on each of the two sides that look towards the country. Each of these latter windows leads to a covered balcony, which of course was carefully covered by screens.

A wretched open hanging stair (46), such as before described, leads to the roof of each of these rooms, which are light and handsome, being nearly cubes. On the outside they have all round a sloping cornice, surmounted by a low parapet wall, which could not conceal from view the ladies that might ascend, and which of course they never were permitted to do, except in the dark.

Above the chambers (27) and (28) is a small area (47) open above, with a retiring closet (48) behind it; but there is nothing analagous above the corresponding apartments No. 39 and 40.

Before the west front of the castle is a large area not however corresponding exactly with the dimensions of the front, as it does not reach to the southern end, while it passes the northern, as will appear by the plan. It has three gates towards the north, south

and west, but none of them is in the centre of its respective side. That towards the west had above it a gallery for the band of music called *Nohobut*⁽¹⁾, and through this gate came an aqueduct about 4 feet high, which brought water into the flower garden from a small tank at some distance west, from whence it was raised by machinery. This aqueduct cut the court into two, so that there could have been no passage for a carriage from the north to the south gate, and horses could only indeed have passed by scrambling over a steep ascent paved with stones, which was in the line of the two gates. Except at the gates, the area was surrounded on every side by a high wall, on the inner side of which was erected a very narrow gallery, opening towards the area by numerous arches about 5 feet wide, with buttresses between of about 3 feet. The gallery was not subdivided into rooms, but served as barracks for the men immediately attached to the governor's person. The roof of the gallery served as a rampart, defended by the outer wall rising into a parapet capable of defence against musketry. The centre of the west face was ornamented by a cupola, supported on four pillars, and overlooking a small tank.

The stones of which these works consist are partly red and partly white, but the latter are the most common. The whole hill at least towards the summit consists of them. The strata are apparently horizontal, and the masses that have been procured are very fine and cut well. It is granular, but much harder than proper sandstone, and approaches in nature to granular hornstone.

In the afternoon I returned to Meygaong⁽²⁾.

25th December.—I went about 10 miles, which were called 7 coses, to Nahatta⁽³⁾. The road led for a great

(1) *Naubat*, originally a large kettle-drum; then used for the music played at fixed times in front of the king's or raja's palace.—*Naubat khana* is the music-gallery, generally above the main gateway or entrance to a palace.

(2) *Majhigawan*. See page 47 above, where Buchanan spells it *Majangwa*.

(3) *Nauhatta*, just under ten miles from *Majhigawan* by the present road.

part of the way between the great hills and some small ones which skirt the Son. These do not reach to the great hills as represented in the Bengal Atlas⁽¹⁾, and are of inconsiderable height, but are very rocky. The stone like the white kind on Rotas, but not so hard, approaching nearer to freestone. The country between is a fine level.

The houses of sirkar Rotas I observe have the ridge of their roof straight one side, overlapping the other as in a government house in Ava. Those here are surrounded by high but rude railings of sticks and bamboos covered with Sem⁽²⁾.

The people of Nahatta say that Bupnath ⁽³⁾ the owner is descended from Ruedas. and call him Surya-bongsi⁽⁴⁾. They say that at Bandu on the bank of the Son where there is a place dedicated to Doriswara Siva, but no temple, there is a stone⁽⁵⁾ on which every Rajah's name appears engraved when he dies. Bupnath is called the Bilaunjiva Rajah, which seems to be the same name as Billaunja of Rennell, no such name being known ⁽⁶⁾. His estate formed the part of Circar

(1) i.e., Rennell's *Bengal Atlas*.

(2) The broad bean, *Dolichos lablab*. These fences covered with bean plants are a distinctive feature of the villages close under and among the hills of South Bihar and Chota Nagpur, and add much to their picturesqueness.

(3) Bhupanatha, "lord of kings".

(4) Suryavamsi, i.e., of the solar race. Rohita, according to the Puranas and Mahabharata, was a scion of the Ayodhya branch of the solar race, an Aiksvaku, not an Aila (lunar race). For the significance of the distinction, see F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (1922), page 295.

(5) See Buchanan's paper in the *Transactions, R. A. S.*, Vol. I Pt. II, 203-204, which shows that he visited the place, and examined the rock and the inscriptions on it, finding among other names that of Pratapadhavalva Deva. The family which in Buchanan's time held the "principality of Bilonja" claimed descent from Pratapadhavalva, "chief of Japila". The history of the Sonpura family, the head of which is still respectfully called "Maharaj" by the country folk around, is of peculiar interest, and merits critical investigation.

I cannot think what Doriswara represents, unless it be *dvaresvara*, the "lord of the gateway", or entrance, i.e., of the narrow passage up the Son valley, the route so often followed in ancient times by invading hosts from the south-west. Possibly we have the same idea in the name Daranagar (? Dvaranagara) the important village due south of Rohtasgarh and north of the embouchure of the Koel river.

(6) It is not clear what Buchanan means here. Apparently he should have written "Bittounja", as this is how Rennell spelt the name on his map. See also Appendix G.

Rohtas from Rohtas and upward, including Husinabad, and Bandu and Mangea have been separated to collateral branches, and the whole on the south side of the Son has been granted in Jaygir⁽¹⁾ to a Nawab of Patna, who farms it to the Rajah for Rs. 6,000 a year, but this is in Ramgar⁽²⁾. For what he has on this side he is called Talukdar, and paid Rs. 3,300 to the Rani, while there are 6 or 7 zemindars under him, besides a little that he retains Khas. The Rajah will now get the independent management of this part of the estate. The family had two seats, at Daranagar, a cose from Bandu, and at Morabba⁽³⁾ on the Koyil river, but he now lives at Sonpur,⁽³⁾ 2 coses above the mouth of that river, on the south side of the Sone. Bhaiwani Singha the owner of Bandu is also called Talukdar, and paid his revenue to the Rani, levying it from zemindars. They know nothing of Chanderban nor of who took Rohtas from the family. South from Majiya is Gurwa⁽³⁾ which belongs to Nursingha Deva, a person of the same branch of the family with Bhawani Singha but he pays his revenue to Ramgar, and his estate is a separate pergunah. Ranka⁽³⁾ in Palamon is south from thence. The rajah of Palamon is a Cheru. Some people say that the Cheru speak Hindi, others not. Ranka belongs to the Dewan who is a Suruyar⁽⁴⁾ Rajput. Sirguja in the Maratta country belongs to [a] Raksel⁽⁵⁾ Rajput, of the same family with Ajidsingha, on whom he depended. Singraula⁽⁶⁾ belongs to Udawant Singh, a Ben Bungsi

(1) Evidently the Husainabad family, descendants of Hidayat 'Ali Khan, father of Ghulam Husain Khan (the author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*) who held the estate from 'Ali Vardi Khan's time.

(2) The old district of Ramgarh covered a very large area. It was broken up after the Kol insurrection in 1831-1832, parts being allotted to the Manbhumi, Monghyr and old Bihar districts, while the bulk was divided between the districts of Hazaribagh and Lohardaga (the present Ranchi and Palamau districts).

(3) All in the north-western portion of the Palamau district, see **Morwe, Sonpura, Manjeawan, Garhwa and Ranka** on the Survey map.

(4) The "Sarwar or Surwar" of Sherring (I, 228).

(5) A name not ordinarily found in lists of Rajput clans and tribes. A Raksel of the same family as the Sarguja rajas seized a considerable area south of the Son about the middle of the 17th century; but Ajit Singh does not appear to have been of this stock. At least Ajit seems to have been a Singrauli raja—generally regarded as Kharwar. [See Crooke & Dampier's *Note on Mirzapur District South of the Son* (1894)].

(6) Singrauli, in Mirzapur district, south of the Son.

Rajput, who pays tribute for 700 villages to the company and 700 to the Marattahs. The Chowhan Rajputs possess the country between Singrauli and Surguja and [*sic*] belongs to the Marattahs. All these are pure Rajputs. The most prevalent caste in the parts are the Pocyā⁽¹⁾, who are supposed to be a branch of the Gor or stone cutters. In Palamon the Cherus are by far the most numerous. A good many Khorwar on the hills of Palamo and Bellauja and some below. The Palamo Raja wears the thread and lives pure, but the poor live impure.

26th December.—I went between 7 and 8 miles to Porcha⁽²⁾ between the hills and the Son, which is scarcely here navigated although it contains a good deal of water. The people say that there are no pebbles either in it or in the Kiyul.⁽³⁾ About a mile from Noahut⁽⁴⁾ I crossed a deep torrent named Badua,⁽⁵⁾ and about 2 miles farther on the Nunona⁽⁵⁾, both with very steep banks. In other places the road is very tolerable for such a country. There are said to be many tigers⁽⁶⁾ in the woods.

In the evening I received a visit from Bupnath, who lately lived at Srinagar⁽⁷⁾, a mud walled house with two stories thatched and a mud fort near, just opposite to Porcha, but has now gone to Sonpur, a similar abode. He was well dressed and very civil, but has little the appearance of a gentleman. He says that he is descended of Chundroban who was expelled from Rohtas by Shere Shah, as usually related, and that Chundrabān was descended through the

(1) Written thus in the manuscript. It is difficult to say what caste Buchanan refers to. There is no such caste or tribe to be found in south Shahabad. I suspect that the *c* should be read *r*. Porya would about represent the pandit's pronunciation of Parhaiya (Crooke, *T. & C.* IV), or Parheya, as Dalton calls them (*Eth. of Ben.*, 127, 129, 131, &c.).

(2) **Parchha.**

(3) **Koel.**

(4) **Nauhatta.**

(5) Not named on the S. S.

(6) Captain De Gloss, in his journal kept when on survey work in South Bihar, under date 20th December, 1766, found this very neighbourhood (near Daranagar) "much embarrassed with Jungles and Immense Quantity of Tygers", and further on, the next day, he records "Great numbers of Tygers".

(7) On the south bank of the Son, in Palamau district.

Oyudiya⁽¹⁾ family of Ruedas [Rohitas]. That he is descended of Chandraban is highly probable. He says that the image on Ruedas Chauri represented that prince, and that the conical rock mentioned in my account of Katautea gate was left by one of his ancestors, who was attempting to dig a passage for the Son through the hills. When the workmen began to cut this part blood issued from it⁽²⁾. He says that he can trace his ancestors very far in the papers belonging to his family, and has promised me a list.

The Son here is about a mile wide and the stream is 4 or 5 hundred yards, not rapid but tolerably clear, and in most parts pretty deep. It is now fordable at two places between this and Bandu, but in the spring is fordable in most places. The banks or channel are not at all rocky, and they contain but few pebbles, and fewer of these are of a fine kind than lower down.

The people of Porcha are Kanoj⁽³⁾ Brahmans who cultivate by means of slaves⁽⁴⁾. Their huts wretched, and they seem bad and indolent farmers. They do every kind of labour except holding the plough. For nine years the rains have been scanty, owing to which many have gone to other places.

27th December.—I went rather less than 10 miles to Jadunathpur by a road which was represented as impracticable, but I found it not very bad; 2 or 3 descents into torrents were rather steep, in other respects it was good. The torrents are numerous, and in general contain a little stagnant water, and by receiving them into reservoirs near the hills might

(1) See also above (page 50) where Buchanan calls him "Chandra Ban, a Brahman". It seems to me that he has confounded the Raja with his deputy, or diwan. The Muhammadan historians distinguish between the two. The "mighty Raja" of Ni'mat-ullah may have been descended from Rohita's race, the Aiksvakus of Ayodhya. I do not find his name given in the Muhammadan histories; it may possibly have been Chandraban; but it is also possible that Chandraban represents the Churaman of Abbas Sarwani (Elliot, IV, 157) and of Ni'mat-ullah (see Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, 107, who writes Churamen).

(2) The same story is still told, and the spirit is still propitiated by the hill folk.

(3) Kanaujiya.

(4) Buchanan no doubt refers to the *kamiyauti* system. The *kamiya* is not a slave in the sense in which this word is generally used in English.

irrigate a very large proportion of the country; but this has been entirely neglected. The most remarkable in the order I passed them were called Titahi, Pinsa, Dusiyari, Bohoriya Jagrewa, Barand Kota⁽¹⁾, and one at Jadunathpur the name of which I did not learn. The country by nature is most remarkably beautiful, little wooded hills, winding rich plains, most rocky and precipitous mountains bounding on both sides a river from 1 to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide, leave nothing to be wished for except that the plains should be cultivated by an intelligent people; but all here is poverty and ignorance. There are sundry villages, but exceedingly wretched, and chiefly occupied by Sakadwipi Brahmans and their slaves, as bad as the Konjiyas⁽²⁾. The woods are not so stunted as farther down, although many of them are on little hills, but the soil of these is very rich. These little hills seem of a singular nature⁽³⁾. They are in short detached ridges or hemispherical lumps, perhaps 40 or 50 feet in diameter and 10 to 15 high, with narrow passages winding among them. Some have been cultivated, and I see one producing mustard without irrigation.

Near Jadunathpur the rock comes to the surface without rising into hills, and the rock descends to the bank of the Son, but not at all into its channel, which is entirely of sand. This rock is divided into masses by fissures running nearly E. and W. and N. and S., with others having a slight dip to the south. It is a hornstone, where most entire of an uniform colour and substance, but the greater part is much decayed and crumbling into fragments like dry clay. In these the substance has been divided into thin layers of different colours, and not straight, but waved. In most places not only the larger masses but the fragments into which these are crumbling are cuboidal, but in one place I observed it dividing into vertical plates running east and west.

(1) None of these names are marked on the S. S.

(2) Kanaujiyas.

(3) Are these the "Cuddapah sands" of the geologists? Sherwill did not mark them on his map.

A nephew of Torul Mul, and an uncle of the Adhaura⁽¹⁾ Chaudri, says that the Kharwar always lived on these hills from Rohtas to Vijayagur and are under two Rajahs, Torul and Siva, one who has the hills of Tilautta, the other those of Saseram. The hills of Chainpura are under 4 independent Chauduris. Siva Singha has one Chauduri, and Torul Mul 7. The Kharwars of Tilautta are called Turkan, I believe, because they paid fowls to Rotas, but they say from the name of the district. Siva Singha's people are called Koruh from the name of the district⁽²⁾. The country or people of the 4 Chauduris is called Rajewar, but they disclaim all affinity with the Rajwars, but they do the same with the Kharwar bearers of the plains and with those of Nagpur and Palamo, who speak a language which they do not understand, they using the ordinary Hindi. They have no remembrance of having been sovereigns of any country but their own, nor do they worship Ruedas nor claim any connection with him⁽³⁾. Torul and his 7 Chauduris were not of the same family, and each paid his contribution separately to the Rani⁽⁴⁾, but they obeyed his orders. The Raja and his male relations wear the thread and call themselves Surya-bongsi Rajputs, but do not pretend to have any kindred with Bupnath, nor did they ever hear of Chandrabhan, but they say that they always depended on whoever possessed Ruedas. The stone in the ditch at Katautea they call Baings Asur⁽⁵⁾, and some of

(1) Now the most important village on the plateau, about 20 miles W. by N. from Rohtasgarh.

(2) Perhaps Koras, on the bank of one of the headstreams of the Durgavati, about 12 miles west of Akbarpur. Cf. Koresh, pages 85 & 114 below.

(3) In the Report, however (Martin's *E. I.*, 493), Buchanan says they call themselves Suryavamsi.

(4) Buchanan mentions "the Rani" several times, but does not tell us who she was. Thomas Twining, who was Collector of Shahabad from December 1801 to September 1803, when describing a visit to the fortress, mentions that the "Rajah of Rotas" resided at Akbarpur. This may have been Harbans Raja, son of Shah Mal, the *diwan* of the fortress *jagir* who surrendered the place to Captain Goddard in 1764. Haveli Rohtas pargana was granted in *jagir* by the E. I. Co. to Shah Mal, and the grant was continued to Harbans (see *Gazetteer*, 1924, page 124). Shah Mal was sometimes called Raja Shah Mal, and probably Harbans was also known, locally at all events, as the Raja. Probably then the Rani referred to by Buchanan was the widow of Harbans, who we know resided at Tilothu.

(5) i.e., Bhainsasur (Mahisasura).

them make offerings but others do not. They all pray to Durga Devi, to whom they offer buffaloes and goats. The poor among them eat fowls and swine, but the chiefs who have Brahmans for Gurus and Purohits reject these. The poor at harvest worship chiefly the Gong⁽¹⁾ Devi, or village goddess, whose name the chiefs do not know. All except the Rajah's family hold the plough. The poor are not slaves. The Gaur⁽²⁾ bring forth young in Asaur⁽³⁾ and go in flocks of 4 or 5. The males that are solitary are savage and attack men. The Gaur and Arna are the same. There is no other Arna on these hills. Their horns are round, not like those of the buffalo. They are only procured in Choyet⁽⁴⁾, when the jungle is burnt and they come to springs to drink. Their commodities come from Banaras by Vijapur⁽⁵⁾ on which route there is no considerable ascent.

The Cherus of this place say that the Palamo Rajah is of their caste and calls himself a Nagbangsi Rajput, and the persons of high rank there marry with Rajputs and wear the thread, but the low Cherus do not, although they live pure and have Brahman Gurus and purohits. The people here speak only the Hindi, but although those of Palamo in general understand it, they have a dialect or language which the people here do not understand, and which they call the Nagpuri; but it is probable that in Nagpur several languages quite distinct are spoken. They have a tradition that they were driven into the forests by the Huriyabangs⁽⁶⁾.

(1) *Gramadevi*, "village goddess".

(2) See also page 40 above, Note (3), and Martin's *E. I.*, II, 14. *Gaur* and *Arna* are not the same. In South Bihar the word *gaur* (Sanskrit गौर) is always applied to the bison, and *arna* (Sanskrit अरण्य) to the wild buffalo.

(3) Asarh, the 10th month of the Hindi Fasli year, corresponding with about the middle of June to the middle of July.

(4) Chait, the 7th month of the Hindi Fasli year, corresponding with about the middle of March to the middle of April.

(5) Vijayagarh, generally pronounced and written Bijagarh.

(6) i.e., Haihayavamsi, one of the most interesting races of the past in India. See Sherring, *T. & C.* I, 213; Crooke, *T. & C.*, and Russell, *T. & C.*, s. v. For their connexion with Shahabad, see *Gazetteer* (1924), 162, where they appear as Hariobans.

The Raja of Billounja says that the Palamo Raja is a Cheru, and not a Nagbongsi Rajput like the Nagpur Wali⁽¹⁾. The proper Rajputs will not marry with the Cherus, who are descended from illegitimate sons of Chohun⁽²⁾ Muni. These must not be confounded with the Chohan⁽³⁾ Rajputs of the west. The Chohans of this vicinity are only pretenders, and are in reality Paiks. All proper Rajputs are called Rawut burg⁽⁴⁾, an inferior breed are called Paik burg, but the Cherus do not even belong to these. The Palamo people fled from Bojpur from an ancestor of Bupnath's, and settled first at Deruya⁽⁵⁾ in Palamo. All speak the Hindi language. In the hills of Billounja a people called Parahia⁽⁶⁾ speak a quite distinct language.

The Ramgur, Kunda and Toree⁽⁷⁾ Rajahs are Kharwars but call themselves Rajputs. Their people speak Hindi. In Nagpur almost all the people are Dangurs⁽⁸⁾. Rajwars, Kharwars, &c. The iron smelters are Kol lohar⁽⁹⁾. The persons of rank in Kunda, Toree intermarry with the Cherus of Palamon. The Kharwars of Ramgar, &c., who are learned, say

(1) *Wali*, an Arabic word, now used in the sense of guardian, or (as here) governor.

(2) Cyavana Rishi, the Bhargava. For the association of the earliest Bhargavas with non-Aryan races, see Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Tradition*, Chap. XXVI.

(3) Chauhan, one of the Agnikula clans.

(4) *Rawat varga*, "princely class". *Rawat*, sometimes *raut*, is derivatively the same as *rajput*.

Payak varga. The name *payak*, lit. a foot-soldier, was applied to men, generally selected from martial races, employed as a sort of militia, e.g., by landholders to guard treasure, &c., and so men employed on military service, not necessarily Rajputs. Cf. also the Paiks of Orissa.

(5) Now a small place in north-western Palamu.

(6) Parhaiya? See above, page 77, Note (1).

(7) Ramgarh, Kunda and Teri, all famous forts at one time.

(8) *Dhangurs*, see page 55, Note (4).

(9) For Kol Lohars, see *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. V, page 502. The term Kol is used in a very comprehensive sense in South Bihar and Chota Nagpur, and covers several tribes or races of so-called aboriginal origin. The ancient iron-smelters of the hill country are now represented by the Agariyas of south Mirzapur, and the Asuras and Agoriyas of Chota Nagpur. The iron smelters referred to by Buchanan were probably Agariyas. Heaps of iron slag, the relics of ancient workings, have been found on the plateau above. An interesting description of the method of work followed by these people will be found in V. Ball's *Jungle Life*.

that they derive their name from Khairagur⁽¹⁾ and that they ought to be called Gurwar the title which Ajit Singha's family assumes. This family is acknowledged universally to be true Rajputs and have long possessed their present territory. Khairagur is on the road between Burdi and Mirzapur a small mud fort.

December 28th.—I remained at Jadunathpur preparing to ascend the hills by the Sokri⁽²⁾ ghat. Jadunathpur is a wretched place. There are two Ahars⁽³⁾, one totally neglected, the other cultivated with wheat, and the fields under it with rice. In the evening I went to hawk with the Rajah who, although his territories are very small, had an elephant, a servant on horseback and eight or nine hawks. He is said to be very much in debt. He seems quite regardless of his people. His elephant stood in the midst of a wheat field and was allowed to pull up the young plants and eat without restraint, although there is a great scarcity if not famine. The Son here is much as at Porcha. In its bed a few pebbles, very few of these diaphanous, but some red, green, yellowish and blackish, quite opaque. At Bandu ghat the diaphanous become common: whether they come down the Keyol or are generated in the banks I cannot say.

December 29th.—I went to Sorkey⁽²⁾. The bottom of the hill is not quite 2 miles from Jadunathpur, near which there are some small hillocks such as I saw on the 26th; but on the whole no hills come within $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile of the Son, the channel of which is quite sandy and not only contains fewer pebbles than lower down, but a much smaller proportion are

(1) Both Santals and Kharwars have a tradition that they came from Khairagarh, but it is not definitely settled where this was. The Mirzapur Kharwars locate it in the Allahabad district. Other sites have been suggested in Chhattisgarh State, Mirzapur, South Gaya, Hazaribagh, and even in the south of the Bhagalpur district. Khaira is a very common-place name. The very name Kharwar is simply *khair wala*, a person who prepares catechu-extract from the *khair* tree (*Acacia catechu*).

(2) **Sanraki.**

(3) An *ahar*, meaning derivatively a place that holds or contains (Sanskrit **अ**, to hold) is an artificial reservoir used for purposes of irrigation, formed in the localities under description by constructing a dam across the outlet of a water catchment area fed by a stream from the hills.

diaphanous, a good many red and green opaque stones, but no good specimens procurable.

The ascent may be a mile in length, and is not near so steep as Rajghat to Rotas, as it winds a good deal, although not conducted with much judgment. It is exceedingly rough, although some pains have been bestowed in former ages to improve the natural ascent. Loaded oxen carry up small loads, but with great difficulty. From the summit to Sorkey is about a mile. The country rises into gentle swells, with here and there an inconsiderable hill, but many rocks project both on the deeper and more level parts. There is however much good soil fit for the plough and of a red colour which I have nowhere seen on the plains of this district. It entirely resembles the best ragy⁽¹⁾ soil of Mysore, and no doubt would be very productive of that grain. It is covered with long grass, quite parched, and scattered trees, Mohuyal, Bot, Chironji⁽²⁾ &c. Near the village of Sorki, where it is manured, it produces wheat without watering, but without manure it is supposed incapable of producing any crop. A narrow valley, perhaps 100 yards wide, winds past Sorki, and is cultivated with rice. Many banks are made across it, which preserve the water with which some of the fields are still filled owing probably to springs. The crop seems even this year to have been very good. The straw is in a great measure neglected. I saw only 2 or 3 oxen, but a herd of 18 or 20 buffaloes. The people say that wells cannot be dug on account of stones, but that most of the rivers contain perennial streams and that there are many springs. The Rajah's grandfather has dug a small tank, now overwhelmed with weeds, but it contains much water, and a well lined with stone under its lowest bank contains water within a few feet of the surface, which I believe soaks into [it] from the tank.

The Rajah is a decent looking peasant, but very meanly and even dirt[il]y dressed. He does not want

(1) *Eleusine coracana*, called *marua* in South Bihar.

(2) *Buchanania latifolia*. The kernels of the fruit, which yields a wholesome oil, are widely eaten by the people.

sense, and he had with him one of the Chauduris whose linen was bleached and his manners good. They had with them 50 or 60 men, several of them armed with matchlocks, as the whole tribe I am told is. There are 5 Taluks, Turkan, Koresh, Rajwar, Atgaungwa and Vijaiyagiri,⁽¹⁾ besides some scattered villages west from Tilautha and some in Kera, north-east from Vijayagiri which have no chiefs, but the greater part of Taluk Kera⁽²⁾ is on the plain and depends on Benares. Each of the 3 last mentioned Taluks has 4 Chauduris, but no Rajah. There are therefore in all 2 Rajahs and 19 Chauduris, who all intermarry. They disclaim all connection with the Kharwars of the south-east and never heard of those to the north. The only caste settled here are a few Dusads, who watch the villages and collect rent. They get 10 sers of gram a month from each house. The barber comes once in 14 days. Clothes when washed are sent below, but this is seldom required. All articles of manufacture brought from below. I saw some pigs, but whether belonging to the Dusads or not, I cannot say. Sorkey contains about 20 houses, or rather families, some having several huts fully as good as those of the farmers below. The Rajah's is large. We were however kept at a distance, evidently from fear of the women, no one of which was seen, but all the people very civil.

December 30th.—I went 9 miles to Lora ⁽³⁾ which agrees very well with the people's calculation. The country very beautiful, like Mysore, to Khethangs ⁽⁴⁾, swelling with a few rocks near the banks of the torrents; between Khethangs and Lora rather hilly and rocky. The woods very much stunted, and in a few

(1) This is evidently meant for Bijaigarh. For the names Turkan, Koresh and Rajwar, see above, page 80. Atgaungwa means "eight villages" (*ath ganv*): it may possibly be the same name as that spelt Aughtgama on page 144 below. All five names may represent branches or distinct families of the Kharwar tribes, after which the different estates or "lordships" (Buchanans *Taluk=ta'alluqa*) were called.

(2) Kera Mangraur, now a pargana in the Mirzapur district. In Todar Mal's rent-roll it is shown as a *mahal* in *sarkar* Rohtas. Raja Balwant Singh obtained a grant of it in *altamgha* from Almagir II in 1754.

(3) Lohra.

(4) Chathangs.

places only trees thinly scattered among the long grass. The Sal⁽¹⁾ the most common tree. Near the villages, usually situated on rising ground, the country is cleared, and fine Mango, But and Mohuya trees are thinly scattered over it, which look very fine. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Sorkey crossed a torrent named the Barha⁽²⁾, which contains some stagnant pools of water. By the way crossed 2 narrow valleys cultivated with rice, but saw no houses near. The village of Surha⁽³⁾ I saw at a good distance to the left. More than a mile of the road was through stunted woods. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles farther on came to the Karamnasa at a good village named Sarodaj⁽⁴⁾, which may contain about 15 families. The Karamnasa is a small stream or burn, clear as crystal. A good deal of the country between Sorha and Saroda covered with thinly scattered trees and long grass. About half a mile beyond the Karamnasa, covered by stunted woods, is a large rocky channel with some stagnant pools of water and called the Karnasiya⁽⁵⁾. About half a mile from this, through a stunted wood, is a poor village named Bohera⁽⁶⁾, containing 2 or 3 families. From Bohera to Khethangs is about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles through stunted woods. Khethangs is such a village as Saroda. From thence to Lora is about 2 miles, through a hilly and rocky country.

There can be little doubt but that Bhupnath is a Khairwar as his family intermarried within these 5 or 6 years with that of Singroula⁽⁷⁾, who acknowledge themselves such. The chief of Singroula until lately was called Lal, but he now takes the title of Rajah. All the Khairwars here call themselves Suryabungsis. On the hills they marry all promiscuously, although they have given up all connection with those below. They have Sakadwipi Brahmans as Puruhits, and

(1) Sal (Sanskrit शाल) *Shorea robusta*, called *sakwa* among the hills of South Bihar.

(2) A small tributary of the Karamnasa.

(3) Sorha.

(4) Sarodag.

(5) Not marked on the S. S., but the name means the "little Karamnasa".

(6) Bahera, called after the tree (*Terminalia bellerica*).

(7) Singrauli.

some as Gurus, but in the latter office the Dasnamis⁽¹⁾ have interfered. Torul follows this sect. Most of them worship Siva, but some have become Vaishnavas and abstain from hunting and meat.

December 31st.—I went to Churunda⁽²⁾ called by some Korhur⁽³⁾. I first returned by the same way that I came yesterday to the skirts of Chethangs, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile, and then turned more to the east. I had not stopt yesterday at Chethangs because it was said that it afforded no water, but about a mile after I left the yesterday's road, I came to a large rocky channel containing many pools and a stream of water running north, very little less than the Karamnasa. About a mile beyond that I passed through a rice field belonging to Neyur⁽⁴⁾ village, but did not see the houses. From thence to Duga⁽⁵⁾ is about 2 miles. Duga is a small village with 3 or 4 families. A mile beyond this I crossed the Durgauti, a rocky channel with many pools and a stream larger than the Karamnasa. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond it I passed Purohangs⁽⁶⁾, where a solitary family resides on the west side of the Kulhutta⁽⁷⁾ river, nearly similar to the Durgauti. These three rivers contain streams at all seasons, and might be applied to great advantage in irrigation. About a mile above the last I halted at Korhar⁽³⁾, the residence of a Chauduri. It is said to contain only 8 houses, but I saw in it at least 30 strong young men. In fact each house consists of 3 or 4 huts crammed with people. The Khairwars are a strong people, with features exactly like the Cherus; and both have nearly the same customs. Both eat swine, the Khairwars eat even fowls. The country is much less populous and cultivated than formerly. The people assign no reason for this, except that the former inhabitants have died. I perceive that in every village some shark⁽⁸⁾ from the low country has settled, or rather comes occasionally. He advances whatever the people

(1) The ten sub-orders of the *gusains* or *sannyasis* who regard Sankara Acharya as their spiritual guide.

(2) Chunda.

(3) Koras?

(6) & (7) Not marked on the S. S.

(8) Apparently the Pathan or so-called "Kabuli" money-lender.

(4) Neurus.

(5) Dugha.

want, and is repaid partly in produce, partly in posts, but chiefly in the former, and it is to this chiefly that I attribute the decay of the country. Churunda is a village much such as Lora.

1st January, 1813.—I went in the first place about 6 miles to the top of Koriyari ghat. The country not so hilly as yesterday but more so than near Sorky. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Churunda I came to a similar village named Luka. In the rice land on its west is a fine stream of water running north. The people there have a very numerous herd of cattle. A little more than 2 miles from thence is a similar village called Ranadi⁽¹⁾ with more Rubbi about it than usual. The women of this village were allowed to peep at a distance, an indulgence shown nowhere else. About half a mile beyond Ranadi is a small stream⁽²⁾ in a rocky torrent called Achela. I then walked down the pass⁽³⁾, which is fully as difficult as Sorky and conducted with no skill as it follows a torrent which renders the road very bad. On coming into the plain I went about a mile to the village of Koriyari⁽³⁾, and from thence went into a recess called Kasisiya⁽⁴⁾ Ko from its containing a mine of that substance. The distance from Koriyari is called 2 coses, but does not appear to me more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, 2 on the plain and $\frac{1}{2}$ up the lower part of the hill. All on the summit of the hills from Sorki to Koriyari ghat the stone is exactly similar to that of Rhotas gur. As you descend the ghat it assumes more the appearance of hornstone. At the bottom of the recess is a grand precipice showing the strata admirably. They are nearly horizontal, with a slight dip to the east, but that the vertical fissures are also very distinct appears from a grand mass of rock, perhaps 50 feet high, 100 long,

(1) *Ranadih.*

(2) Not marked on the S. S.

(3) *Kauriari.* It was up the Kauriari valley that Major James Crawford led his regiment in September, 1781, when directed by Warren Hastings to proceed to Bijaigarh. Whether by the ghat described by Buchanan, or by another ghat up the Gulariya Khoh, it is not clear; but he dragged his guns with him on to the top of the plateau, and got through to Bijaigarh.

(4) *Kasisiya Khoh, i.e.,* the glen where *kasis* (sulphate of iron) is found. This is not marked on the S. S., but Sherwill's geological map indicates the exact site (two miles north-west of Kauriari).

10 feet wide at the bottom, and perhaps 8 at the top, standing quite erect and detached from the precipice behind. At the Katautea gate of Rotas on the northern side are 2 similar masses, much larger indeed but not so far separated from the mass, being only separated by a chasm of a few feet in thickness. The disposition of the ore is here very plain. It runs along the whole end of the recess at the bottom of the precipice and is about 10 feet thick, but much may be lower down, as its bottom has never been explored. It consists as in the other mine of two very distinct substances. The greater part is of gentle slate, which is at once distinguished by the saline efflorescence on its surface being yellow. Near its upper part, but covered by a portion 2 or 3 feet thick of the gentle slate, is a band of pyrites⁽¹⁾ about 2 feet thick and covered with a white or pale blue efflorescence. The mine is wrought by Khairwars, who break off fragments with stones, although it is so hard as to strike fire with a pick axe. They then carry it to Koriyari on their heads, although the road for the greater part of the way is very good for loaded cattle. They have already formed a considerable excavation, and will continue to advance until the rock falls in and overwhelms the mine, which will then cease to be wrought. The rock above is black, and seems a gradation between hornstone⁽²⁾ and potstone. No distinction is made between the two kinds of ore, although the one is vastly more heavy than the other, nor does sufficient pains seem to be bestowed on scraping the efflorescence. It is only wrought in Choyet Bysak⁽³⁾. I then returned to Koriyari, where I examined one of the works for making Kasis. The workman who superintends is the most stupid creature I ever beheld, but so far as I could understand him the process is as follows. The new ore is brought down in spring and placed in a heap, when if no rains occur it is watered until the commencement of the rainy season, when it is put under a shed and is fit for filtration, the operation going constantly on.

(1) A combination of iron and sulphur.

(2) Sherwill does not show hornstone as found here, but only indurated potstone and sulphur ores.

(3) Chait-Baisakh, from about the middle of March to the middle of May.

A quantity is put with some water into a large earthen vessel at night, and after being stirred is allowed to stand until morning when the earth is taken up, strained and thrown into a heap which is exposed to the air until the rainy season. If no showers happen in spring, it is watered and then put under the shed; nor does it ever seem to be wholly exhausted, as the same is repeated year after year, but the new matter is always mixed with the old. In the morning another quantity of ore is mixed with the water and allowed to stand until night, when the earth is again lifted out and strained. They have no contrivance such as a cock for drawing off the water, and as a strainer use an earth pot with a large hole in the bottom. The hole is covered by a bit of tile and the solution passes of course through loaded with earthy matter. It is then put into a vessel and allowed to stand all night, when a good deal of the impurities subside and the solution is taken up in a cup and poured into the boilers. The furnace consists of 2 mud walls, the fuel going in at one end and the smoke out at the other. It is covered above, leaving three small openings for 3 small earthen pots, each may perhaps contain 10 sers. The evaporation is conducted chiefly in the two lateral ones, and as it goes on the thickened matter is collected in the central pot, which when filled is removed and the Kasis formed into balls of a deliquescent muddy substance, which no doubt contains much sulphate of iron with much pulverized pyrites and clay, and probably some Alum. What subsides from the solution is collected in heaps, which after a year's exposure to the air gives more Kasis than either new or old ore. The waste of labour both in mining and extracting the salt and the expenditure of fuel, were they estimated on the European scale, would render it as dear as silver and are on a par with the impurity of the salt procured. There are 5 boilers, one at Koriyari and 4 in a wood a little lower down the same valley.

2nd January.—I went down the valley of Koriyari to Akberpur⁽¹⁾. The valley is about 2 miles

(1) Akbarpur. I have never seen this name explained. Possibly Man Singh called it so, in honour of his master. It will be noticed how extremely rare Muhammadan names are on or about these hills.

wide, perfectly level, of a good soil and watered by several perennial streams, but except in the wretched village of Koriyari occupied by Khairwar it is entirely unoccupied and covered with woods consisting chiefly of bamboos, but these are not cut, all that are used are brought from the bottom of the hills. In fact the wealthy drones who have herds of buffaloes keep this waste as a place for their cattle; were it cultivated the scenery would be inexpressibly fine, both sides being covered by immense rocks of Rotas in which are numerous recesses, some penetrating far among the rocks and precipices. One spot has been cleared by the merchants for collecting their bamboos from the hills, and the quantity lying there for exportation was very great. Not one seems to be cut on the plain between that and Akberpur, although it is covered with them for above a cose⁽¹⁾. I crossed the Kochla⁽²⁾ Koriyari, and immediately afterwards a smaller stream. About 2 miles farther on I crossed a pretty stream which comes from Gulariya Ko towards the Katautea gate. But I suspect that at this season no water falls from the hills. In going to the Kasis mine all the channels were dry, but at Koriyari there is a small stream, and where the river⁽³⁾ divides into two branches below each is more considerable than the stream at Koriyari. The natives have made no observations on the subject.

3rd January.—I returned to Vishnupur⁽⁴⁾, near Tilautta, and observed that the water of the Son there is used for irrigation, so that the usual pretence of its killing every crop it touches⁽⁵⁾ is a mere imagination.

4th January.—I returned to Saseram and observed that the river in the ghat is now dry.

(1) The tract falls within the boundaries of the peculiar Government Estate, known as the *Banskati Mahal*, the nature and history of which were so fully described in Mr. (now Sir) D. J. Macpherson's Report on the Government Estates. For a brief account, see *Gazetteer*, 1924, page 127. Buchanan was perhaps not aware of the duty leviable on all bamboos and other timber products.

(2) Named **Barua N.** on the S. S.

(3) **Ausane N.**

(4) ? Bishunpura, four miles SSW. from Tilothu.

(5) This objection was raised some 60 years later, when the Son Canal system was under construction; and the complaint is still heard that the deposit of fine sand must ultimately deteriorate the soil.

5th January.—I examined the Rosa ⁽¹⁾ or monument of Shere Shah situated on the west side of Saseram, in the midst of a fine tank. This extends (reckoning from the commencement of the steps for descending to the water) 1144 feet from east to west and 898 from north to south. The slope of the stair to the water is 38 feet in 5 or 6 monstrous misshapen steps, now in most parts totally broken, but enough remains to show that they have never been well cut or built, and they are out of all reach of convenient dimensions. Otherwise the work would have been very grand and beautiful. The earth taken out of the tank has as usual been thrown into large unseemly banks at the distance of 142 feet from the stair on the northern and southern sides, and of 113 on the eastern and western. These banks have always been ugly, but had they been planted⁽²⁾ they might have added much to the grandeur of the place, and trees thrive very well on them. Further, had the area between the wall which lines their inside and the stairs descending to the 4 sides been in proper keeping, with shady walks and appropriate buildings, the design would have been complete. Originally it may have been so, and I suspect that the only building in this area was once a square hall, covered by a dome, with 4 doors, which stands in the middle of the northern stair and leads to the bridge which conducted into the tomb. This hall is heavy and clumsy to the last degree. At present, not only this area but the unsightly banks by which it was surrounded have been deformed by numerous tombs of all shapes, sizes, kinds and materials, quite irregularly and in all stages of decay. There is also on the west end an Idgahi ⁽³⁾ which is whitewashed and still frequented by the pious, and on the south side there is a ruinous Mosque, where however Nemaz is occasionally performed. Near this the area contains an abo-

(1) *Rauza* (Arabic روضة), a garden, and then a mausoleum.

(2) It is evident from Peter Mundy's drawing, made in September, 1632, that in former days the banks had been neatly kept and planted with trees. The natural effect of rain and weather during nearly two centuries had since then disfigured the banks. No one acquainted with the great Muhammadan mausolea in Northern India can fail to have been struck by their "garden" character.

(3) *Id-gah* (Arabic عيدگاه), a place where solemn feasts or festivals are held; used for prayer on particular occasions, especially on the two principal *Id* days (the *Id-ul-fitr* and *Id-uz-zuha*).

minable village swarming with squalid Fakirs. I believe that originally there was an entry into the area of the tank by each corner, but the principal entrance seems to have been from the west, where there is a wide gap in the mound, shut up by a stone gate of plain workmanship but of considerable size, and not unsuitable for the entrance to a tomb. The banks have suffered considerably from various operations of the natives, not only in building upon them as before mentioned, but a great part of that towards the town has been carried away to construct the mud walls of houses, an operation still going forward.

The bridge has fallen⁽¹⁾, a lucky circumstance for the tomb, which has long saved it from total ruin, as the entrance to the island in which the tomb stands is now difficult, and is performed on a raft of bamboos supported on large earthen pitchers⁽²⁾; and this is only made when wanted by some person of curiosity. A Fakir pretends to have hereditary charge, but he never visits it except when some gentleman constructs a float, and he then is an assiduous attendant and most importunate beggar. The water is very dirty owing to all manner of men and beasts frequenting it to wash themselves and clothes; were it not for this I believe it would be very good and clean. As it is, it is much used, and I observed many Hindus performing their mummeries in it as quietly as if it had been dug by Rama or Krishna, and sipping contentedly the water that has soaked through so many Muhammedan graves.

The island which contains the tomb is a square of about 244 feet, rising for some way with rude steps of stone to the foot of an elevated terrace, in the centre of which the tomb is placed. This area, which is surrounded by an embattled parapet 6 feet high, is also a square, the side of which is about 183 feet in length; but it is placed obliquely on the island, each corner of the upper area being about 38 feet from one side of the lower and only 16 from the other. I cannot assign

(1) Peter Mundy's drawing shows the bridge standing complete in 1632. It had fallen, or been broken down, before William Hodges and the Daniells visited Sasaram.

(2) i.e., on a *gharnai* (घड़ा , a pitcher, and नाव , a boat). The gaps between the fragments of the old causeway have since been filled in, and a solid, if rough, way made across.

any reason for this circumstance, which very much spoils the symmetry of the whole work. I at one time thought that it might have been made in order to render the place of prayer to face Meka, but if the tank is placed east and west this could not have been the case; for by this obliquity the western side of the upper area, in place of being brought to the N of W.. is inclined towards the south⁽¹⁾, as will appear from the plan.

The upper area in the centre of which the tomb stands is at present 30 feet above the level of the water, and the embattled parapet rises 6 feet higher, but then the steps from the bottom of the perpendicular wall reduce its height, so that, including the parapet, its height may be about 30 feet. On the E. N. and S. sides are simple small gates rising above the parapet, and having on each side a stair leading down to the water, besides the bridge which enters the northern gate. On the west side there is no gate, but there are stairs.

At each of the 4 corners of the area is a clumsy octagonal building surmounted by a dome, with a door in each face in form of a gothic arch. The cornice above is sloping as usual. These buildings from outside to outside in extreme dimensions are $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter. Within they form airy and neat apartments, but their floors have been dug in search of treasure. In each side of the parapet are besides 2 doors near the corner buildings, from whence project an equal number of balconies, covered as usual by small domes supported by 4 pillars.

I now proceed to the Rosa or Monument itself, which at the base is an octagon of 54 feet each side. The sills of the doors are about 28 inches from the surface of the area, and the space below them is ornamented by a carved moulding.

The whole height of this 1st stage of the building is about $35\frac{2}{3}$ feet, of which $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot is the basement under the doors and $6\frac{2}{3}$ feet are a very clumsy balustrade: under this is a sloping cornice as usual. In

(1) But Mecca is slightly south of west from Sasaram! Though the obliquity may have been exaggerated, the reason conjectured by Buchanan is probably the correct one, in spite of views to the contrary. But see the article by James Burgess in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, page 454f.

each face are three gothic arches 12 feet wide, with buttresses on each side of the central arch 5 feet 2 inches wide. The thickness of the wall is 6 feet. The arcade runs round the whole building, and is 10 feet wide. The roof of each side is supported by 4 gothic arches which support 3 hemispherical alcove roofs, 10 feet in diameter. Rings in their centre show that each had in its centre a chain for suspending a lamp. The inner wall of each side of the interior on the outer side towards the area is divided by 3 gothic arches, in the central one of which on 7 sides is a door 7 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide, and in the two lateral ones are two shallow niches. On the 8th or western side are three niches and no door, the place for prayer being in room of a door. This inner wall is an octagon of $41\frac{1}{3}$ feet a side, and is 15 feet thick. Within is a great octagonal hall covered by a dome, and each side is 28 feet 7 inches in length. It has 7 doors on 7 of the sides and in the 8th a niche for prayer, a good deal carved and covered with pious sentences, in the centre being the name of God, Allah, which stands alone in many of the niches of the building. This great hall ascends very plain with 8 sides for about 27 feet, when it has a small rude cornice, above which are 16 very rude windows $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and 4 feet wide and shut with fret work in stone which reduces considerably their dimensions. They are not arched, but their lintels supported by very rude brackets. The doors are supported in the same manner, but their brackets are neatly carved. There is one window on each side and one in each angle, which forms the upper part into 16 sides, and immediately above the windows it is subdivided by very rude mouldings into 32 sides, in each of which is a small rude niche. The part of the wall where it is 16 sided is about 25 feet high, and where it is 32 sided is about 11, giving in all 63 feet high to the spring of the dome which is about a hemisphere. From its centre hangs the fragment of a chain, which probably served to suspend a lamp or lustre. The grave of Shere Shah is in the centre of the hall, with a small pillar about 3 feet high at his head and his right towards the place for prayer. The grave is raised about 6 inches above the

floor, and like it consists of plaster. At his feet are two rows of graves said to belong to his favourite officers. This tomb is sufficiently lighted and ventilated from the windows and doors, and its heaviness in such a building does not displease, but the attempts at ornament are in the very worst taste and rudely executed. Had it been perfectly plain it would have had a better effect. A few simple but neat cornices with well formed doors and windows and good masonry would have given it a very grand and solemn appearance, but here as usual in native masonry the workmanship is very rude. The stones are not placed in regular rows, one being thick, another thin, while a third is cut like a dovetail to fill up the inequality left by the two former. Some again are laid on their sides, others placed upright, so that even in the simple disposition of the stones no attention is paid to symmetry, which produces not only a very bad effect but tends to weaken the building. The tomb within consists of one hall the whole height of the building, but on the outside is divided into three stages, the first of which I have already described. I now proceed to describe the others. From the side of one of the doors leading into the great hall of the tomb a stair ascends through the thickness of the wall to one of the windows. This stair is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and the steps are of rough stones about 12 inches wide and as high, but some more, some less. Through the window you pass out to a terrace above the colonnade and fenced in by the balustrade. This terrace is 15 feet wide, and at each corner is an open cupola supported by 6 pentagonal rude pillars. The floors of these cupolas being about 18 inches above the level of the terrace interrupt the walk round, which would otherwise be very fine, although the balustrade is vastly too high ($6\frac{1}{3}$ feet), but views of the country may be had through it. The building above this terrace continues on the outside an octagon of 41 feet a side, although within it has 16 sides. It terminates in a very small cornice surmounted by a low parapet, very clumsy. Two stairs equally steep and a foot narrower than that below lead up in the thickness of the wall, and each turns out to a small door covered by 4 pillars and a dome adjacent to

a cupola, which disfigures the building as destroying the symmetry of the whole. Why these doors were not made to open into one of the cupolas I cannot say. These stairs conduct into a terrace forming the third story of the building and placed on the thickness of the inner wall, the dome above of course occupying only the thickness of one stone. The terrace, including the parapet, is 9 feet 10 inches wide. The building within the terrace rises for 11 feet with 16 sides, although on the inside of the tomb it has there 32. It is quite plain and covered by a hemispherical dome, on the centre of which is a small cupola supported by 4 pillars. On the terrace opposite to those below are 3 cupolas also supported by 6 pillars. On the whole the outside is still more defective than the inner. An attempt at more ornament with an equal heaviness of design and rudeness of execution have rendered its defects more glaring, while the simplicity of the interior is not ill suited for the purpose of the building. To crown the bad taste⁽¹⁾ of the whole the entablatures, balustrades and parapets of the whole have been painted with the most gaudy and glaring colours laid on plaster like a kind of enamel, and covered with tinsel flowers. Time has indeed removed most part of the paint, and has so far favoured the appearance of the ruin⁽²⁾; for the building may now be considered as such, and has just arrived at the stage when its decay will be rapid. It has hitherto suffered little dilapidation and the inner wall and arch are perfectly entire, but fig trees have taken root on all the exterior parts, and have already overthrown several of the smaller buildings. There is no doubt that Shere Shah left an endowment for its support, but the Mogols, who very

(1) The reader will probably feel surprised at the numerous expressions of Buchanan's dissatisfaction with the architecture and details of construction of this magnificent mausoleum, so greatly admired by most travellers. Compare his eulogy of Makhdum Shah Daulat's *maqbara* at Maner.

(2) This expression is even more difficult to understand, as we have a view of the mausoleum drawn 10 or 12 years later by Captain R. Elliott, showing that it was still apparently complete, with the exception of the little cupola on the summit. We have also William Daniell's excellent view, taken only some twenty years before Buchanan's visit, which shows the mausoleum complete in all details. In fact up till 1882, when Government undertook the duty of restoration, the only portion of the central mass that had disappeared was the cupola that, supported on four pillars, had crowned the summit. See in this connexion Appendix E.

strangely affected to despise him as an usurper, had the meanness to resume this, and the place has been totally neglected ever since their authority was established.

6th January.—I went to visit some of the other monuments, and first that of Selim⁽¹⁾, the son of Shere Shah, which is situated about half a mile west and north from that of his father. It has never been finished, as his reign was short and his son governed only a few months before the successful irruption of the Mogols. It had evidently been begun during his life, the few months which his family afterwards retained power having been unequal to carry the work so far. It seems to have been intended to be nearly on the same plan with that of his father, consisting of a tank and island with a bridge and a great tomb to be covered with a dome and surrounded by an octagonal arcade with three arched doors in each face. The building has only been erected from 10 to 15 feet high. Some of the arches of the arcade have been turned, others not. I observed the following alterations in the plan, some of them evidently improvements. The banks thrown out in digging the tank have been removed to a greater distance and have been sloped gradually towards the stair, although very abrupt towards the country. The view from within is not therefore so dismal. The bridge is entire, and is from the southern side of the tank in place of the north. It has 11 small passages for the water, which are not arched but covered by long stone beams laid from buttress to buttress. Small balconies on each side project from each side of the road between these openings, and would have been covered with cupolas. The island, in place of the obliquity of the structure with which that of Shere Shah has been deformed, is perfectly regular, and each side rises with a stair its whole length about 8 or 10 feet above the water. At each corner an octagonal projection like a bastion is connected with the island by a narrow neck of some length, and on these no doubt 4 octagonal buildings, as in the tomb of Shere Shah, would have been erected. The island from this height of 8 or 10 feet at each side rises gradually towards the great building, which as showing this from top to

(1) Islam Shah is the correct title. His name was Jalal Khan, the younger son of Sher Shah, who was selected by his nobles to succeed his father on the latter's death at Kalanjar.

bottom must have had a good effect. The building would have been nearly of the same size, but at each corner would have had a minaret ⁽¹⁾ which would probably have superseded the miserable cupola on the second story, and have had a very fine effect. The niche for prayer is not so much ornamented as in the tomb of Shere Shah, nor does it contain any writing, but the name of God alone is carved on many parts of the building without.

The grave which occupies the centre of the building is undoubtedly that of Selim, who would naturally be deposited there until the building could be finished. On his left is a grave of the same size, probably that of his unfortunate son Adil, and at their feet are 5 smaller and of unequal sizes, such as may be supposed suited for children. These 7 are surrounded by a wall about 7 feet high enclosing a small square area, and built rudely of small stones and clay. It is probable that on the destruction of the family the murdered children have been deposited by some servant near their parents, and a wall built round to exclude wild beasts. The stair all round the tank has been completed, and at the south-western corner of the island some way from it is a small cupola erected on a circular base projecting from the water. This is quite an irregularity in the structure, nor do I know what purpose it could have served. Part of the tank has become dry, but the water would be very good were it not used by all the washermen of the town.

South some way from the monument of Shere Shah another on a similar plan has been commenced, but carried on a very little way. A good deal of earth has been taken out and thrown into a bank as usual, and the stair for a descent to the water has been constructed, but the island in the centre remains unaltered nor has any building been commenced. It is usually said to be the Mokbara or Rosa of Runadost⁽²⁾, brother of Shere Shah, but the people are very ignorant of the genealogy of this family and of history, and it is more probable that it was intended for Adil Shah, the eldest son and successor of Selim, and may have been commenced even before the death of this latter prince as a

(1) Apparently a mere conjecture, for which I cannot trace any evidence.

(2) *Magbara* means a burial-place, and so tomb. But I do not find this name in the list of Hasan Khan's sons given in the *Makhzan-i-afaghana*.

monument for his heir apparent: for it is said that Selim died at Selimpur ⁽¹⁾ near this, on his way from Dilli to his native place. He had left his son Adil Shah at Dilli and had with him two younger sons. On finding his death approach he placed the young princes under charge of their mother's brother, giving him command of the forces then present, and directing him to give Bengal to one prince and Behar to the other, while Adil Shah should retain the western provinces. During the funeral the young princes disappeared and it is usually supported that they were murdered and buried in his tent by their unnatural uncle, who immediately assumed the royal titles and commenced a civil war with his nephew Adil. Humayun, who during the vigorous government of Shere and Selim had been skulking on the frontiers, immediately proceeded east, and owing to the dissensions of the Patans had little difficulty in wresting from them the western provinces. Under pretence of usurpation he put the whole family of Shere Shah to death.

7th January.—I visited the tomb of Huseyn Khan⁽²⁾, the father of Shere Shah, which stands in the middle of the town surrounded by a high wall of hewn stone, with gates in the eastern, northern and southern sides, and an octagonal building covered as usual by a dome at each corner. On the west side of the area is a small plain mosque built also of hewn stone. The tomb itself resembles that of his son, but is not so large, and consists of a large octagonal hall covered by a dome and surrounded by an arcade with three gothic arches in each of its faces. It has only 7 doors, and no windows. The whole of the arcade outside and in, although built of hewn stone, would appear to have been covered with plaster very minutely ornamented and containing a vast extent of pious sentences. The roof of the arcade, as in the other, supported by three domes on each side, but these rise above the level of the terrace on the top of the 1st story, which has no cupolas at the corners but is surrounded by a balustrade. Both this and the cornice under it have been

(1) There is no town called Salimpur anywhere near Sasaram. Islam Shah, moreover, died at Gwalior in 1553.

(2) Hasan Khan Sur.

gaudily painted. On the terrace above the second story there are, as in the tomb of his son, 8 cupolas. The dome springs immediately from this terrace, without the third stage that is under it in the tomb of his son. The summit is crowned by an ornament of various mouldings, and not by a cupola. It is difficult to say whether the small domes or the cupolas which surmount the first stage in the two buildings have the worst effect ⁽¹⁾. I am persuaded that had their places been superseded by a minaret at each corner, as seems to have been intended at the tomb of Selim, the effect would have been very grand and striking. In examining this building I was filled with disgust and shame. The Tahsildar of the Collector, a Muhammedan, had built his house adjacent to the mosque, kept that clean, and employed a person to perform worship; while the tomb, although neglected and allowed to fall a prey to the wild figs, suffered no disgrace, all intruders being excluded by the wall. On the arrival of General Wood's ⁽²⁾ detachment the place was seized on for forming a military depôt, and had this been confined to the tomb which was abundantly large and had it been done with decency there would have been little reason for complaint. The insult offered to the dead might have been compensated by eradicating the trees, by putting in wooden doors and other essential repairs performed in a becoming manner; but the mosque, where worship is still performed, has been filled with grain, and the whole area defiled by the bullocks coming and going with loads, while the tumult of porters, carriers and weighers and clerks resounds through the whole sacred place. The tomb has been made a receptable for fire-wood, pots and such like worthless articles, to secure which the doors of the hall have been built up with mud, and the doors of one side of the arcade have been filled up in the same manner to form accommodation for the keepers. Nor has one single fig tree been destroyed nor the slightest repair given. The area within the wall afforded room enough for any temporary buildings necessary for this purpose.

(1) Yet the tomb of 'Isa Khan', near Humayun's mausoleum at Delhi, which is a counterpart of this, is justly admired!

(2) Afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir George Wood, K.C.B.

From thence I went about a mile south to see a tomb said to be that of Alal Khan⁽¹⁾, the person who superintended the building sacred to Shere Shah, and considered by the natives as a masterpiece of art and taste, but in my opinion it has little pretension to either, the masonry being rude as usual and the design ungraceful. A square area, in which the body of the Daroga and that of some other person have been deposited under two gravestones neatly enough carved, is surrounded by a wall of hewn stone, with some few ornaments and in general about 12 feet high. The area is of considerable size, and at each corner within has had a small dark low apartment. with neither light nor air but by one small plain door. Three of these chambers have been surmounted by cupolas of 4 sides surmounted by very clumsy domes. The fourth at the north-western corner has had a second story, with three wretched pigeon holes through which a man can scarcely creep, but its north face has been ornamented with a gallery, and a stair leads up to its roof from the east, which adds to the deformity occasioned by this want of regularity. On three of the sides are gates. Those to the north and south are very plain. That from the east rises higher than the rest of the wall, and has on its top two small cupolas, while a stair leads up from each side on the thickness of the wall. The west side of the area is the highest and most ornamented, but owing to the small chamber at its north end has a less elegant appearance than the east, which is regular. It contains a niche for prayer in place of a door, but is in other respects on the same plan with the east end. On each side of the wall within the area are 4 stairs about 18 inches wide and very steep, taken from the thickness of the wall, as in the plan ⁽²⁾. The grave stones have been displaced, probably in search of treasure. This tomb has a very bad character, and the mere mention of it is considered as a full excuse for a vixen of character to open the sluices of her eloquence upon any unfortunate person who should ask where it stands. It is alleged that formerly, although ill fitted for the purpose, it was the

(1) Alawal Khan.

(2) This plan was not reproduced in Martin's *E. I.*

scene of a great deal of intrigue, and no woman of decent character is supposed to know where such a place is situated.

8th January.—I went to visit the Khunds on the Kudra river. I went first about two miles along the Tilautta road, when turning to the south I crossed the river which contains some clear water and a very small stream in a deep, sandy channel. The stream at Saseram is rather larger, and were it not filled with all manner of impurities would be fine water. Immediately above this I ascended the hill by the easiest of the passages that I have seen in the whole range, and which is nowhere very steep, although the rock is almost everywhere naked. About the middle of the ascent this passage, called Khutaghat⁽¹⁾, was fortified in the time of Shere Shah by a wall of hewn stone, in order to secure this easiest⁽²⁾ passage to Shere ghur. The wall would have been of little use against regular infantry, but of these there were none in the armies of Hindustan. Indeed infantry could scramble up in a thousand places in these hills, and, having formed a lodgment to defend the workmen below, a road for artillery might be easily constructed in many places.

The lowest and greatest of the Khunds called Dhuya⁽³⁾, from the smoke or mist that rises from it when there is water in the torrent, is about a mile from Khuta ghat and as much from the passage by which we went from Saseram to Tilautta. This mile is a narrow glen or gap, with perpendicular rocks on each side, perhaps 100 feet high, which terminate at the pool (Khund) where the water rushes over the precipice. The pilgrims might find an easy passage along the bottom of this glen, but that is not the object; the trouble of ascending Khuta ghat is vastly preferable. The river is at present quite dry, except in the pools where there is a good deal of stagnant water; but when

(1) ? Kota ghat.

(2) It can hardly be called the "easiest" passage to Shergarh, but Sher Khan probably intended to avail himself of it in case of threatened attack from the plain country to the north.

(3) "The pool of smoke", (धूआं कुण्ड). Thomas Daniell painted a view of this waterfall, reproduced as Plate XI of the Fourth Series of "Views in Hindostan", probably in the autumn of 1789, when the river was full of water.

filled the view of the cascade must be very fine, as from a rock on the west side you will have a full view of it from top to bottom, and after heavy rains it is said to be tremendous. On the whole however the scenery here is vastly inferior to that of the recesses in the east side of the hills. About $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile above this pool is Sitakund, where the river falls over a wide shelving rock perhaps 15 or 20 feet high upon a channel of one solid piece. At most times the quantity of water is said during the fair to be in such moderate quantity that the pilgrims can wade in the channel and wash in the little streams which fall broken over the rock, for this is of great length. Accordingly this seems to be the most favourite resort, and many platforms rudely built of stone have been constructed as stalls for the hucksters who attend. About a quarter of a mile still higher up, on a rocky height above the river is a small rude square building covered by a dome. It contains no image, but a heap of mud is placed against the farther wall. The people with me said it belongs to the Nanaks⁽¹⁾, who are the most numerous of the pilgrims. Under the rock on which this stands is the third pool called—⁽²⁾ Khund. The fall into this is not considerable, but there is a good deal of water in different cavities of the rock. Seeing the flag of a saint at a little distance, I sent to find out the man who ventures to reside in this place, at least 4 miles from any house, and very little frequented. It is indeed on the path that leads to two bathans⁽³⁾, where cattle remain all the year, and to a hill village; but there is no house nearer, and the place abounds with tigers, of whom [*sic*] I saw the tracks. The hermit was absent, but under a rock and sheltered by some bushes was his abode, with a few pots, a fire and some cocoanut shells. He had no hut. On my way down I met the wretched animal, an elderly Hindu, who was returning from his usual morning round of begging. Any interruption to this from sickness or the increasing infirmities of old age must put his life in still greater danger than what arises from wild beasts; and of both the man

(1) Should read Nanakshahis, i.e., Sikhs. There is still a considerable community of Sikhs at Sasaram, mostly Agraharis.

(2) Blank in the manuscript. None of these *kunds* are marked on the S. S.

(3) A *bathan* is a cattle shed, or cattle fold.

must be fully aware, and nothing but a mistaken notion of religion could induce a person to run such risks. It is true that he may establish a reputation that may raise him to the adoration of the stupid multitude, but this is very precarious, and his destruction is the more probable event; nor could it be regretted as he is a mere useless load on society.

The rock on the hill is quite similar to that on other parts, white, grey, reddish and mixed. That on the sides of the river above Dhuya khund is uncommonly white, but in the channel in many parts it has assumed a ferruginous appearance and seems to have been changed in part into an oxide of iron and [been] penetrated by that substance.

10th January.—Saseram is a large country town, not much short of a mile each way and closely built. Many of the houses, partly of brick and partly of stone, have tiled roofs. Some of the streets are tolerably wide and exceedingly rudely paved with stone. Some people keep their houses and the streets opposite tolerably clean, but this is of little avail as seldom more than 2 or 3 such persons live adjacent to each other, and their neighbours are involved in every species of nastiness. Most of the streets are as usual narrow crooked lanes. The fort⁽¹⁾ has never been completed and perhaps never was intended to be so: it is an oblong parallelogram with a round bastion at each corner; no ditch. The west gate, very large, in a building with a good many windows, but quite ruinous. It was probably intended for servants. The Rong Mahal⁽²⁾, or Abode of delight, is a handsome building in the native style. The centre has 3 stories at one end and 4 on the other: otherwise it is quite regular. A very large alcove in front with 2 balconies on each side and the end of a colonnade above these. The colonnade runs along the end of the building. There has been a colonnade also on the ground at each side leading to two wings, both ruinous, but some part of

(1) Since Buchanan's time this "fort" has disappeared; but see next note.

(2) From the description given here and from the sketch which is among Buchanan's manuscripts the building which he calls the Rang Mahal is clearly the ruined building still locally known as the *Qila'* (literally "fort") in the middle of the town, near the Thana. For further details, see Appendix D.

the southern remains and serves for a Thanah. The Jummadar has occupied an apartment or two in the central building, and in the remainder all sorts of vagrants, fakirs, etc., nestle amidst filth and misery.

11th January.—I went rather more than 11 miles through a level country to Alempur ⁽¹⁾. It is rather bare, there being no more mango trees than what are useful, and after leaving the palmira groves of Sasaram there are no others. The villages are bare as in Behar, and raised very high from the accumulation of mud walls. There would appear to have been mud gurbies ⁽²⁾ in many of them. I went for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile along the Banaras road ⁽³⁾, crowded with pilgrims returning from Gaya. I then turned to the south, and about half a mile on crossed the Kudra, which was quite dry owing perhaps to its having been dammed above for irrigation. About a mile farther on I crossed another narrow channel ⁽⁴⁾ in clay which contained a little water, and was called the Durgauti; rather less than two miles farther I crossed a similar channel ⁽⁴⁾ said to be the same. Rather less than a mile from Alempur I crossed another similar channel called the Udrahi ⁽⁴⁾. I had there on my right at a mile or two distance a small hummock. The torrents above mentioned I am told at the village have no names, and are mere channels from the hills or Ahars ⁽⁵⁾.

12th January.—I went not quite 8 miles to Kurma ⁽⁶⁾. The country much as yesterday, two of the villages among the most comfortable that I have seen in India.

(1) **Alempur.**

(2) *i.e.*, *garhi* (a diminutive form from गढ़), a small fort.

(3) The old pilgrim route (that is before the construction of the present Grand Trunk Road or of its predecessor the New Military Road) from Prayag and Kasi to Gaya, Deoghar-Baidyanath and Puri, etc. appears to have passed slightly to the south of the line of the Grand Trunk Road between Benares and Sasaram. From near the latter town it again diverged from the Grand Trunk Road route, taking a more direct line to Gaya, crossing the Son either opposite Gothauli or near Daudnagar, and then going through Goh, Konch and Pali to Gaya. From Gaya it went direct to near Wazirganj, and thence by a route lying south of the present metalled road to Nawada, through Bareo, Govindpur and Kharagdiha. Buchanan again crossed this old route near Jamuawan (see below, page 131).

(4) All three streams are shown on the S. S., but not named.

(5) An *ahar* is an irrigation reservoir, see above page 83, Note (3).

(6) **Karma** (near Malahipur).

13th January.—I went to see Sheregurh ⁽¹⁾: I proceeded about 3 miles to the foot of the hill, having passed a very deep channel worn in a clay soil in a great depth by a torrent ⁽²⁾ which comes from the recess which bounds Shergurh on the east and destroys much ground. The ascent on the north face of the hill, although apparently less considerable both in abruptness and elevation than in most part of these hills, is still very difficult, but a stair has been constructed the whole way with some skill, forming short flights from one corner of a zigzag to another. When entire the ascent was probably easy as the steps would appear to have been seldom more than 9 inches high, but the greater part has been broken, although in some parts it would appear to have been a grand work being at least 20 feet wide, yet great rudeness is displayed. The stones have not been regularly squared, the landing places from one flight to another have often been exceedingly awkward, and the breadth has been quite irregular according to the nature of the ground. The steps besides their roughness, although better than in most native stairs, have been in general too wide and deep. They never exceed a foot but generally are above 9 inches high, but in general they are above 18 inches wide; this with their total irregularity both in height and width must always have rendered the ascent exceedingly awkward. The stair in many parts is completely commanded by the works, so that while these remained entire no person could pass up without being completely exposed to a destructive fire. It terminates at a gate behind the gorge of a strong half moon projecting from the works, and very lofty. The area of the half moon, which is very large, is formed into a casern ⁽³⁾, the roof of which is supported by numerous pillars supporting beams and flags of stone on which is a terrace surrounded by battlements and ornamented with 8 gumjis ⁽⁴⁾ projecting beyond the wall. There

(1) Shergarh.

(2) Marked, but not named, on the S. S.

(3) "One of a series of small (temporary) buildings between the ramparts and houses of a fortified town for the accommodation of troops; also a barrack" (Murray).

(4) Small towers [see above, page 60, Note (2)]. For another account of the fortress written twenty years later, see Appendix F. See also Dr. T. Bloch's note at pp. 23-24, *A. S. Ben. Cir.*, 1901-2.

are loopholes to fire from the casern as well as from the battlements, but the whole defences are unsuitable for cannon, the roof of the casern is not strong enough to support the weight and shock of heavy artillery, nor are any embrasures fit for cannon to be seen in the place. From this work a strong wall with battlements surrounds the whole declivity of the hill, following all its windings, and is supposed to be about $2\frac{1}{2}$ coses round. At its angles and where the ascent is most easy it is strengthened by round bastions or bulwarks, and against every thing but cannon is very strong. The most remarkable of these that I saw, besides the half moon, were at the east and west ends of the northern face and between the last mentioned angle and the northern gate. The space within is exceedingly rugged. The most even part extends along the east face to a hill which runs between two recesses, one from the north and one from the west, that reduce the level to a narrow neck, and from each of which there has been a gate. It would appear that between the eastern of these gates and the northern gate there has been a large bazar, the ruins of many stone huts still remaining. From the eastern gate the works proceed round the hill above mentioned, and ought to be there the strongest as they are not defended by any great descent, but I could not afford time to visit them. The castle which occupied part of the west side of the fort overhanging the Durgauti makes a very conspicuous figure from the eastern gate and from a terrace that conducts along the bottom of the hill in the southern part of the fort. It stands on a high ridge, and put me in mind of the noble castle of Durham, although except in respect to its situation and size it cannot be in any degree compared with that grand monument of spiritual pride. Its exterior show is by far the best, and although it has all the massy grandeur of immense bulwarks and numerous battlements, it wants the relief of lofty towers; every thing in its external appearance is heavy, and in its internal structure rude. The approach to it from the north is by a long and wide but rude stair leading to a gate, within which on each side is a neat colonnade of considerable size and situated on the summit of the ridge where it is lowest and narrowest. Each colonnade is supported by a double row of

columns. Turning sharp to the right from the colonnade on that side of the gate, you ascend another very long rude stair along the ridge until you come to a rock about 10 feet high, through which a passage has been cut to the outer gate of the castle. On passing this you enter into a square parade having in front a large bulwark, the interior of which I had no leisure to examine. This parade is exceedingly rough and broken, except at the right side where there is a smooth terrace covered with plaster, and in this two apertures with steps leading down to two subterraneous apartments. The one is a Bauli, or well⁽¹⁾, entirely arched above, and consists of an octagon perhaps 12 feet each side, with a window in each side, and surrounded by a gallery 8 or 9 feet wide. The water is good but does not overflow, and what number of people it would supply I do not know. The other stair leads into a dark apartment which I did not examine. From the outer gate, leaving this terrace on the right, you pass by an irregular uneven passage 736 feet long to the gate of the Rung Mehal or abode of pleasure. On the right are several small narrow buildings, the roofs serving as defences or cavaliers⁽²⁾ and the interior for lodging. They have had no air nor light but from one small door each towards the passage. On the left are several very irregular massy and lofty bulwarks commanding the passage and without any communication with it, on which account I could not examine their interior, but they probably contained accommodation for the garrison. At the end of this passage is a very high, plain wall enclosing the Rung Mahal or women's apartment. The gate, to which there has been a stair, has fallen, but many of the stones are ornamented in a neater style than usual. This leads into an area extending from E S E. to W N W. 212 feet and in the opposite direction 132 feet, and surrounded by chambers 20 feet wide. In each of the longer sides are three apartments, and in each of the shorter, two.

(1) A *baoli* (probably a diminutive formed from a corruption of the Sanskrit *vapi*, a pond) is more than a mere well, as it must be constructed of solid masonry and should contain chambers below, around the periphery of the well, where persons could retire to enjoy the coolth when the heat above ground was excessive.

(2) Another term of fortification. "A work generally raised within the body of the place, ten or twelve feet higher than the rest of the works..... to command all the adjacent works and country round" (Stocqueler).

Each apartment consists of an hall supported by two rows of pillars, and open towards the area, with some dark closets towards each end, especially in the 8 apartments next the corners. The stairs leading up to the terrace on the roof are more rude than usual, but the views from the terrace are most grand. They completely command the hills and rugged glens in the vicinity and also the rich Gangetic plain as far as the eye can see. In clear weather I have no doubt that the snowy mountains will be visible⁽¹⁾. When I looked down on a flock of buffaloes in the Durgauti, the elevation is so great that I at first took it for a number of water birds swimming. The area forms the roof of a number of apartments which have no light or air except through some small apertures in the terrace. The passages into some have been filled up, but I descended into two of them by wretched stairs. One consisted of a square chamber surrounded by a gallery, the floor of which is 3 or 4 feet higher than that of the roof. In one side the room communicates with the gallery by a door and two windows, in each of the other sides by three windows. There are several small ventilators in the roof of the gallery. The air is very good. The other subterraneous apartment was extended 58 feet from the stair and was 36 feet wide, being divided by two rows of four pillars and corresponding pilasters into 15 compartments, each having an arched hemispherical roof. To the left of the stair was a narrow gallery looking into the apartment by some small windows. The plaster on both these apartments was very fresh and entire. These apartments under the terrace seem to have been intended as a retreat in the heats of spring. In the centre of the area is a cavity, open above, which has probably been filled with water⁽²⁾, and some neatly ornamented pillars round it would seem to show that it has been surrounded by a colonnade. Beyond this area is a smaller one also surrounded by chambers which have probably served as the accommodation for the female domestics. On the whole, this is vastly inferior to the castle built by Man Singha in Rotas, but it seems to

(1) It is doubtful if the snows are visible from Shergarh, which Sherwill marks as 817 feet above s. l.

(2) This was a real *baoli*. See note above.

have been intended for the capital ⁽¹⁾ of India. It is said that a bazar extended all the way from the hill to Jehanabad along the banks of the Durgauti, and that this fort was merely intended as a place of safe retreat for the family of Shere Shah during his contest for empire, and for his treasures afterwards should its power have been established; and this would in all probability have been effected had not an early death cut off Selim⁽²⁾ before his son had acquired sufficient vigour. If intended for the capital of the Gangetic provinces alone the choice was judicious, as the climate of the plain at a distance from the Ganges is much more healthy than its banks, and as the choice for the fortress is very judicious. It far exceeds ⁽³⁾ that of Rotas, the enormous circuit of which no moderate garrison could secure from surprise, and the means of supplying a very numerous garrison with water and provisions in such situations is not obvious. To cut off the supplies of a moderate garrison would be very difficult, as a force to blockade it on the hills could in all probability find no water, and the hills are so extensive that they cannot be guarded at every point. A strong depôt for treasure, records and arms is desirable to every government as a security not only against foreign invaders but popular commotion and rebellion, and in India is peculiarly desirable owing to

(1) The Muhammadan histories do not appear to make any suggestion to this effect. We know, moreover, that it was Sher Shah who selected Patna as the best site for the capital of Bihar proper (in preference to the town of Bihar, hitherto the capital); and that he had intended to shift the Bengal capital from Gaur, which had become unsuitable and unhealthy owing to the shifting of the river, to Ag Mahal (the modern Raj Mahal), an idea that was later on given effect to by Man Singh. As headquarters in Upper Hindustan he chose the old historic site of Indraprastha, to the south of the present city of Delhi, and there built the *Purana Qila*, as the fortress of Sher Shah is called. Sher Shah was too far-seeing a strategist to think of making Shergarh the capital of India: the place was probably intended as a safe asylum for his family, and for the storage of treasure, in a crisis, and that too before his schemes of conquest embraced the whole of northern India.

(2) Islam Shah. His son Firuz Khan, then twelve years of age, according to Ni'mat-ullah (see Dorn, page 171) was murdered at Gwalior.

(3) Rohtasgarh is a much more imposing site, projecting conspicuously from the main plateau, and towering, to a height exceeding that of Shergarh by nearly 700 feet, above the Son valley, from which it rises almost sheer in places: it is a noticeable feature in the landscape from 25 to 30 miles away. Shergarh, on the other hand, stands at the side of a secluded recess where the Durgavati debouches from the plateau, and is scarcely distinguishable at a distance from the hills in the background; in fact the nature of the site can hardly be detected by the naked eye at a distance of more than five miles.

the want of loyalty in the people; but there also the extreme barbarity of the people has always rendered princes anxious to have a stronghold for the protection of their women and children, that time might be given for the wrath of the barbarian to cool before the family of his fallen adversary came into his power, and that the fear of losing the wealth they had with them might induce him to promise at least safety for their lives. The family of Shere Shah experienced no such indulgence from Humaiyun, although among the cruel descendants of the bloody Timur he has the character of a mild prince. He not only put Adil Shah his competitor to death, but it is here said issued orders that none of the family male or female should be spared. The terrified women of course took refuge in Sheregurh, which could not defend them on the general surrender of the country; not that the Mogols could take it by force, but the supply of provisions could not last long. On their surrender the whole are said to have been thrown down the precipice that overhangs the precipice ⁽¹⁾, and the fort has ever since been totally abandoned, and is beheld with terror on account of this dreadful catastrophe. It was late before I could return to my tents.

The stone on the hill of Sheregurh is exactly similar to that of Saseram.

14th January.—I set out for Gupti Banaras ⁽²⁾, and there being no houses near I sent provisions to the Dumuhani ⁽³⁾, or two mouths, of the recess (Ko) of the Durgauti and Gupteswor. The distance I reckon 10 or 11 miles, but we were about 4 hours in going to that distance owing to the badness of the road. In going to the south-west corner of Sheregurh I crossed two channels, one mentioned yesterday and another similar. This corner I reckon almost 4 miles from Karma. All near it beyond the second nullah is a very strange, broken country ⁽⁴⁾ consisting of little clay hills

(1) Buchanan means the precipice that overhangs the Durgavati river. A local legend apparently.

(2) Usually called Guptesvar, the "hidden lord".

(3) In the vernacular *domunhani*, (the place of the "two mouths") is applied to the spot where two rivers bifurcate.

(4) The ravine zone, found in most places along the talus of the hills. The second *nala* referred to is the stream that issues from the gap to the east of Shergarh.

12 or 15 feet high and very steep. Their sides quite parched but their summits crowned with trees and narrow passages winding between, as near Jogodispur but still more rugged. We had on our right here a fine recess beyond the Durgauti called Bitraband⁽¹⁾, which is cultivated, and still farther on a larger one named Dharikh⁽²⁾, but the whole bottom is said to be filled with these little clay hills and to be entirely useless. Having proceeded about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles through the little hills we came to the Durgauti, a fine clear river with large shallow pools of water between which are small gentle streams. The level in which it runs here may be half a mile wide, exceedingly rich, smooth and covered with wheat which requires no watering. The works of Sheregurh north from the castle look very formidable. The castle makes no great figure, the enormity of the precipice on which it stands rendering the appearance of the buildings despicable. After passing it we had to the left the recess straitening the bounds of Sheregurh, and the valley of the Durgauti winds to the east, but to the Dumuhani of the Jumsot⁽³⁾, which comes from the south, continues nearly of the same width, and the soil is equally rich but is neglected. This Dumuhani may be $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the bottom of the precipice at the east end of the Rungmahal. From thence we proceeded 2 or 3 miles east by a very bad road east along the Durgauti which retains the same character, but its channel becomes in most places entirely stones, and in very great floods it would seem to rise very high. The valley is rather narrower, and the soil in most places is quite sterile sand or stones, although in others it is very rich, but in both is equally neglected. It everywhere contains trees among which are many Mohuyas, but the chief production is the small solid bamboo⁽⁴⁾. A few Sal

(1) **Bhitribandh.**

(2) No doubt **Dharu Khoh**, the south-western recess of the Karamchat valley, is meant. The word which Buchanan translates as "recess", and spells "Ko" or "Kho", is pronounced *khoh* in the local vernacular. The original meaning seems to have been "cave" or "den": it is applied to a glen or narrow valley.

(3) Marked **Koel N.** on the S. S.

(4) The "male bamboo", *Dendrocalamus strictus*; *Mahua* (*Bassia latifolia*); *Sal* (*Shorea robusta*); *Kusum* (*Schleichera trijuga*); the *Nauclea cordifolia* of Roxburgh is the *Adina cordifolia* of Hooker (the Karam tree, sacred to the Uraons); the *Nauclea parvifolia* of Roxburgh is *Stephegyne parvifolia*, Korth., generally called *Kadam* in

and Kusum trees with *Naucleas cordifolia* and *parvifolia*, *Semicarpus*, *Nyctanthes*, *Emblica*, etc. I found my tents pitched a little below the junction of the rivers in a very confined bad place. They should have been carried about a quarter of a mile farther at the very junction, where there is a great Bathan of buffaloes, which was deserted on our approach. I was met here by Rajah Siva Singha, an old man, chief of the Koresh Khairwars. He stayed all night and left people to conduct me to the cave of Banaras. The appearance of these winding glens is very grand. The hills are everywhere very abrupt, and towards the summit in general perfectly perpendicular, especially in many little recesses through which in the rainy season torrents pour, while the slopes at the bottom are covered with woods. Channels of the Durgauti and of the other torrents have destroyed much of the level, but trees and bushes grow on most parts, although the mark of floods is often to be seen remaining on the trees 10 or 12 feet high, which shows that the stream cannot be very strong otherwise the trees would be swept away. The view is in many points more picturesque than any that I have seen, and when the rivers are full must be very fine, the want of water being in its present state its principal defect; but the ruin that attends every prospect in a state of neglected nature is also a very great drawback. The whole is filled with rotten stems and sticks and with grass allowed to grow high and then to wither. Were the fertile parts cultivated or dressed, did it contain any habitations and were the trees cut when approaching to decay, so that every thing might have a fresh appearance, I know no part that would have a finer effect.

15th January.—I went to Gupti Banaras⁽¹⁾ and returned. The Durgauti where we stopt turns to the

these hills. By *Semicarpus*, Buchanan no doubt refers to the *Semecarpus Anacardium*, Linn., the "Marking-nut tree" (*bhela* in the vernacular). *Nyctanthes Arbor-tristis* is the vernacular *harsingar*, so common in the *jangal*, where the strong, fragrant scent of the flowers, that open at night and drop off in the morning, is well known: the yellow tubes of the corollas produce an orange dye. By *Emblica* no doubt the *Phyllanthus Emblica*, Linn., is meant, the *aunla* or *aunra* of the vernacular, the fruit of which is the "Emblie Myrobolan" of commerce, used for medicine and food, and for tanning and dyeing.

(1) The site of the caves is not shown on the S. S., but I have marked it on the Route Map. Guptesvar Khoh is the glen running north and south to the west of the caves.

south, while we proceeded east up another glen called Gupteswor Kho for about two miles. The road exceedingly bad, crossing constantly the channel of the Gupteswor⁽¹⁾, which consists entirely of stones, from a wagon load downwards. Very little level land except the channel. Where it joins the Durgauti it is at present dry, but upwards to near the cave it contains many fine clear pools filled with fish, and between them more or less stream from little springs; but as the water is more or less absorbed by the channel the quantity in these streams varies. About two miles from our halting place we turned to the south along Gupteswor Kho, but another glen called Kordar⁽²⁾ runs some way farther east, having in the fork the hill in which Gupti Banaras is. From the fork we ascended the channel for about a mile, when we came to the place. The entrance is a little way up the hill facing the west in a great rock which consists of plates from two inches to one line in thickness, in general horizontal but often very curiously waved, and having entirely the appearance of the limestone of the eastern face of the hills; and some of the plates, especially the thinner ones, have a white crystallized structure, and some contain very distinct veins of white crystals. In fact it is exactly the same with the limestone of Akbarpur, having entirely the appearance of hornstone and often striking fire when struck hard with a large hammer. Its transition from the very similar hornstone of which the lower masses of these hills consists is rendered evident from several pieces still unchanged being found in the torrent below, which are perfect touchstones, retaining entirely their silicious nature. I also found in the gravel a piece of rock crystal. The cave⁽³⁾ is in general about 18 feet wide and 12 feet high to the roof, but its sides and bottom are very unequal; in some places there are steep ascents and descents and in others the floor slopes much to one side,

(1) Goptha N.

(2) This is the glen that Sherwill correctly calls Soogea (*Sugiya*) Khoh—the “glen of the wild parrots”. Buchanan's Kordar is evidently meant for Kadhar, which is the glen further to the west, down which the Durgavati flows.

(3) Buchanan's description of the interior of these caves is the only one apparently that has ever been published (Martin's *E. I.*, I, 524-526) with details ascertained by personal examination and measurement. The accounts given in the *Statistical Account* and *Gazetteer* have been condensed therefrom. The only plan of the caves published, so far as I know, is

while shelving rocks project in the way, so that the walking everywhere in it is rather difficult. The first entrance extends straight east from the mouth for about 380 feet, where it terminates in a low part called Patalganga ⁽¹⁾, or the pit river, but there is no river. At the end is a small hole into which no one has attempted to penetrate, although it may possibly communicate with the farther parts of caves. About the middle of the first cave from the entrance a branch goes off to the south, and after running 87 feet rejoins the first gallery, but before it does so, sends off to the east a very narrow passage, through which the visitant must creep on his hands and knees. After passing through this 11 feet, you come to a similar gallery 370 feet long which runs east and west, and about 140 feet from its west end is crossed nearly at right angles by another gallery. The south arm of this is about 240 feet long and contains the chief object of worship. The north arm is only 92 feet long and is narrower and lower than the other parts of the galleries, but terminates in an apartment called Tulsichura ⁽²⁾ which is 92 feet long and in the middle both wide and lofty. At the ends of these galleries also are narrow passages which probably communicate with other galleries and apartments, but these have not been explored. The air in these caves is by no means hot. The thermometer stood at Patalganga at 76°, while in the open air it was at 78°. Neither was it in any degree offensive, notwithstanding the torches which we carried with us and that for the first 200 feet from the entrance it nestles innumerable bats. These indeed do not go farther in, but there must be strong currents of air to

that given by W. S. Sherwill as an inset to his "Geological Map of the Southern Portion of Zillah Shahabad" (1846). In order to draw this plan Sherwill probably devoted even more time to an examination of the interior. Buchanan's measurements do not tally with the dimensions shown on this plan, possibly because he lost his correct bearings in the winding passages, and also perhaps because Sherwill does not show the full length of the passages running east, leaving off where the roof became very low.

(1) *Patala* (पाताल), the under-world; one of the seven hells. *Ganga*, the Ganges river, then applied to any river (generally to such as are regarded as sacred). *Patalganga* is a common name for a stream, or water, that flows underground or issues from beneath the ground.

(2) This is evidently the "Hall" of Sherwill's plan. The name seems to be intended for *Tulasi chaura*, i.e., a platform on which a plant of the Sacred Basil (*Ocimum sanctum*) is grown. This plant, however, is regarded as sacred to Visnu, while these caves are an ancient seat of Siva worship.

prevent the smell of these vile animals from being overpowering. I was quite disappointed in the images. What are called such are stalactites, both hanging from the roof and standing ⁽¹⁾ on the floor, and constantly dripping with water. Wherever a drop happens, a stalactite forms adhering to the rock and at first assuming the appearance of a Lycoperdon ⁽²⁾. This afterwards rises more in height than it expands in width, and the head being rounded it has a strong resemblance to the Phallus of a Siva Linga; but the stalactite called by that name and the chief object of worship ⁽³⁾, besides one principal head, is surrounded by several smaller adhering to the mass, which is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and formed by several drops. The greatest mass ⁽⁴⁾ of the stalactites are in the crooked gallery from whence the narrow passage leads into the interior. There are there several similar to the Mahadeva which are called the five sons of Pandu, and from the roof above them are suspended many flags like the ears of an elephant but much larger. I was for some time in great difficulty to procure a specimen, as I found that breaking any thing in the cave would be considered as a gross impiety and give offence, but I luckily met with an incipient stalactite like a large mushroom adhering to a small detached stone that had fallen from the roof, and I immediately pocketed this without saying a word. A man who was with me as a guide gave me a piece of spar, which he called Sillajit ⁽⁵⁾, and found it adhering to a rock at Buduya ⁽⁶⁾ above Koriyari. The stalactites are probably similar.

16th January.—It rained heavily at night and in the morning, so that I returned to Korma leaving my tents behind, but they followed at night.

17th January.—I went rather more than 12 miles to Kujura ⁽⁷⁾ but by a circuitous route, especially to

(1) The incrustations on the ground are called stalagmites; those hanging from above, stalactites.

(2) A botanical term for the "puff-ball" (a genus of fungi).

(3) Sherwill's "Very fanciful Stalagmite".

(4) Shown on Sherwill's plan.

(5) Silajit (शिलाजतु is the better spelling). See V. H. Jackson's notes in *J. R. O. R. S.*, III, 306, 317-18, and VIII, 235-37.

(6) Budhua.

(7) Khajura.

Savor⁽¹⁾, the first village in the Mohaniya Thanah, the boundary being the Durgauti. To this I went first south and then east, in all about $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles, although the direct road is called only $1\frac{1}{2}$ coses. The banks of the Durgauti here as well as higher up are very much broken by the water running from the fields into a channel deeply sunk in clay. The channel is somewhat gravelly and contains a good deal of water about knee-deep, almost stagnant and rather dirty. At Savor I was joined by Drup Dial ⁽²⁾, a fat young Rajput of the Raj Kuwar tribe, who is the owner and had accompanied me to Sheregurh. He is in the female line a near relation to Jai Prakas ⁽³⁾, and like him is a very obliging person. His house is built on the rugged bank of the Durgauti and is very large, but constructed of mud with a tiled roof, and consists of several square pavilions joined by lower buildings. From thence to a small detached hill ⁽⁴⁾ is about $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles west. This hill is about a mile long, and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from it is another ⁽⁵⁾. The space between them is cultivated. Along this second hill I proceeded about a mile a little beyond Kujura.

18th January.—I went 8 miles, called 3 coses, to a place called Gurwat ⁽⁶⁾, where it was said that I should find one solitary house of Cherus, the utmost boundary of cultivation towards the long woody recesses among the hills towards the south and west. The country through which I passed was extremely beautiful being well occupied and several of the villages had mud castles, while the hills were very grand. Under the hill at Kajura is a very considerable space covered with soda, collected by the washermen. This

(1) **Sawar**. "South" and "east" in the manuscript should read "north" and "west".

(2) Perhaps Durupa Dayal, or Dhruva Dayal. The local tradition is that a younger son of Bhagavan Simha, the eponymous founder of Bhagavanpur, settled at Sawar, just as other branches settled at Ramgarh and Jaitpur. The family, who still reside there, are really Sakarwar Rajputs.

(3) i.e., Maharaja Jaya Prakas Simha of Dumraon.

(4) The Nauhatta hill.

(5) The hill to the south of Sonbarsa.

(6) Garhvat, not marked on the S. S. From a sketch among Buchanan's mass. I find that the site visited by him lay about 24 miles south by west from Bhagavanpur, to the east of the Kathan Nadi, just above the junction of this river (which flows down Makri Khoh) with the Jawarh Nadi (which comes from Jawarh Khoh) to form the Suara Nadi, as the united stream is called thereafter. The names on the Survey maps in this locality are misleading.

north-western corner of the hill extends about two miles beyond Kajura. I crossed its angle and proceeded about two miles to its south-western corner, which is very abrupt like the other hills in the vicinity, and consists of the same rock. From thence to Rupa⁽¹⁾ on the bank of a fine little river⁽²⁾ like the Durgauti is about 4 miles. I found that the Cheru family had for some time been gone, but the cultivation extends farther, how much I cannot say, the natives being very jealous of discovering the improvements that have been made in the vicinity. At Gurwat⁽³⁾ have been many buildings of brick, now quite levelled with the ground, but the surface is covered with fragments for a considerable space, and the Cheru probably was living on the ruins of his ancestors' palaces. On a little eminence overhanging the river have been collected some fragments of images called Hanuman, and said to have been broken by Aurungzeb. He was a very likely person to have done so, but I suspect they were injured long before his time and they entirely resemble those found about the other works of the Cheru. I could trace three of them to have been certainly Ganesa, Hurgauri as usual leaning on a bull

(1) Not traceable on the maps.

(2) **Sura N.** (i.e., Suara). But see Note (6) on previous page.

(3) The present Subdivisional Officer of Bhabhua (Mr. S. C. Chakravarti) has supplied me with the following interesting note of the legends connected with this old site :—

“Garhwat गढ़वाट is stated to have been a big fort, about a mile off from Mohanpur Tori and about two miles off from Bhagwanpur towards the south. It is said to have been surrounded by a high earthen wall, popularly called *murcha* (मुरचा), the remains of which still exist, and are shown to all who care to enquire about it. From these remnants of the wall, it appears that it extended in a south-easterly direction, and was about two miles in length and more than a mile in breadth. Big bricks of more than one cubit in length and one-half a cubit in breadth, of the type of which the old Hindu temple of Mundeswari was built, were found extensively in this area, and they have been dug up by the people of the neighbouring villages, and used in building houses and in masonry work in the wells. Even now they are to be found. Small silver coins and bits of gold are stated to have been found in this area by many; and, in the rains, even now bits of gold are turned over by the plough. It is said that, about 27 or 28 years ago, some people came from Benares, on the ostensible plea of taking a timber lease in Mokari Khoh, and camped on a *tilha* within this area of Garhwat, and stayed there for four or five days, carrying on negotiations with the proprietors; but that on the next morning no trace was found of them. It was found that the *tilha* they camped on was dug up to a depth of about four feet, and some small silver coins, 20 or 25 in number, were found strewn all around. People believe that hidden treasure was removed by them.

and lion, and Narayan riding on Garuda. A head also I think probably belonged to one of the images usually called Vasudeva, but of this I am not certain as I judge from the form of the crown alone. No one

"The traditions with regard to this place are that it was a fort just at the entrance of Mokari Khoh, belonging to a powerful aboriginal tribe, the last chief of which was named Bagha Mal, and who resided at this fort of Garhwat, and whose people resided in the Mokari Khoh and other Khohs all around. This Bagha Mal had amassed a hoard of riches by looting expeditions all around. While Lachmi Mal, one of the ancestors of Salivahan (ancestor of the Raja of Bhagwanpur), was reigning at Chausa, this Bagha Mal and Dewa Mal raided Chausa and brought away much riches, defeating Lachmi Mal and his people. While returning, this Bagha Mal is said to have brought away a fine Brahman boy, the son of Bishwa Nath Pandey (an ancestor of Harsu Pandit), the Purohit of Lachmi Mal. The date of *gavna* of this boy had been fixed when he was taken away. The Pandit gave *dharna* to the Raja; and the latter (Lachmi) promised to restore the boy to the father should he (the pandit) give him trace of the boy. Thereupon the father made enquiries at Garhwat, and came to know that the boy had been brought and given in sacrifice to Mundeswar Nath. What is popularly known as the Mundeswari temple at Ramgarh is not the temple of the goddess Kali but of Mundeswar Nath (Siva).

"The Brahman reported this fact to Raja Lachmi Mal, who was incited by the Brahman to promise to kill Bagha Mal and Dewa Mal. Raja Lachmi Mal thereupon went out with a force and killed Bagha Mal and Dewa Mal, and took possession of the fort and of the country. Lachmi Mal is said to have established a Tahsili Kachari at Chainpur (the beginning of the fort at Chainpur), and to have commenced to collect rent there. It is stated that a hoard of riches was seized by Lachmi Mal who kept the same buried in Chainpur.

"The following is the genealogical table of Lachmi Mal and his sons :

Lachmi Mal,
Bandar Sah,
Chitarsen,
Salivahan,

"Chainpur became famous as the seat of Raja Salivahan; and Harsu Pandit was his priest.

"It is stated that Lachmi Mal, after killing Bagha Mal, adorned his forehead with a drop of Bagha Mal's blood, and then sat on the throne of Garhwat; and that to this day the Rajas of Bhagwanpur observe this custom at the time of installation, but that instead of blood, *rakta chandan* is used, and that a descendant of Bagha Mal, the present Raja of Sonpur, comes and gives this *tilak* at the time of installation. This is said to be a fact.

"The tradition further goes that when Bakhtyar Shah, a general of Sher Shah, took possession of the Chainpur fort of Salivahan, he seized the hoard of riches there which had been brought from Garhwat, and that Sher Shah did not want to appropriate this money to his own use, but by his order the *rauzas* at Sasaram and at Chainpur were built with this money.

"I might here note that the local Musahars, and other low caste people of Bhagwanpur and neighbouring villages traditionally couple the name of a Teli with Bandar Sah, when speaking of Garhwat fort. They pronounce the name of Bandar Sah as Raja Banar. It goes as follows.

लखुआ तेलो राजा बनार ; लाख गो कोलहु चले ।

गली गली तेल नाली नाली फोरे—

"This Lakhua Teli is said to have been a very rich man, who used to run numberless oil pressing *Kolhus*, and whose oil used to flow through *paulea nalis* (drains) from house to house in the fort."

has the slightest resemblance to Hanuman. The Raj Kuwar Rajputs to whom the country lately belonged allege that at their arrival the Cherus held the country. Two Raj Kuwars entered into the service of the Cheru chief, and soon after betrayed him to the Muhammedan king of Dilli and obtained his lands. It is probable that some petty chief of this nation may have continued to possess lands in the vicinity of the hills until so late a period, and Gurwat was very judiciously chosen for the residence of such a person, as it not only is in a very rich country but has behind it recesses in the mountains that are capable of being defended by a small number against a great force, and even in case of defeat a secure retreat over the mountains. The old tanks at Kujura are also attributed to the Cheru. The buildings at Gurwat are said to have been built by Rajah Mund⁽¹⁾, a Cheru, and may extend $\frac{3}{4}$ coses east and west and $\frac{1}{4}$ cose north and south. The whole cavity [was] formerly called Mukeri Kho⁽²⁾, but now only the east arm goes by that name, and the west is called Mewan⁽³⁾ from a ghat of that name, which is said to be the easiest ascent in the whole hills. In the Mukeri Kho is another ghat called Khatiya⁽⁴⁾ and between the two is a third. All the three lead to Vijiagur⁽⁵⁾ 20 coses distant. The road seems much frequented. Ramajai tells me that by the way he saw several images, one of which was a Bouddha sitting in the usual posture. The Chainpur

(1) Passages in the *puranas* as also legend associate the name Munda with a great leader or general of the *daityas* (sometimes *asuras*) who with Chanda, sometimes called his "brother", lived among the Vindhya and evidently gave serious trouble to the Aryan incomers, as they were considered important enough to have to be slain by Durga in the guise of Vindhya-vasini. From this feat was derived the form of the goddess known as Chamunda (a contraction of Chanda-Munda).

The goddess Chandi, so familiar in Bihar, is probably only another form of the same name (Chamunda devi). According to the *Vamana purana* Chanda and Munda were the generals of Mahisasura. Another text describes them as the generals of the (*asura*) kings Sumbha and Nisumbha. It is significant that the people regarded Munda as a Chero, showing that they considered the races to be connected.

(2) **Makri Khoh.**

(3) Not named on the S. S., but the ascent referred to is the road up to Karar, a village on the plateau to the east of the Jawarh Khoh, which is still the main route over the plateau to Adhaura, and thence across to Rohtas.

(4) Neither this nor the third ghat is named on the S. S.

(5) **Bijaigarh.**

family came 52 generations ago from Sikuri Futteh-pur⁽¹⁾ in the west and are Sukurwar Rajputs. Rajkuwar is a mere title of the family.⁽²⁾

19th January.—I went to Chayenpur⁽³⁾ 12 miles, called 3 coses. The ruins of the town of Gurwat extend from the river to the rampart about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile. The rampart is very thick and seems to extend from hill to hill. The ditch [is] much obliterated by cultivation. About $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Gurwat I came to Turi⁽⁴⁾, opposite to a detached hill, and passed through it and some part of Bagwanpur⁽⁵⁾ for about half a mile, when I came to the fort of that name which extends almost half a mile and has been a square surrounded by a mud rampart with a round bastion at each corner. Within was a small castle of brick surrounded by a moat, the former abode of the Rajahs of Chayenpur, now totally ruined. Bhagwanpur is still a very good and neat village, the merchants' houses being whitened with Khorī⁽⁶⁾. One of them has a small garden and temple in the vicinity. From thence crossing the Khatan⁽⁷⁾ which passes Gurwat and resembles the Durgauti at Savor, and passing a village called Mozayi⁽⁸⁾ I went west to the end of a low hill that bends west from the hill of Turi for about $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile from Bagwanpur. I there passed between it and a

(1) Fathpur Sikri, 24 miles from Agra. Fathpur ("place of victory") is of course a Muhammadan addition; the original name was Sikri, or more correctly Sikhari (from *शिखर*, a peak or crest). The name of the clan—Sakarwar is probably derived from this place, thus:—Sikhari-wala becomes Sikharwar, and then Sakarwar. But a chronicle of the family in my possession states that before coming to Sikri they held sway in the Takasila rajya (i.e., kingdom of Taxila) for many generations.

(2) See page 118, Note (2).

(3) **Chainpur.** The spelling, and indeed modern pronunciation, of the name is misleading. It is possibly a corruption of Chandapur, the town of Chanda [see Note (1), page 121]. This receives some support from the fact that the old name of the pargana, now known as the Chainpur pargana, was Chaund; and this is the name in Todar Mal's rent-roll, though it has been mistakenly transliterated as Jiwand, owing to confusion between *j.* and *ch* in the Persian character (چوند can be read either as Chaund or Jiwand when no dots are marked). It is also, I think, possible that we have here a trace of ancient Chero rule. The old name may also be traced in Chand, a large village nine miles north-west of Chainpur, and in other site names.

(4) **Tori.**

(5) **Bhagwanpur.** The family had left Bhagavanpur at that time for reasons that need not be noted here; but they have gone back, and the present representative of the family lives there now.

(6) *Khari*, chalk, or (as here) whitewash.

(7) The Kathan (कठान) Nadi. See Note (6) on page 118.

(8) **Masahi.**

small hummock and found a quarry of limestone. It is a little way up the hill, with very little earth above it, and consists of thin horizontal plates covered with an ash-coloured crust, and when the plates are an inch or more thick they resemble flint, but when thin they have been entirely converted into the ash-coloured substance that encrusts the thicker ones. It has been wrought to very little extent. This low hill is tolerably smooth, and I saw no rock upon it. East from the lime the detached masses on the surface were reddish plates of limestone containing little veins of white spar. It is considered as useless by the natives. Higher up the hill than the limestone the detached masses, some very large, are a whitish granular stone such as the great mass of these hills usually consists of.

From this quarry I went south⁽¹⁾ more than $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mile to Suraiya⁽²⁾, and from thence went east about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mile through a narrow pass between the two hills. This pass is an entrance into the valley in which Gurhat⁽³⁾ is situated, and has been fortified with a double rampart of stone, although the hill above the village of Muzayi is neither high nor abrupt, but being covered with a thicket of stunted and prickly trees it would be inaccessible to cavalry. In this passage on the same hill with the limestone is a mine of Khorī, very white and although hard readily crumbling to a powder in water, so that it is used for a whitewash. It effervesces strongly with acids, and is a stone marl full of fissures. It contains many masses of the limestone not yet changed into marl. In the passage between the hills and below the Khorī the bare rock appears in thin parallel plates exactly like the limestones, and in fact it effervesces readily with it, but is considered by the natives as useless, probably from never having tried it. In some places the plates were vertical but in general horizontal, a diversity of appearance probably owing [to] the waves such as in the limestone at Gupti Banaras. Higher up the hill than the Khorī is the usual granular stone of these hills in detached masses: but among these I found

(1) Should be "south-west".

(2) Saraiya. The hills are not accurately delineated on the S.S.

(3) Garhvat (the Garohat of the *Statistical Account and Gazetteers*).

some masses of a very singular Breccia containing Gheru⁽¹⁾, or indurated reddle, and fat quartz, two substances scarcely to be seen in these hills. From the ghat I went east about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile along the head of a fine little valley opening towards Gurhat⁽²⁾ at its south end, and shut up by the hill of Mozayi on the north. It belongs to this village, on which account the quarries on the west face of the hill opposite to Bhagwanpur are called the quarries of Muzayi, and are wrought by Ghor⁽³⁾ who live there. The finest is farther south and a considerable way up the hill. It is an indurated potstone in fine horizontal strata, and may be wrought to any extent without any expense in clearing. It is said that Ahiliya Bai⁽⁴⁾ took from thence the stones to build a bridge over the Karamnasa, but at present Lingas seem to be the only article in demand. To look at the rock from a distance one would judge it to be of exactly the same nature with that most usual in these hills, and it seems to be in a state of transition from that to the gentle slate of which the Kasis is made. It is just above the slope, and forms the lower part of the abrupt precipice. A little farther north and higher up is a quarry where the common granular stone is of an excellent quality for millstones, mortars and other such implements, especially the mortars of sugar mills⁽⁵⁾ which are very fine. As usual it is of two colours, reddish and whitish.

Having returned to Suraiya, I went east ⁽⁶⁾ about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile across the mouth of a very beautiful valley in which is Ramgar⁽⁷⁾, a pretty village, where the Rajkuwars have some good houses. This hill is of the usual form and nearly a mile wide. Having skirted it for about a mile I entered on the great plain and passed over it for about 5 miles to my tents on the west side of Chayenpur. The country exceedingly fertile,

(1) *Geru*, red ochre; ruddle (or reddle).

(2) See page 123, Note (3).

(3) See page 43 above, Note (1).

(4) Ahalya Bai was the wife of Malhar Rao Holkar. See Malcolm, *Memoir of Central India*, I, 157 f., for some account of this good woman.

(5) Before the invention of the Bihiya iron-roller sugar mill by Mr. James Mylne, these large stone mortars were used all over the southern part of the district, and specimens may still be seen lying about.

(6) Should read "west".

(7) *Ramgarh*.

fully occupied and populous. About 2 miles east from Chayenpur I had at some distance on my right a very considerable Muhammedan monument.

20th January.—This monument I went to visit, and found it about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from my tents. It is said to be that of a Mauli Khan, a Patan, but nothing is known of him except that he communicated his name to an adjacent village⁽¹⁾ which now belongs to a Hindu family, and they say has done so for 4 or 5 generations. The tomb is built of stone and is square, 27 feet 10 inches on the outside, surmounted by a dome. It is light and airy, having a wide door on 3 sides with a niche for prayer, on which are engraved some pious sentences. It contains 4 graves of clay, but these seem to have been very recently constructed, the original ones no doubt of brick or stone having gone to decay. Who has done this pious deed I know not, as there is no Muzawur⁽²⁾ nor any establishment. Some Fakir has probably intended to make it his abode, as I see a place for boiling his pot has been formed in a corner. The tomb is quite entire, and is surrounded by a stone wall in tolerable condition, no trees having as yet taken root on the walls. It would be rather a neat place, although very heavy, were not the masonry as usual very bad, and the stones are of different colours mixed without the least attention to symmetry. Among the greatest defects of the masonry in these buildings is the structure of the arches in which the stones, besides want of similarity in size, are not placed with their ends up and down so as to wedge one another, so that they have very little strength, and are perhaps very little better than another kind of door and window very common in these buildings, and often very much ornamented. From Mauli I returned to my tents, and went about half a mile west to a much larger monument, the tomb of Ahtiyar⁽³⁾ Khan, whose eldest son

(1) **Mahula.**

Buchanan must have been pressed for time on the 19th January, as he could not "conveniently", as he tells us in the Report, visit the Mundesvari temple on top of the small hill opposite Ramgarh, one of the very oldest buildings standing in the district; but he sent a painter "who drew the most remarkable part". See Martin's *E. I.*, I, 456-457, and Plate V; also *A. S. Ben. Cir.*, 1901-2, page 20, and *I. A.*, 1920, page 21.

(2) *Mujawir* (مجاور), here meaning the caretaker.

(3) Bakhtyar Khan. See *Gazetteer*, under Chainpur. The monument is now preserved under the Act of 1904.

Futeh Khan married a daughter of Shere Shah. The tomb entirely resembles that of Husan Khan at Sasaram, but is in somewhat better condition. It has not been defiled or profaned, and only a few trees have been permitted to take root on it. These have been occasionally stunted by the branches having been cut, but the roots have never been removed and are now tearing one corner of the wall to pieces. It is surrounded by a wall of stone, at each corner of which is a square chamber surmounted by a dome, very clumsy. The gate from the east is large and would be rather handsome were it not disfigured by a want of symmetry both in materials and masonry. The area contains a number of very fine trees and palms which give the whole a very grand air, especially as a hill overhangs it to the west and between the tomb and hill there is a fine little river⁽¹⁾, so that the situation is most judicious. It differs in nothing from the tomb of Husein⁽²⁾ except that the dome is surmounted by a Gumji and that there are no traces of plaster on the outer wall. The paint remains quite entire on the roofs of some of the little domes that cover the gallery, and is in a very miserable style. The wall all around the niche for prayer at least has been plastered and covered with pious sentences in black. Perhaps these may have extended all round the inside of the dome, which towards the upper terrace has 8 windows with 8 niches between them. There are 7 doors towards the gallery which surrounds the building on the lower stage. The inside of the dome is an octagon, the shorter diameters of which are 53 feet. The wall is 12 feet thick, the gallery 9 feet wide, and the buttresses supporting the 3 arches in each front of the gallery 6 feet 6 from inside to out. The dome contains 25 graves, 12 of which have been destroyed by the water dropping through the roof. The chief's is still entire, and is distinguished by a small pillar at the head. There are, besides the graves of 4 full grown males, 3 women, 5 male children and one female, all probably brothers, wives and children of the family. It is not known where Futeh Khan was buried nor what became of him, although there is no doubt that he and his children

(1) Kuhira N.

(2) i.e., the tomb of Hasan Khan Sur at Sasaram.

suffered in the wreck of his kinsman's family. A younger brother, Daud Khan, resided here, and at the time of the Mogols' success was erecting several buildings. His tomb is a little north from that of his father, and is much smaller. It is square on the outside and an octagon within, and would no doubt have been covered with a dome, but that had not been commenced when he met his fate. The Mogols however permitted his body to be buried within. Southeast from his monument Ektiyar Khan dug a pretty considerable tank, and the fabulous inclination of the natives induces the Muzawur to say that finding the place without water he dug this for the workmen, just as if a river did not run close by the wall. This Muzawar has 80 begahs⁽¹⁾ of rich land and 5 annas a day in order to take care of the buildings under his charge, but he considers himself as little if at all interested about the tombs of these nobles from whom his ancestor no doubt received the endowment. His attention is, he says, entirely due to the abode (Koti) of the blessed Osman Shah, a Pir who was buried at the place long before Shere Shah, and who was contemporary with the great saint of Baraich⁽²⁾ and a worthy of the same stamp descended from the prophet. The holy man's grave is very simple, placed without any cover at the south-west corner of an elevated terrace on the west side of the river. This terrace is surrounded by a wall. At the north-west corner under a similar grave is buried a Huseyn Khan, sister's son of Ektiyar, who constructed the terrace with an adjacent place for prayer. Many of his wives, children and other kindred are buried on the terrace, in which are 3 Gumjis, one pretty large and another double.

On the top of the small hill which overhangs this monument Daud Khan at the time of his family's overthrow was building a Baradwari, or hall with 12 doors. The walls have been erected some way. The building is a square of 18 feet 6 inches square, with 3 doors in each side, and would no doubt have been surrounded by a gallery with a small room at each corner.

(1) *Bigha*.

(2) Bahraich, in the U. P.

The hill supplies excellent materials for building. The rock on the top is considered as useless, and consists of a granular substance with some small rounded concretions, an appearance which the stone of these hills in many parts assumes. On the lower part of the hill are cut stones for building and for making mortars and hand mills. They resemble those of Muzayi, being partly reddish, partly dark ash.

The Zemindar of Chayenpur, a Patan, pretended to be sick and sent his son and an agent to see me. The son, a good looking lad, was quiet, but the Dewan pretended to be stupid and knew nothing; he said that the place contained 250 houses, but this seems much underrated. The agent states the Patans at 55 houses of which 11 only really so⁽¹⁾, while a neighbouring zemindar of that tribe assured me that there were at least 100. It is much neater than most towns in Behar, and the villages all around look well at a distance, being high and having in general a mud castle in tolerable repair. Chayenpur was long the residence of the Rajputs who owned the adjacent country, and who probably retained Saseram and Chainpur until the Patans took all the former and part of the latter from them, and it was then probably that they deserted Chainpur and built the castle at Bagwanpur suitable to their reduced estate. Their castle⁽²⁾ at Chayenpur has been pretty considerable, as would seem from the ruins. It has been surrounded by a ditch and rampart of stone, with battlements and a round bastion at each corner. In the middle of the north and south faces are gates. That to the north is a large building, the walls of which are still pretty entire. In the middle of the east and west curtains have been semicircular bastions. The space within has been filled with buildings, partly brick, partly stone, with several very large wells lined with stone reservoirs for water works and other comforts becoming a family of rank. A Musalman saint and the ghost of an enraged Brahman have taken up their abode among the ruins. Ramajai

(1) The sentence is reproduced as it stands in the manuscript. Perhaps it should read:—"The Pathans had 55 houses, of which 11 only remain."

(2) This fort was probably constructed by the Muhammadan rulers. The late Dr. T. Bloch regarded it as "evidently a building of the time of Sher Shah or Akbar, as seen from the style of its principal gate".

has possession of the story concerning the latter, which seems to be of recent fabrication⁽¹⁾. The Pujaris who are making a good thing of the ghost have lately been disturbed by a stout, savage young Brahman who pretends to be descended from the person whose ghost is the source of profit in which he wishes to share. He is nearly naked, painted red white and yellow like an American Indian, and the most violent fellow, in talk at least, that I have ever seen. The Pujari pretends that all the persons pretending to be descended of the old Rajahs are mere pretenders as the ghost killed the whole males at least. There is however reason to suspect that even the present owner is a descendant and although he calls himself a Patan, as being here the strong party, that his ancestor saved his estate by becoming a convert and was by birth a Rajput, not that he was the head of the family but was a Rajkumar who obtained a grant of the village on becoming a Moslem⁽²⁾.

A stone well in Chayenpur is said to have been constructed by a Dhair⁽³⁾ of some king, probably Selim Shah. There are in the vicinity many tanks and some ruinous stone mosques with many funeral monuments, pretty large but of less note than those described, so that the place has been once more considerable than at present, although there is less appearance of decay and misery about it than usual. Every monument of the Hindu worship seems to have been carefully eradicated, and no doubt while the Rajah resided in the castle there were near several large temples. This induced me to conclude that the story of the Brahman is quite modern, probably contrived since the British government gave the Hindus protection. During the Moslem power⁽⁴⁾ a Brahma devata would not have been permitted to thrust his nose close to the tomb of a saint.

(1) The story of Harsu Pandeya is about 500 years old (See W. Crooke, *Folk-lore of N. I.*, I, 191-192, and *A. S. I.* XVII, 160 f.). As Crooke says, he is now worshipped as a "Brahm". I have more than once heard *palki* bearers in the Bhabhua Subdivision calling out in their illiterate speech **हरसु ब्रह्म की जय** ! upon reaching a change station.

(2) Cf. the cases of the Dumraith, Biur and Sarewa families (originally Hindu).

(3) A wet-nurse.

(4) But tradition makes Harsu the earlier.

21st January.—I went between 13 and 14 miles to Mohaniya⁽¹⁾. There was in most places not even the vestige of a path, but I went very circuitously from ahar to ahar. The country very beautiful, even the rice fields being green with Kesari⁽²⁾, and I think the huts better than in any part I have yet seen. The villages stand high and mostly have mud castles as in Behar. The plantations no more than necessary to adorn the country which is finely scattered with clumps.

About 5 miles from Chayenpur, at a village called Jummuya⁽³⁾ I was shown the ruins of the house of Hursu Pangre, the Brahman whose ghost is troublesome at Chayenpur. It is vastly more ruinous than that of the Rajah, and indeed consists of a mere heap, probably containing bricks, but it has evidently been surrounded by a rampart with a bastion at each corner⁽⁴⁾, not so large as that of the Rajah but still pretty considerable. On its west side are a good many stones, partly plain, partly carved, and now used as seats by the people of the village when they assemble to talk. Whether these were taken from the house or from a temple to the west of it I cannot say. The latter however is the most probable, as what is called the house seems merely one of the mud gurries⁽⁵⁾ usual in the country. On its centre is a Soti Chaungr⁽⁶⁾, said to be that of a daughter of Hursu Pangre who the people say was Puruhit to Raja Sarbangs⁽⁷⁾. The temple is now reduced to a square elevation of bricks and stones, and has probably been a building of the Cherus. Many of the stones are carved and have contained images, but they are so much defaced that only one can be traced with tolerable accuracy. It represents Maha Vira or Hannuman. It would appear that on the centre

(1) Mohanca. Buchanan's is the better spelling.

(2) Khisari, generally pronounced *khesari* in Shahabad, *Lathyrus*

sativus. Buchanan refers to broadcasted (*कीटा*) *khisari*.

(3) Jamuawan. According to the legendary history of the Bhagavanpur family, Raja Salivahana Simha established this village, and made a grant of it to Harsu Pandeya in performance of a vow.

(4) The same chronicle says that Salivahana built a fort there.

(5) *Garhi*, a small fort.

(6) *Soti* chaura, the place where a woman performed the *sati* rite.

(7) Salivahana.

of the heap a small Mundur (1) had been erected of various stones taken from the former building, and it is said that this contained a Siva Linga which is now in the centre of a Pipal tree of great size that took root on this small building and ruined it. This is very probable, and the Siva was probably placed there by the Rajah's Purohits. Four miles farther on I passed the Sura, a river in a deep channel of clay containing calcarous nodules. It may be 20 yards wide, and contains much stagnant water in pools with fine little streams between. Not quite 3 miles farther on I passed the Durgauti, in a similar channel, but so far as I see free from nodules. There is more water, and that much clearer. It flows in one very gentle shallow stream about 20 feet wide and one [foot] deep on a bed of sand. From thence to Mohaniya is not quite 3 miles.

Near Jummuya I crossed the line of road from the west to Baidyonath. Although it is a mere path, so far as I could see there was a line of pilgrims going and coming with water in small companies of 4 or 5 persons. I counted 48 in the space of 50 or 60 yards, and in both directions they seemed to be everywhere equally thick(2).

At Mohaniya is the military road(3) from Calcutta to Banaras, and the crowd of pilgrims passing thence to Banaras was still greater, owing to an eclipse which will happen in a few days.

24th January.—Having heard that at Ekhaspur(4), said to be 4 coses distant, there was a temple of Mahadeva with many old images round it, I went

(1) *Mandir*, a Hindu temple.

(2) See also above, page 106. One of the very busiest seasons for Hindu pilgrims occurs about the middle of January. The full moon day of the Hindi month of Magh (*Maghasirsa purnamasa*) is a day on which one of the most frequented religious fairs is held at many famous sites, e.g., the *Kumbha melas*. Again the *Makara samkranti*, when the sun enters Capricorn (the *uttarayana*), about the 12th or 13th January, is another festival widely observed in Northern India.

(3) The "New Military Road" constructed under the orders of Warren Hastings, and commenced in 1781. From Benares to Sherghati it followed the line now taken by the Grand Trunk Road; between Sherghati and Calcutta it took a more southerly route than the present Grand Trunk Road.

(4) *Ikhlaspur*, probably named after Ikhlas Khan, who as commandant of the fortress of Rohatgarh in the reign of Shah Jahan, held the Chainpur pagana as part of the *jagir* attached to the post.

there, but found the distance about 8 miles and that the temple and images were quite modern, having been built about 30 years ago by Vaikhanth Giri⁽¹⁾, a Goswain. It is on the side of a tank filled with water and dug by the same person. The temple consists of two small halls only separated by a wall, and each having before it a small porch, all very rude and mean in their structure and pretty dark. In one are two Mahadevas and in the other only one. In the walls both around the images and of the porches have been as usual built slabs of stone on which figures are carved in relief. Most of them represent persons of the order of Gosains, variously employed; but some represent deities. All are vastly more rude than the old images, the arts being retrograde. I went first about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile along the Calcutta road, which is just such as all the roads should be made. In fair weather it is practicable for carriages, and bullocks may go on it through most of the year, drains on each side carrying off the water so that a day or two dry weather makes it firm enough for cattle. Turning south from thence I came to the Durgauti about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the turn. It is here a fine clear stream in a deep channel, and contains a good deal of water entirely neglected for irrigation, although with dams it might in the dry season be turned into canals for that purpose. Of course they would be annually swept away by the rains. I went from thence rather more than 4 miles to the Kukurni⁽²⁾, a river that destroys a good deal of its banks. It contains much dirty stagnant water, having been dammed across, not for the purpose of irrigation to which it might be readily applied, but apparently to preserve fish and a bathing place for the buffaloes. From thence to Ekhaspur is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile. The country is rather bare, but enough of Mangoes for use. The villages good as in other parts of Chayenpur.

26th January.—I went rather more than $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles, called 6 coses, to Kandihara⁽³⁾. The first $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile was along the Calcutta road in the Mohaniya

(1) Vaikuntha Giri, a *gusain*; *giri* is one of the ten sub-orders. See page 87, Note (1).

(2) Kukurnahia N.

(3) Kandehra.

division. Mohaniya is a small but neat village consisting chiefly of lodgings kept by Betiyarins⁽¹⁾, with some shops for the accommodation of pilgrims, the number of whom is exceeding great. The people are great extortioners. A battalion of seapoys marched through the place while I was there, but did not halt at it. Provisions however for the day on which it marched were raised 25 per cent., because several of the shopkeepers were sent to supply the camp. An equal number of pilgrims would have made no rise. The people complain much of the soldiers, but while they attempt such extortion it is not to be wondered that the seapoys take every private opportunity of retaliation. I then went through the fields from village to village for the remainder of the way. About 9 miles from Mohaniya I crossed the Kudra, a pretty large channel deep sunk in clay, but having a sandy bottom. The stream was about knee deep, perhaps 15 yards wide and pretty rapid. The water perfectly clear. The country rather naked. Villages numerous, rather poorer than those near Chayenpur, and most of the mud castles have gone to ruin. The women all in Chayenpur pergunah so far as I have seen are not near so strictly confined as in other parts of the district, and come out to look as we pass. I see today some Soti Chaungrs⁽²⁾, but not near so frequent as towards the north-east.

27th January.—I went $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Barahari⁽³⁾ through a country very much resembling that seen yesterday, and the people and houses nearly the same. The boundary of Sasaram pergunah and Barooung⁽⁴⁾ division is about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile east from Kandihari. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Barahari I crossed the Chandra-wati⁽⁵⁾, a small channel which springs in the fields near, but contains a good deal of water, nearly stagnant, which is quite neglected, although the people form wells close to it for irrigation and its

(1) *Bhathiyarin*, a woman who follows the profession of inn-keeper.

(2) See page 130, Note (6).

(3) **Barahri.**

(4) **Barawan.**

(5) **Dharmavati**, which starts from near Chandrabhanpur village in the Kargahar thana.

channel is not deep. Proper dams and canals would render it highly valuable.

28th January.—I went about $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Bohuyara⁽¹⁾. The boundary of Sasaram and Bojpur is about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Barahari. From thence the country continues rather bare for about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, when the plantations become waste, the soil more free and the land much neglected. Among the long grass observed a herd of antilopes; the guide called the males Kulsar, the females Guriya⁽²⁾.

29th January.—I went about $11\frac{3}{4}$ miles to Latan⁽³⁾. From Bohuyara to the Boundary of Bilaungti⁽⁴⁾ is almost $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Bohuyara a wretched place belonging to the old Kanongo who lives at Suryapura, where I took the account of Thanah Korunj⁽⁵⁾, and who seems to be a very bad manager of land although his affairs are flourishing. I passed by old quarters near his house about 3 miles from Bohuyara. The people on his estate and that of Baboo Sahebzoda⁽⁶⁾ have given up much of their rice lands, while on the estate of Ali Huseyn Khan, between the two, the rice fields are now covered with Kesari and flax growing among the stubble. The nullah east from Suryapura contains a good deal of dirty water stagnating in pools.

30th January.—I went rather more than 9 miles to Jogodespur⁽⁷⁾. The villages evidently more miserable than towards the south-west and the women more confined. At one wretched village in the forest I saw not less than 7 Soti Chaungrs in a row. The forest commences about 4 miles from Latan and continues with little interruption close to Jogodespur. About

(1) **Bahuara.**

(2) *Kolsa*, black, "like charcoal"; *guriya*, fair (fr. **गोरा**, white, fair).

(3) **Lanthan**, about 5 miles west of Piro,—“the place of lac”. This part was formerly covered with forest, and probably abounded in *palasa* trees, from which lac is collected.

(4) **Belauthi.**

(5) **Karanj**, the Karangja of the Report and Map, 8 miles west of Surajpura. Now a small and unimportant village. Even in Buchanan's time it was a small market place with only 70 houses, but gave its name to a police “Division”.

(6) **Sahibzada Singh**, the father of the famous Kuar Singh.

(7) **Jagdispur.**

half a mile from Latan at a village called Petero⁽¹⁾ is a heap of bricks called a temple (Dihora)⁽²⁾ and attributed to the Cheros. On the summit are lying many fragments of images so broken that only one, a Ganesa, can be ascertained. The temple to judge from the ruin has probably been solid.

4th February.—Jogodespur is a pretty large town, but very poor. I did not see the Baboo, he having been lately hurt by the bursting of a fowling piece. His son ⁽³⁾ was very attentive, a thin lad, rather well looked but apparently poor, although he had a good horse. The family residence is a large castle⁽⁴⁾, mostly of mud, but some small part of it brick. I this day went almost 16 miles to a little beyond Koyat ⁽⁵⁾, no road. I passed the forest about 6½ miles from Jogodespur, but not on the Baboo's estate. It here belongs to the Rajah and extends about a mile in width. It is stunted and consists of thin scattered trees among long grass⁽⁶⁾. The villages from the forest are much more comfortable than those between it and Jogodespur. Koyat has a very large mud castle.

5th February.—I went about 11 miles to Karunj. The country well planted but very poorly cultivated. Some of the villages deserted.

6th February.—Karunj is a poor place, the Daroga not there, and he seldom is so. I went rather more than 11 miles to Kochus⁽⁷⁾. The first 10 miles through Thanah Karunj. Great part long deserted, many villages entirely so, most in part. After the first half of the way on entering Donawar ⁽⁸⁾ the

(1) Pitro.

(2) This probably represents *dihura* (दिहुरा), a word sometimes used for a temple.

(3) This young man seems to have been none other than Kuar Singh, whose name became a household word 45 years later.

(4) Blown up by Vincent Eyre in August, 1857.

(5) *Koath*, where the famous Nawab Saiyid Nur-ul-hasan Khan Bilgrami settled towards the end of his interesting career, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and where his descendants still live.

(6) A few acres of the original *jungal*, as it stood before the clearing lease was given to Mr. Burrows (see *Gazetteer*, 1924 edition, page 171) were carefully preserved by the side of the Bihiya House, and corresponded exactly with Buchanan's description here. The Babu and the Raja are the heads of the Jagdispur and Dumraon families, respectively.

(7) *Kochas*.

(8) i.e., Danwar pargana.

devastation not so great. All the villages have small mud castles. Pergunnah Saseram in better condition. No road. Kochus is a large village belonging to a Moslem family who have made a fortune in the service of the Ujainis.

7th February.—I went about 9 miles to Borna⁽¹⁾ in the Ramgur ⁽²⁾ division, the boundary being about 5 miles from Kochus. The villages pretty decent. I saw 4 antilopes by the way. The road most of the way lay near a small winding river ⁽³⁾ in a channel of clay. It contains a good deal of water in pools, nearly stagnant.

8th February.—Borna is a good village like most of those in the Perganah of Chainpur. From thence to Ramgur ⁽²⁾ is about 9 miles. About $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile from Borna I crossed the Guriya⁽⁴⁾, a channel in clay filled with stagnant water and more considerable than that on the east side of the village which has no name. About three miles from Borna at a village called Upari is a ruined temple now forming a heap of bricks. It is supposed to have belonged to the Cherus. On the heap are two Lingas, one of which contains a short inscription and seems to have been part of a pillar, the top of which has been rounded into somewhat of the phallus form. Whether these have been dug from the ruins or are modern images placed upon it, I cannot say. Rather less than three miles from thence I crossed the Kudra, a pretty little clear stream in a deep channel of clay. About $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile from Ramgur I crossed the Durgauti, a stream similar to the Kudra but larger. The water knee deep and about 20 yards wide.

11th February.—I went rather more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles to Darauli, a village north-east from the Thanah⁽⁵⁾, where it was reported that there were some old images. Rather more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the Thanah I crossed

(1) Baruna, 9 miles south of Manoharpur.

(2) Ramgarh.

(3) A tributary of the Gorla Nadi.

(4) Gorla N.

(5) i.e., from Ramgarh, from which Darauli lies four and half miles east-north-east.

the Durgauti a little below the junction of the Kudra. It has a good deal of water and is more rapid than any stream I have seen on the Gangetic plains, so that the declivity of the country must be considerable.

At Darauli is a large old tank which is estimated by the people to be about 250 katahs of $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubits long⁽¹⁾ from east to west, but is not near so wide. It is said to be the work of the Siyurs⁽²⁾ who governed the country in the Tretaiya Yug⁽³⁾, long before the arrival of the Kols; but nothing is known of where they lived, nor are there in the vicinity the traces of any considerable building. At the west end of the great tank is a smaller one, said to be much more modern and has that appearance. It is said to have been dug by a Moslem chief (Munsubdar)⁽⁴⁾, who came from Dilli and broke the images of the Siyur. And in fact several of them, although not all, have been broken to pieces, and all have suffered much from time. Near the south-west corner of the great tank under a tree is a small Ganesa, pretty entire. A little south from thence on a square terrace of mud, probably quite modern, is placed a Siva Linga. At 3 corners of the terrace are 3 small obelisks of stone, very curious and much carved. On the 4 sides of each pedestal are an equal number of images, one a linga, another a Ganesa, a third and fourth a large male

(1) Buchanan seems to have thought that the *kattha* was a lineal measure: it is a superficial measure, used in respect of land. Land measures vary according with the length of the measuring rod (*laggi*) used; hence the specification of "three and half cubits", which refers to the length of the *laggi*. A square of which each side is the length of a *laggi* is called a *dhur*; 20 *dhurs* = 1 *kattha*; 20 *katthas* = 1 *bigha*.

(2) These people do not appear to have been satisfactorily identified yet. The name is variously spelt in the *Gazetteers* and other literature as Savara, Savara, Saura, Sava, Savar, Sivira, Suir, Seori, etc. They have been identified with the Sabaræ of Ptolemy and with the Suari of Pliny. It seems to me that two distinct tribes or races have been mixed up in many of the references to these people. In Sanskrit we find two names, *Sabara* and *Sauvira*. The former are no doubt the Sabaræ of Ptolemy and the modern Savaras or Sawaras found in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts of the Madras Presidency and the adjoining tracts of Orissa and Chota Nagpur. It may be that the Suyir or Siyur of Buchanan and the Seori of Sherring, however, are of different origin, and came in from the west or south-west as we find traces of them in the Benares and Allahabad divisions.

(3) *Treta yuga* (the second age). The words "long before the arrival of the Kols" conflict with the tradition recorded by Buchanan elsewhere (e.g., page 139 below) that the Siyurs expelled the Cheros.

(4) *Mansabdar* (from منصب, a post or office of dignity), an official, generally required to provide a certain number of horse.

standing between two smaller ones. The Siva and Ganesa on all the three obelisks are nearly similar, but there are some differences in the other 6 figures. One of them has four arms, all the others only two. In some the attendants are kneeling, in others standing. On the east side of the mound is a slab containing 3 figures sitting, one evidently a female and the others may have been intended for such, but they are defaced.

South from thence some little way is a small heap of bricks with a good many images and stones; and it is probable that the others have been taken from this place in modern times, as there is not the smallest trace of building where they now stand. There are two pretty large images, one broken through the middle, the other much defaced. The former has 4 arms and resembles a good deal the Vasudevas of Behar, but he has no attendants. The other is evidently Varaha⁽¹⁾. Two smaller images represent males standing with attendants but [with] only two arms, as on the obelisks. There is on the bottom of a long slab the representation of a male and female, both two-armed with each an arm round the other's neck. Above them is a figure of the human hand between the sun and moon, the idolatrous representation of Allah used by the Moslems of the south of India, and probably carved by the zealous chief who broke the images in order to show the triumph of his faith. On a long slab are 5 figures, some certainly and all probably females. With the three at the other place they perhaps formed what is called the Asto Sakti⁽²⁾, but they are so much defaced that I cannot be certain. Among other fragments may be traced the door, very rude as indeed are all the carvings. Each side has as usual a human figure on the base. The lintel in place of a Ganesa has on its middle a short inscription not totally defaced.

From thence I returned by the way of Sadullahpur⁽³⁾, the chief place where the saline wells of the

(1) The boar incarnation of Visnu.

(2) *Asta sakti*, "the eight energies", also called *asta matri*, though sometimes seven and sometimes nine are enumerated: the female energies of the gods. I cannot find that the "short inscription" referred to further on has been deciphered or published.

(3) Two and a half miles from Ramgarh.

neighbourhood are found. It is about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles east from Ramgar, about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a mile from the Kudra where I crossed that river on the 8th. Sesaunda⁽¹⁾ [is] another of the places I passed on my way to Darauli, a little beyond the Durgauti. These places have nothing peculiar in their appearance, and close to them is a rich soil, highly cultivated.

12th February.—I went north about half a mile to see a well which I had dug in a spot on which the soda effloresced. The soil is a very poor clay called Usari⁽²⁾. It produces only short herbage or a few stunted bushes, and trees do not thrive on it. It has a yellowish colour owing to ochre of iron, and contains much sand, but the clods when dry are very hard. It is on such land here that the soda usually effloresces, but there is much such where no soda appears. It is a very poor soil, but when watered all kinds of grain will grow on it. The well was dug in a spot covered with the efflorescence, and was 14 feet deep before water was found. The quantity of sand increased and of ochre diminished more and more as the people sunk lower down, but even at the bottom the clods adhered pretty strongly when dry, but they were of a very pale ash colour. The water is sweet to the taste, and does not effervesce with acids.

13th February.—I went to Sawut⁽³⁾, leaving the direct road a little to my left to visit an old temple at Baidyonath⁽⁴⁾, which is also attributed to the Suyirs. Baidyonath is about 6 miles from Ramgar, and is a small village belonging to the Marwar⁽⁵⁾ Rajputs. They say that they have been here for 22 or 25 generations and drove out the Siyurs, who were an impure tribe and had in their turn expelled the Cheros. The

(1) **Sisauntra.**

(2) *i.e.*, *usar*, saline or brackish earth.

(3) **Sawath**, the Sant of the old military reports and the **Sangyot** of Buchanan's map and report. Until after the battle of Buxar this was regarded as the last camping ground on the old route to the north-west (which passed through Patna, Naubatpur, Daudnagar and Sasaram) on the frontier of the Company's territory. Beyond the Karamnasa lay the sphere of influence of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh.

(4) **Baijnath**, five and half miles west of Ramgarh. For illustrations of the remains found by Buchanan here, see Martin's *E. I.*, I, 463, 469.

(5) There are many Rajput clans in Marwar; what particular clan Buchanan refers to is not clear.

temple contains a Linga, but is evidently quite modern and is a small cubical chamber without a spire, built of various fragments of an old one which probably consisted chiefly if not entirely of stone, but has not been large. It has occupied a square space on the east side of an old water course which runs north and south and now forms a marsh, but I suspect is the old channel of the Durgauti, and that from Baidyonath it has formerly passed by Ramgur and covered the lands north from that with sand. This marsh is now called a Khund or pool. On the square space are a great many stones very much carved on, containing a vast number and variety of figures better executed than those at Darauli but somewhat in the same style, especially a number of obelisks, although even these differ a good deal from those of that place, and I have seen very few of the figures anywhere else. Most of them indeed do not seem to represent deities but women, musicians, animals, etc., intended merely as ornaments. In the same style with the obelisks are some long stones carved only on one side, which probably have been built into the walls as ornaments. There are besides numerous columns, pedestals, cornices, capitals, etc., etc. The most remarkable circumstances in their style is that the foliages in many parts are not in relief, but are cut deep like a seal upon a level surface, which has a very bad and poor effect. The most remarkable stones are two long ones placed erect at each side of the door of the present temple, which faces the east. They are carved on one side only and probably have formed the sides of the niche in which the image formerly worshipped has been contained, as they are carved in the same style with the throne which still remains in its place behind the present temple, and has probably occupied the whole end of a small shrine that has been supported by four columns, the pedestals of which remain in their places. Near is lying another long stone which probably passed between the two others now erected before the present temple, and formed the niche over the throne. This contains one figure seated in the middle and one at each end, with the 9 planets in the two intervening spaces. The throne is chiefly occupied by musicians. From the size and appearance of the throne it could not

have been intended for the present object of worship, which however probably belonged to the ruin as several other Lingas, partly entire, partly broken, are to be found in the place. I see no image however that can be taken for that formerly worshipped, which has probably been destroyed by the zeal of some following sect. The figures have less connection with the usual Hindu mythology than any I have ever seen. The Pandit sent to examine it says that all the people attribute the building to a Modun Pal ⁽¹⁾, who was a Siyur Raja. He also discovered an inscription which attributes the building to Mokuradwaj a Yogi. It must be observed that Mokuradwaj and Modun Pal have the same meaning ⁽²⁾. The inscription is dated 700, but of what era is not mentioned. No title indicates the builder to have been a Raja.

From Baidyonath to the Durgauti is not quite $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The Durgauti is here much similar to what it is near Ramgur. The banks, where not perfectly perpendicular, cultivated to the water. From thence to Sawut about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile.

18th February.—I went about 11 miles to Amayu⁽³⁾ through a fully occupied country, with few plantations. The villages better than in the North, with many mud castles. Sawut is a very poor place. The number of passengers going and coming from Baidyonath with Kauri⁽⁴⁾ is quite astonishing, certainly not less than 5,000 a day. Few persons of rank, a good many women. A little way south from Sawut crossed a small dry channel. About a mile from

(1) Madanapala was one of the last kings (beginning of twelfth century) of the Pala dynasty; but it seems doubtful whether he held sway over western Shahabad. See also A. S. I., XIX, 27-48.

(2) *Makara*, generally translated as "crocodile", and *dhvaja*, a standard. *Makaradhvaja* is an epithet of Kama, the god of love, who is also known as Madana. Buchanan seems to have confounded this title with the name Madanapala. As for Makaradhvaja Yogi, see A. S. I. XIII, page 8, where Cunningham notes: "The same date of this ubiquitous jogi has been found in eight different places, from the banks of the Ghaghra to the Ven-Ganga".

(3) Amawan, four and a half miles south-east of Chand.

(4) Kanvar (कांवर , also कावर and कावड़) means a bamboo lath carried across the shoulder, with slings hanging from each end, in which pitchers are hung. The term *kanvari* is applied to a pilgrim who carries Ganges water in this way. These pilgrims were following the then "New Military Road" route.

Sawut crossed the Durgauti, much like where I saw it last. Where I crossed it is joined by a small channel named the Kohira⁽¹⁾, which contains a little dirty stagnant water, and was left to my right. About $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile farther I crossed another small nullah towards my left. In some places it contained stagnant dirty pools of water, in others it is dry. About 8 miles from Sawut, at a large village named Kordihi⁽²⁾, I found some old images or rather carvings on stone placed under a tree. They are somewhat in the style of those at Baidyonath, and are said to represent Ganesa, but have no sort of resemblance to that idol. The people would not mention the traditions which they have concerning them. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Amayu is the village called Mosayi⁽³⁾, which looks well at a distance as it contains a very large house of brick, the property of the Kazi, and stands high above the best reservoir I have seen in the district. Near this are two pretty, considerable funeral monuments constructed of stone, and probably belonging to the Kazi's family. Amayu is the residence of a Moslem brother of the Khan of Kochus. His house is the best mud castle that I have seen, and looks well at a distance but will not bear a close examination. Every thing round however bespeaks the family being in easy circumstances. His people were very civil, which is rather unusual here, the rustic sulkiness of the west beginning to show itself in every part of Chainpur Perganah.

19th February.—I went to Mer⁽⁴⁾. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile at a good village named Tiwayi⁽⁵⁾ I saw an image called Ramchandra. It is about the human size, and represents a male quite detached and with two arms. From the curliness of the hair and long ears I have no doubt of its being a Buddha. The feet are broken off, and near it are some broken stones carved much in the style of those at Baidyonath. The people here were brutally sulky. At the outside of the village I met

(1) **Kuhira N.**

(2) **Karji.**

(3) **Masoin.** To judge from the Survey sheet, the reservoir is not remarkable for size (about 150 by 490 yards).

(4) **Merh**, about four miles west of Chainpur. For illustrations of some of the carvings described by Buchanan, see Martin's *B. I.*, I, 467.

(5) **Tiwal**, some two and three quarter miles north of Merh.

some of the chief men standing. On being asked where the image was, they denied that any such thing was to be found in the village, nor would they move to show the road so as to be able to pass through without injury. Of course, as I warned them, I met with narrow passages in which the roofs suffered from the elephant. Rather less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile farther I came to Sawul gur⁽¹⁾, the ruin of a small stone fort, or rather castle, situated at the east end of a narrow rocky hill. It has more the appearance of an European castle than any thing I have seen in the country, only it wants windows. It seems to have been well built.

The hill is entirely similar to those common in the district, and the stone is wrought for mills, mortars, etc. It resembles the others applied to the same purpose, and is of the red kind. Immediately beyond the hill I crossed a small channel containing stagnant pools of water. It is called Gohuya⁽²⁾. From thence to Mer is not quite $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile.

Mer is a pretty large village containing some good tiled houses and beautifully situated at the east end of a fine valley, very picturesque and well cultivated. The Pandit could obtain no tradition concerning the image called Ram Chandra⁽³⁾, but is of opinion that it certainly is a Buddha. He went to Modurna⁽⁴⁾, where there is a tiled house in which are several small broken images, one of which called Chondi⁽⁵⁾.

(1) This seems to be the Syamalgar of the Report (see Martin's *E. I.*, Vol. I, page 469). It is not marked on the maps, but the position is clear from Buchanan's description, viz., on the eastern extremity of the hill close to Saraiya village. The real name is सावलगढ़.

(2) Gahuwan N.

(3) This is the image referred to above as having been seen by Buchanan at Tiwai. There is a drawing of it (No. 24) among the manuscripts at the India Office, which has not been reproduced in Martin's *E. I.* From the sketch the image would clearly appear to be Buddhistic (it might possibly be Jaina). It is a standing (erect) figure, with the distinctive curly hair done up in the *ushnisa* style, with top-knot, long ears and no drapery except a loin-cloth. There are certain peculiarities which may of course be due to the inaccuracy of the draughtsman. As Buchanan describes the figure as being "about the human size", it is not likely to have been carried there from elsewhere. Further inquiry about this image seems desirable, as no Buddhistic sculptures of such dimensions appear to have been discovered in this remote part of the district.

(4) Madurna.

(5) Chandj. See page 121, Note (1).

Bul Kandi Singha of the Khaindi⁽¹⁾ family says that his ancestors, Pori⁽²⁾ Rajputs, came from Bundela and entered into the service of a Bhor Raja who lived at Siyur, close by the hills. Two men Dumundeo and Baduldeo came. Soon after the Bhor sent them to Chayenpur, to the Hakim, and killed their families. On this the Rajputs applied to the Hakim at Chainpur, and having cured his son procured his assistance and destroyed the Bhor and took their lands. Some of the Bhor remain, they are impure. In Aughtgama⁽³⁾ are a few houses of Cherus, but most of the people are Khairwars. The Pori⁽⁴⁾hars deny the former superiority of the Sukurwars. They say the Hakim at Chayenpur was a Moslem. He says that the Khairwars and Cherus eat fowls, swine and beef, but this they deny, owing probably to fear. The Bellounji⁽⁴⁾ Rajah he considers as a Khairwar. Once in three years there is an annual sacrifice in which a cow, sow and fowl are sacrificed. There are some Suryabangsis in Mirzapur acknowledged as true Rajputs, and some Nagbangsis here also acknowledged as such, although it is probable that they are originally Khairwars and Cherus. I find that every one except themselves consider the Pori⁽⁵⁾hars as Bhor⁽⁵⁾, and this is no doubt the case, but they have separated from those who live impure.

The temple at Mer is a very curious building. What is called a Chabutar, or elevated platform, seems to me the foundation of a small temple of a square form, with a small projection towards the north. The foundations alone remain to the height of about 4 feet, and the space within is filled up with ruins, while many stones are scattered about. It would seem that the whole outside of the building has been richly adorned with small images of men, beasts and gods, and

(1) **Koindi**. The Siyur mentioned is about 2½ mi. SE.

(2) **Parihar**, one of the four Agnikula clans, who were supreme in Bundelkhand before the Chandels ousted them in the first half of the ninth century, when they appear to have moved north and east, having many conflicts with the Bhars.

(3) The name is indistinct in the Manuscript. It may be intended for 'Awnkhara (but see also above, page 85), a village two and half miles south-east of **Amawan**.

(4) See page 75 above, and Appendix G.

(5) This is very interesting, but not in the way Buchanan interpreted it.

with numerous foliages and mouldings. The style of carving is pretty much the same as at Baidyonath, and some people attribute this also to the Suyir. Vast pains have been taken to destroy the images, and those that remain are merely ornamental, few of them so entire as to leave room for conjecturing what they were. One is a Ganesa with 16 arms. Another is a Linga supported by a fish and surrounded by three nymphs. The niche for containing the image, like that at Baidyonath, has been thrown out from the temple. The image which was the object of worship seems to have been thrown into a tank at some distance. It was covered with earth, but on digging it out it resembles what was called Kuber in Behar, and is about the natural size.

20th February.—I went to Tallah⁽¹⁾ in order to have a view of where the Karamnasa comes from the hills. I went first rather more than three miles to Ghati⁽²⁾ along a beautiful well cultivated valley and leaving to my right Khaundi⁽³⁾, the residence of the chief Bhor family. It is a large, mud-walled house, thatched. Mungul Singha, the chief, and his uncle with many kinsmen visited me yesterday. They are very civil persons, and abstain from a division of their property, and the younger branches are proud of their chief and serve him with the attachment of a highland clan. They spoke with indignation of one of them who had applied for a division.

At Ghati, which is a narrow rocky passage in the northern range of hills, the family has built a small neat temple of stone, but there has [*sic*] been at the place some old buildings very much carved. After passing the ghat I entered the great plain, having however north from me three hills, and saw the house of Kirpa Singha another Bhor Rajah before me⁽⁴⁾. It is a large mud-walled house, roofed with tile, and seems uncommonly neat. About two miles from Ghati I entered a level passage between two hills in the same

(1) Tala, in Mirzapur district, two and half miles from the Shahabad boundary.

(2) Chanti, i.e., Ghati, the place at the ghat through the hills.

(3) Koindi.

(4) The village name is not given, but from a little sketch map among the manuscripts, it must have been at or near the village marked Songar on the Survey sheet.

range. This passage is wide, and in some places cultivated. An old reservoir in it has been lined with hewn stone. The hills may be half a mile wide, and on that towards the right on a low part projecting towards the south-east is a small ruin of stone called Ramgar⁽¹⁾. From thence I went about a cose along the plain through a very thick wood of thorny trees to Tallah ghat, the boundary of Behar. The passage between the hills is low, narrow and stony, and there has been a wall and gate at the boundary. From thence to Tallah village was about two miles through a similar wood, with broken swelling land in a valley widening towards the west.

21st February.—I went up the banks of the Karmanasa⁽²⁾ in order to see Chanpathar⁽³⁾, or the precipice over which it falls into a very narrow, deep glen. The course about south-east, distance 6 miles. I went first about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mile to the bottom of the hill, and after a short rocky ascent, not very steep, came to an old wall by which the ascent has at one time been defended, but my guides had no tradition by whom built. About $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from the tents, I came to the bank of the Karamnasa where it forms the boundary between Benares and Behar. It may be sunk 150 feet below the rock on which we stood, and contains much water, nearly stagnant, and which when viewed from above appears quite green. The glen is very narrow and its sides quite perpendicular, but in the

(1) Ramgarh, the fourth place of this name visited by Buchanan.

(2) Karmanasa, from *karma*, work or deed, and *nasa*, destruction; pronounced Karamnasa in the vernacular. Many legends centre round this little river, which from the earliest historical times has been regarded as impure by Hindus. Babur, in his own memoirs under the date 1st April, 1529, writes: "The army had dismounted on the bank of the Karamnasa river, about the water of which Hindus are understood to be extremely scrupulous. They do not cross it, but go past its mouth by boat along the Gang. They firmly believe that if its water touch a person, the merit of his works is destroyed.....". (A. S. Beveridge, *The Memoirs of Babur*, II, 659-660).

(3) Chhanpatthar, which may mean "the hidden (छन्न) rock" fall, but I think the name has more probably been derived from the sound the water makes(छन्न), *chhan* being applied to a "ringing" noise). In his Report (MS. Vol. I, page 30) Buchanan, when describing the water-fall, writes of the "whole rock named Chhan or the strainer". There seems to be some difference of opinion as to the height of the fall. The *Statistical Account of 1877* and the *Gazetteer of 1906* agree with Buchanan. On the S. S. 140 feet is marked; while the *Gazetteer of 1924* says "three hundred feet of which the lower portion, one hundred feet high, is perpendicular".

bottom we saw a good many buffaloes feeding. No bamboos, but a good many large trees in the glen, on the hills many small trees scattered at considerable distances, chiefly Gulgul, a *Sterculia* and a *Sale*⁽¹⁾. The two last look at a distance as if they had no bark, as in many places is usual with the *Lagerstroemia parviflora*⁽²⁾. The whole ascent is very gradual, and this is the only place on the hills, so far as I have seen, that there is easy access to the table land. The country above is however very hilly and rugged, but a road could be made with very little trouble everywhere, except at two watercourses, the descents into which are very steep. There is no village near, but at two places are bathans from Chainpur, one the whole year and another in the rainy season. Round these is some ground of a tolerable soil, but in general there is very little soil on the rocks, and no traces of verdure on the grass, which is short and quite withered. The larger watercourse named Mursi⁽³⁾ is about four miles from Tallah, and is very deep sunk in the rock, while its sides are in most places perfectly perpendicular. It contains water in several stagnant pools. At Chanpathar the Karamnasa falls over a rock perhaps 100 feet high and 300 feet wide, but the stream at present is very inconsiderable, but in the rains it must be very grand, as where we stood owing to a bend in the river there is a full view of the whole from the opposite side of the pool that receives the water, and which is large and deep. The water appears here also quite green, but in fact is very clear as we could see the rocks to a great depth. A family of otters were playing in it. The glen for some way below is filled from side to side by the channel, so that no one can approach the pool from below. The stone so far as I went seems to be entirely similar to that of Rhotas. I suspect that the lower strata at the fall are of lime, and

(1) The Gulgul, more properly spelt *galgal* (from the softness of its wood) is the *Cochlospermum Gossypium*, as it furnishes a kind of kapok. *Sterculia*—possibly *urens*, which is often found in these hills with the next named tree. *Sale* (vula, *salaiya*) is the *Boswellia serrata*, a very conspicuous tree on the hill side from its colouring, and a tree that has given its name to many sites.

(2) The *sida* of the local vernacular, a valuable timber tree, much used for poles and rafters in house-building, etc.

(3) Apparently the *Lusin N.* of the S. S.

I know that lime was dug from the side of the glen about two miles above Tallah, to which length the passage is accessible. On sending to this place, my people brought two kinds of limestone, one a congeries of white irregular crystals, said to be a mass like a tent, the other like the Asar hur⁽¹⁾, said to be in 4 or 5 heaps of a similar size. Both are near the river at a little distance from the rocky walls of the glen.

22nd February.—I returned to Ramgar, and proceeded north from thence to Barari ⁽²⁾ about a coss. Ramgar, built by the Bhors, has been a strange kind of fortified house, or rather assemblage of houses rising one above the other along the ridge of the hill. The lowest seems to have been that chiefly intended for defence, and is a square placed on a terrace with a double row of loop-holes. It seems doubtful whether it has been roofed, nor is there any subdivision into chambers. The wall is about 8 feet high. The other buildings are subdivided, and have no doubt been dwelling houses, but are very ruinous and the roof quite gone. Although clay has been used for mortar they are neater masonry than usual, the rows of stone being pretty regular. Except for some mouldings, small stones have been selected. Under a tree near it is an image very like that most common ⁽³⁾ at Keoya Dol in the Burabar hills.

The people here say that the low Bhors eat pork of swine, but the Rajah and Babus wear the thread and live pure. They marry with the Suryabongsis of Mirzapur, who are also Bhor, and that is probably the original seat of the tribe. There are 3 branches of the Rajah's family under 3 Babus, who separated 14 or 15 generations ago. They did not appear when the settlement was made, and it was given to Adil Ali Khan, who has let the land to the old proprietors. His lease is near expired.

Nindawr⁽⁴⁾ is said to have been the residence of Nindu Raja.

(1) Thus written in the manuscript; meant, it seems, for *asurhar* ("Asuras' bones"). See the Bhagalpur Report (Martin's *E. I.*, II, 184).

(2) **Bharari.**

(3) Evidently Mahisasuramardini. Kauwa Dol is in the Gaya district.

(4) **Nindaur** (= Nindu-pura).

23rd February.—I went to visit it. The distance from Barari is almost 3 miles, yet the old fort from thence is very distinguishable. I conjecture the perpendicular height to be 40 or 50 feet. It consists of a mass of rude stones, brick and earth, very irregular in height and shape, extending 780 feet from east to west and 1080 from north to south, and composed of 5 irregular masses. All the stones are rude and the bricks broken. There is no appearance of a ditch. The village of Nindaur is at its north end. East from it about 200 feet is a pretty considerable elevation of brick, stone and mud at the south side of Patna ⁽¹⁾ village. The south side of it is called Chamartuli ⁽²⁾, or quarter of shoemakers. On its north end two brother zemindars made two castles, now in ruins. North-east from the old town is a tank called Patna tank, and south from it is another called Nachaniya Vir. At the village of Patna a Linga has been placed under a tree and surrounded by a wall, within which have been collected some broken images much in the style of those at Baidyonath and others attributed to the Siyur. In particular many fragments of the stones divided into compartments, each containing a figure. One small stone contains 3 females with large rufis ⁽³⁾. The largest image is called Mahavira, but its face is quite human and there is no vestige of tail. At the south-west corner of the fort on the south side of Serampur ⁽⁴⁾ village is a pretty considerable elevation called Baguwan ⁽⁵⁾ or place of recreation. Under a tree are a good many stones, quite rude but they serve the people as seats. One is a fragment of the usual quadrangular stones divided into compartments. West from thence are 2 tanks now almost obliterated and called Judara and Sidhayi. From their position they would appear to have been dug by the Moslems. North from Serampur is a considerable elevation of

(1) A small village now, but the whole site around must have been a very important one in ancient times, judging from the remains and the number of tanks and reservoirs about.

(2) **Chamartoli.**

(3) See Martin's *E. I.*, I, 467, Plate IX. The head-dress seems to resemble that found depicted on figures attributed to the Bhars in the U. P.

(4) **Shiwraampur.**

(5) In the Report "place of refreshment"; no doubt so interpreted to Buchanan!

ick, stones and earth which seems to have been an appendage of Nindaur. West from thence are the monuments of several Moslems, one of whom was saint. They are petty buildings of stone.

From thence I came back about a mile to Pateswor (1) hill, on a small detached projection from which Ragonath Singha, chief of the Bhors, built a considerable fort. The projection is long, narrow and level on the top. The outer fort at the east end was merely surrounded by a wall. The inner, separated from thence by a ditch, was strengthened by round bastions with loop-holes, and was divided into 2 courts. The accommodations very miserable, and no windows. A Moslem servant who was murdered by one of the Bhors is considered as a martyr by the Moslems, to whom the place now belongs. A grave is built on one of the bastions, and a Mazawur has an endowment. The Moslems acquired the estate by purchase. The stones are not cut with the chisel, but the masses are naturally fit for building, splitting into masses 4 or 5 inches thick and breaking easily into square fragments, so that the masonry looks neater than in the buildings at Sasaram that are cut with the chisel. The strata perfectly horizontal. The same is the case on the main hill of Pateswor, but the stone there in different places assumes very different appearances; of 4 remarkable I have brought specimens. The village of Pateswor stands between the fort and hill, and is large and thriving. Under a tree have been collected many carved fragments such as are usual in the works of the Siyur. At a little distance east from thence was found some time ago a pretty large image most exceedingly rude. It evidently represents Mahavira. It was immersed in the mud of a tank, and a pious Hindu merchant hired some people to place it on a platform of earth, but after taking it from the tank the workmen contended themselves by placing it on

(1) **Patesar.** In the volume of Drawings among the Buchanan Manuscripts in the India Office Library there is a sketch (No. 32) of the plan of the fort referred to here, and on the back, in Buchanan's hand-writing, is "Plan of Raguvingar". On the Survey sheet there is a place called Raghur Garh some four and a half miles to the south-east of Patesvar. In the Report also Buchanan calls the fort at Patesvar "Raghuvirgar". Here, it will be noticed, he says it was built by Ragonath (i.e., Raghunath) Singh.

the ground and raising a heap of earth round it, by which one half is buried. A flag is hoisted near, and the projecting part of the image is well bedaubed with oil and red lead. The low caste here consider the Siyur as Suryabangsis, and traditions are often preserved by them with more purity than among the learned.

24th February.—I went to Chakayi ⁽¹⁾ in the Mirzapur district. The boundary is at a small ridge of hills, close to the north end of which I passed about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Barari. This hill is of the structure usual in this district. The strata thin and quite horizontal. The stone fine-grained and exceedingly tough, almost like hornblende, although it has nothing of that in its appearance, and is a mealy hornstone. The fracture of large masses conchoidal, but in small fragments this is scarcely observable. The part of Mirzapur through which I passed to-day is the private estate of the Banaras Rajah. What is cultivated is in good condition, the Ahars being in good repair, but a great deal is covered with forests. The villages look well, most of them having a mud castle with a neat tiled roof, which has a good effect. The country very beautiful. The fine cultivation intermixed with forest, and, besides the ridge of hills to the south, several small hummocks scattered through the plain have a very fine effect, especially at Chakayi, where a hunting seat of the Rajah's adds much to the prospect. It is a small park or paddock containing 5 or 6 acres, surrounded by a good wall with a cupola at each corner. Within this is a Baradwari small temple covered with one dome, and some other buildings, all in a bad style, but any thing to relieve the eye from the perpetuity of mud-walled hovels is a great relief. Chakayi is a small town where a good deal of sugar (China)⁽²⁾ is made. The Daroga very attentive, although he had no instructions to be so. The western end of the town is not quite 2 miles from the Karamnasa, which is about 5 miles from the boundary. On the whole Chakayi is about $9\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Borari. The Karamnasa is about 150 yards wide, a deep sandy

(1) Chakia, in Mirzapur District.

(2) Chini ("of China"), soft sugar, unrefined.

channel with a little clear water and scarcely perceptible stream. At a little distance east from its bank, at a village called Mangraur ⁽¹⁾, are some heaps containing bricks and stones. Among these I observed 2 fragments of the four-sided columns divided into compartments that are usual in the ruins attributed to the Suyir. The Rajah's Tahsildar also very attentive. This Perganah forms part of the Altagma ⁽²⁾.

25th February.—I went to Bahuli⁽³⁾ by a very bad road or rather none at all. It is probable that I was misled by the ignorance of my guide, as the distance was said to be only 5 coses, and the distance I went is at least 12 miles. The road was near a chain of little hills, the greatest interval between which is near Bahuli, the two hills near which it stands being removed at a considerable distance from those to the east. These little hills, although naked, give a fine appearance to the intervening plains and to the flat country towards the Ganges, which is fully cultivated and abundantly planted, although not choked with trees. The Ahars in good repair; much sugar, although in general the soil is rather poor. The huts very bad.

The hills of the same structure as towards the east. The stone in some places wrought for mortars, sugar mills, &c.

About 1½ mile from Chakayi I crossed a channel* called the Durgauti. It is similar to the Karamnasa, but rather smaller, and its water is stagnant.⁽⁴⁾ About 5½ miles farther, at a considerable village named Serwa⁽⁵⁾ close under the hills, I saw a large ruin of stone which has been a large house composed as usual of many detached buildings. The walls still standing. Many smaller buildings, evidently Muhammedan, scattered to a distance, and one on the top

(1) Mangraur gave its name to a *mahal*—then in *sarkar* Rohtas—in Todar Mal's rent-roll.

(2) Altamgha (*التمغا*), a word of Turki origin, derived from *al*, red, and *tamgha*, stamp or seal; the royal seal, and then a grant of land made under the royal seal. In the dialect *tamgha* is pronounced *tagma*.

(3) Bhulli.

(4) Chandraprabha N.

(5) Sarewa.

of the hill. This is said by the people to have been the chief seat of the Ghurwar⁽¹⁾ Rajputs, who had held the country for 14 generations when they were turned out by Rajah Bulwunt.⁽²⁾ Some of them still remain in the country, but they are poor. Before them the country belonged to the Suyir, and I suspect that Mangraur was a seat of theirs, not of the Ghurwars as I was yesterday informed; because the style in which the fragments of carved stones that I saw is quite that of the Suyir, and because the ruins appear to be of great antiquity, having lost all symmetry. A few images at or near Serwa are quite in a different style, and seem to be quite recent. In the hill above Serwa is a cave in which it is said that a Fakir lived. The rock adjacent is still covered with lime, but the Fakir has gone since the Hindus have obtained possession of the country. The cave seems to have had a door and windows. Rather more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Serwa I crossed a river called the Gurreyi.⁽³⁾ Its channel is not so wide as even that of the Durgauti, but it contains more water, is filled from side to side and in some places is scarcely fordable; but this seems to be owing to dams, for the water is nearly stagnant. Some canals are taken from it for watering the fields. Bahuli is a small town and Thanah situated between two branches of a rocky hill, near which as I have said is another towards the west. On its east side is a small lake or reservoir, which even now has 4 or 5 acres of water, and in the rainy season may have twice as much. On its side are the ruins of a small stone fort on which several houses have been built. By the side of the lake I observed some carved stones in the style of the Suyir. The fort is called Saktisgurh,⁽⁴⁾ and also belonged to the Ghurwar Rajputs. On examining the east of the hill I found a small modern temple of rough stone, but it contained an old image of Mahavira, and many carved stones [lie] scattered round. The carvings are less injured here than I

(1) *Gahadavala*, the Gaharwar of Sherring (I. 175-177).

(2) Balwant Singh, son of Mansa Ram, and father of Chait Singh.

(3) Garai N.

(4) Saktisgarh.

have any where else observed in the works attributed to the Suyir. The Hanuman entirely resembles that at Patana,⁽¹⁾ and the other carved stones are chiefly the little four-sided equilateral obelisk and other smaller four-sided stones shaped much like bricks, but much larger. Several of the figures are indecent, which I have not observed in the works of the Cheros, the Linga excepted. The people here know nothing of the Cheros, but say that the Suyir possessed the whole country as far at least as Banaras and Chandalgur,⁽²⁾ and long preceded Raja Banar from whom the former derives its name. After the Suyir, who were an impure tribe, came the Ghurwars, pure Rajputs. The 14th Rajah having had no children, applied to the Moslem saint at Chandalgur, from whom he obtained two sons, and was converted to the faith, but many branches of the tribe continue Hindus, among whom is a Raja Vikramajit, still a considerable landholder in the western part of this district of Mirzapur. The 26th Rajah was expelled by the father of Bulwunt, the first Brahman⁽³⁾ Rajah of the Banaras family. The Moslem Gurwars⁽⁴⁾ had built several mosques both here and at Serwa, and near both are numerous burial places of stones in the Moslem fashion, that is terraces supported by a stone wall neatly cut and sometimes surrounded by a wall. The graves are on the terrace, each covered by a stone or small tomb of bricks, from the shape of which you may judge of the sex of the corpse, and where the person has not been a saint, of its size, that is the grave stone of a child is always small, and of an adult about the natural size.⁽⁵⁾ The ridge of the grave stone of a male is rounded, while that of a female is flat with a hollow in the middle.

26th February.—I went to Chandalgur, vulgo Chunar, about 6 coses through a very rich and beautiful country. After passing the hill by a difficult ghat, which might have been entirely avoided by going along its bottom, I found a tolerable road.

(1) See page 149 above, and Martin's *E. I.*, I, 467, and Plate IX.

(2) i.e., Chunar. The derivation of Benares given here is fanciful.

(3) Mansa Ram, a Bhumiwar Brahman, or Babhan.

(4) i.e., converted Gaharwars.

(5) Cf. the "Qanoon-e-Islam" of Jafar Sharif (1832 ed.), page 419.

NOTE.

The following pages (covering 18 pages of the manuscript) form a supplement to the Journal.

They contain a record in tabular form of Buchanan's marches from one halting place to another, showing the proportion of each type of country traversed, with interesting observations on the crops, soils, methods of irrigation, cattle, etc.

The figures in this statement represent the time taken (shown in number of minutes) in travelling over each type of country specified. For a full explanation of the system followed by Buchanan, see Mr. V. H. Jackson's Introduction to the Patna-Gaya Journal (J. B. O. R. S. Vol. VIII, pp. 164-6).

APPENDIX I.

Date.	Place.		Rivers.	Hills.	Low.		High.		Observations.
					Occupied.	Waste.	Waste.	Occupied.	
Nov. 3rd ...	Kotwar Arrah.	to	...	...	...	...	128	4	The waste land merely broken corners. The great crop on the ground Ararah and Kodo, a little Arinda(1) and Janera and Indigo, one field of Bajreo (2). Much wheat or barley not watered, very little irrigation. No rice.
Nov. 6th ...	To Mosar	...	1	...	...	...	78	3	Some rice. Much less Ararah and Kodo, some Janera more Indigo. Some But and mustard and popply. Much wheat and barley. A good deal of irrigation. The wells not deep. Cattle very small and poor. Some Buffaloes.
Nov. 11th	From Arrah to Boundary.	...	...	...	...	...	44	3	Near Arrah much irrigation from wells, further on land poor, trees stunted some rice which has suffered much owing to the want of Ahars.
...	Boundary Pownah.	to	2	...	...	...	74	41	Soil better, a stiff clay. Great crop rice but much has failed owing to too few Ahars, where there has been pains on these the crop good. Few wells. Many buffaloes. The water Ahars. Of the waste, 4 broken corners, 20 bushes, 6 long grass tolerably green, 11 deserted fields.
Nov. 12th	Pownah Ekwari.	to	$\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	75	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	The great crop rice, 13 parts totally lost except perhaps some seedling land which could not be distinguished. Of the remainder a great deal very poor. Where there is water it is very good but there are few Ahars. The rubbi all watered. I saw no Koyeri(3) land. Of the waste land 4 broken corners evidently deserted 16 of which 10 rice 6 rubbi land 1 part a marsh covered with Uri(4) rice. Waste high bare land 7, low covered with long coarse grass tolerably green 25; among this are thinly scattered Palas trees. The soil excellent. Not nearly stocked with cattle but a good many buffaloes. $\frac{1}{2}$ Palas woods. I suspect this waste land was formerly cultivated as in the middle

(1) Castor-oil plant, *Ricinus communis*.(2) *Bajra*, a species of millet, *Pennisetum typhoideum*.(3) This is probably meant for Koiri. The Koiris of Shahabad are reputed to be very skilful cultivators. *Koirar* is a term sometimes applied in this district to land near the village which is well manured and intensely cultivated, frequently held by Koiris, generally known as *goenr*, or *goenra*, in South Bihar.(4) The word *uri* is not, as far as I remember, used in Shahabad. It is applied to the "wild" rice, and is commonly used in the eastern districts, whence Buchanandoubtless acquired it. Cf. the Sans. *urhi* (ब्रीहि)

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	Occupied.	Waste.	Fallow.	—	Observations.
	Pownah to Ekwari— <i>cont. id.</i>							of it there is a large Ahar. Many plantations of Mango and Mohuyal, no palms. A few bamboos. A great part of the country said to be overflowed.
Nov. 15th	Ekwari to Deo B zamruk.	1	...	86	75	...	...	By far the greater part of the occupied land is transplanted winter rice on low land which has suffered much from the want of tanks and Ahars although there are some of both. There is some But(1) both on this low land and on what is higher. The high land is much neglected, many plantations Mango and Mohuyal. The chief crop seems summer rice, a good deal of pease, some wheat, barley or mustard, 2 plots sugar cane. These watered but this is much neglected. Of the waste, 5 parts broken corners, 4½ clear on which there are no traces of cultivation, 7 bushes, 55½ deserted, partly perhaps fallow, the three last on high ground, 3 parts are long grass which with broken corners is all that is absolutely waste. Many cattle, oxen and buffalos, 2 herds of sheep. No pasture. In the rains they must be well off. At present wretched. The bag(2) more common than the lata (3). Soil ash colour, in general clay.
Nov. 17th	From Ekwari to boundary.	1½	...	94	63½	...	...	Country much as yesterday, less high land. The rubbi not watered. Of the waste, 6 parts broken corners, 26 deserted, 5 bushes, high poor land. Palas stunted woods, fine soil, 18½. It seems to be fast reclaiming for rubbi, long grass with a few stunted trees, fit for rice, 8 parts.
	Boundary to Lalganj.	...	...	6	2	...	...	The waste bushes on poor high land, very few reservoirs, the rice crop of course bad. Water lying in pools from last rain 8 or 10 days ago. The soil therefore retentive. Many cows and buffaloes, both poor.
Nov. 18th	Lalganj to Bilanngti.	...	...	103	108	...	...	The number of cattle exceedingly great, many of the cows young. A good many buffaloes and sheep.

(1) Bunt, or chana, "gram" or chick-pea.

(2) i.e., mot, a leathern water-bag, worked by oxen.

(3) i.e., latha, the pole or lever at the end of which an iron bucket is hung, used for raising water, worked by men.

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	Occupied.	Waste.	Fallow.	—	Observations.
	Lalganj to Bilaungti— <i>conoid.</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	South from the Biya (1) jungle the country much deserted and much of the rice both summer and winter has entirely failed. The people seem to be taking entirely to a pastoral life, some villages deserted some entirely without cultivation. Little rubbi, and little of that watered. In the jungle 4 miles and its skirts there are many spots of cultivation, mostly Sirsoo(2). I suppose after Maize. North from the jungle 48 minutes all cultivated except a few broken corners, great crop But, some with barley among it, next Arahar(3) with Kodo. No rice. Of the waste, 6½ broken corners, 5 deserted plantations, 51 deserted fields, 44½ woods and 1 long grass.
Nov. 23rd	Relaungti to boundary.	...	...	64	15	...	...	The country overwhelmed with plantations, among which some bamboos. The waste consists of 5½ parts of stunted trees, 3½ parts broken corners, 6 parts deserted fields. Much rice.
	Boundary to Barepur.	...	...	50	5	...	...	Plantations numerous, little rice, much orahar(3), Wheat and Chana(4). Few cattle; I presume they are sent to the jungles. 7½ parts of the waste broken corners, 10 clear land on one place Rerh(5), 2½ bushes. Not much rice. The great crop pease or mosur(6) mixed with Barley or wheat. Some poppy and irrigation from wells. Too many trees, a few palms. A good many cattle.
Nov. 24th	Barepur to Dumraong.	...	...	110	20	...	...
Nov. 29th	Dumraong to Nalyanagar.	1½	...	68	85½	...	...	All the country high and rather swelling. Scarcely any rice. Much But, some Arahar, some barley or wheat not watered. The watering confined to the immediate vicinity of villages. Of the waste, 4½ broken corners, 8 deserted, of which 5 are plantations, 3 fields, 38 bushes, 35 stunted woods mostly Palas. Many cattle, both cows and buffaloes. No palms nor bamboos, many Mohuyas.

(1) Bihiya. The old "forest" was generally called either the Bihiya or the Jagdispur forest.

(2) i.e., sarson, mustard or rape, *Brassica campestris*.

(3) i.e., arhar (vulgo rakar), the Pigeon-pea, *Cajanus indicus*.

(4) The same as bunt, chick-pea.

(5) Rendi or reurt, the "Arinda" of page 156 above, q. v.

(6) Masur or masuri, the Indian lentil, *Lens esculenta*.

Date.	Place.	Water.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	-	-	Observations.
Nov. 30th	Nowanagar to boundary.	...	21½	...	23½	...	...	Mostly high land. The little rice that was has chiefly failed. Even the winter crops very poor. Arahar and Til(1) the most common. The waste consists of 15 parts bushes, 5 deserted fields and 1½ broken corners. Vast numbers of cattle on which the people seem chiefly to subsist. Many hedges as usual.
	Boundary to Suryapur.	2	13	...	60	...	...	Much rice, but it has almost entirely failed the Ahars having gone to decay. Much land near the villages watered from wells by the bag, on which chiefly the people seem to subsist. In the fields far from the villages the great crops But and Arahar mixed with Kodo. The former good, the latter bad. The water is Ahars, the bottoms although dry not cultivated. The waste long grass. A good many cattle. In both divisions many new plantations forming, although the extent is superfluous and other cultivation neglected. Many hedges.
Dec. 1st	Saryapur to Do. (2).	2	105	...	£2	...	...	Near Surjapura the rice has in general failed and even a good deal of the Chana. One rain more would have saved the whole, or the Ahars in repair(3). Near Deo I passed 2 very large Ahars which contained more water than is wanted and the crops of rice are good. The principal support of the people will be the land watered from wells by the Moth(4), but the people say that they have not cattle in general for extending that cultivation. The wells not deep. The exertion near Deo seems to be owing to many of the people there being zemindar Brahmans. Much Sirsoo and Chana, little Arahar, much rice and wheat, some palms near Deo. Many plantations. Many cattle, 2 herds sheep, 1 of goats which I have seen nowhere else. Of the waste, 5½ parts broken corners, 8½ deserted, 10½ clear poor soil, 34½ long grass fit for rice, 46 covered with

(1) Sesamum, *Sesamum indicum*.

(2) A slip for Deo (Marakandeya).

(3) i.e., or had the ahars been kept in repair.

(4) See page 157, Note (2).

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
	Suryapur to Do. —concl'd.	...	..	...	...	...	...	jujub(1) bushes, fit for rubbi, rather poor. The whole channel of the Ka(2) cultivated.
Dec. 3rd ...	From Suryapur to Devasthan	2	...	77	...	41	...	The greater part of the country a stiff light coloured clay fit for rice, but some light and very sandy. This no worse cul- tivated than the others, being watered from wells for wheat. The great crops Rice, But and wheat. Much of the former has failed owing to the want of water. The Ahars in some places not repaired, in others being entirely want- ing. The waste: broken corners 2½ parts, clear land in sandy soil 3½, deserted lately 4½, long harsh grass 47½, woods 19. Cattle not so numerous as hitherto, but still many both cows and buffaloes. No hedges. Many plantations, some deserted.
Dec. 5th ...	From Suryapur to boundary.	1	...	30	...	79	...	Not so much of the crop lost owing to a fine Ahar which waters a great extent and even now sends out a large stream which has not been applied to the rice as superfluous, although the crop is stunted, much wheat watered. The waste con- sists of 5 broken corners, 9½ deserted near Suryapur, 14½ clear land and 1 bushes.
	From Boun- dary to Noka.	...	...	52	...	57	...	Not so well watered, but little of the rice absolutely lost although the whole is very poor. Much Masuri and But. The waste consists of 3½ broken corners, 4 clear, 4 deserted, 35½ long grass, 5 bushes. Many cattle and buffaloes, both very small. The Moth used even when the water is very near the surface, and the beasts of no weight.
Dec. 6th ...	Noka to Baraong.	...	2	44½	...	40½	...	Crops as yesterday. The waste consists of 2½ broken corners, 13 deserted, 2 of poor clear land, 11 of bushes a light sandy soil, 11 of long grass, a very stiff clay. Among both this and the deserted I see some small plots cultivated with Masuri and linseed mixed and very thriving without

(1) The Indian Jujube, *Zizyphus Jujuba*, vernacular *bair* or *ber*.

(2) The Kao river.

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	I	Observations.
	Nokat to Baraong — <i>concid.</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	watering, and it can be only indolence that has prevented the whole of these from having been cultivated. Cattle as usual.
Dec. 8th ...	Baraong to Bamini.	...	2	15	...	26½	...	The waste 1½ broken corners, 2 deserted or fallow, 7 clear poor land, 1½ grass in stiff clay, 3 bushes in sandy soil. Beyond Bamini so far as I could see the country seems well occupied and is green with rubbi. To the hills rice is the great crop, but some rubbi.
	Baraong to Jakini.	...	...	1	...	14	...	Crops mostly rice. The waste merely broken corners. So far as I saw there is much cultivation in this direction.
Dec. 11th	Baraong to boundary.	...	...	12	...	13	...	The waste, 1 part broken corners, 8 long grass and 3 bushes. Crops mostly rice.
	Boundary to Sahegram.	...	...	29	...	52	...	The chief crop rice but much rubbi, some of it not watered. The waste, 3½ broken corners, clear poor land, 12 deserted or fallow, long grass 6½, bushes chiefly palas on rich land 3. Many palmiras(1) at Sahegram.
Dec. 12th	Sahegram to boundary.	...	7	49	...	59	...	Crops mostly rubbi. The waste land, broken corners 15½, uneven ground near the hills 15½, and bushes or stunted woods 29½.
	Boundary to Tilhanutta.	1	...	56	...	41	...	The greatest crop rice, but perhaps 1/5 part of what I have stated as occupied consists of useless plantations near the town. Many palmiras and some dates among the plantations. The waste consists of 2½ broken corners, 1 deserted rice field immediately contiguous to a tank full of water, and 52½ stunted woods, among which many large Mohuyas have been allowed to grow up. Cattle not very numerous.
Dec. 14th	From Tilhanutta to Ramgar and Kotule- devi and back.	...	8	146	...	61	...	About ½ of the occupied land consists of plantations near the Son, where the soil is poor but capable enough of producing rubbi if watered. The soil midway between the hills and river very rich. The rubbi the best I have seen in the

(1) *Borassus flabellifer*, the Palmyra, or "Toddy" palm.

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	—	Waste.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
	From Tilhanth to Ramgar and Kotuladeri and back —concl'd.	...	...	...	...	...	...	district, a good deal watered, partly wheat partly mustard. What is not watered Arahar and kulthi(1). Not much rice. All very fit for cultivation. The cattle in tolerable condition, not very numerous.
Dec. 15th	From Tilantha to Balmunya.	...	...	..	40½	20½	...	Country as yesterday, still more plantations. Of the waste, 22 woods, 11 bushes, 4½ deserted.
Dec. 17th	From Tilanthu to Kasina.	...	...	...	...	...	...	Watch stopt. About 5 ahas cultivated, very little rice, much watered land with wheat and mustard. What is not watered produces chiefly Arahar and Kulthi. The soil sandy. Crops where watered very good. The waste all thorny bushes.
Dec. 18th	From Kasinama to Majgawa.	1	5½	...	45	50½	...	The crops mostly rubbi and watered look very well. The waste, except 3 of broken corners, consists of stunted woods or high bushes. The soil good the whole way from the hills to the river.
Dec. 23th	Majgawa to Nahatta.	...	14	...	75	69	...	The crops good rice and rubbi, nearly equal; many small Ahars; much irrigation. The waste land all of a good soil, 3 broken corners, 7½ clear, 64 woods more or less stunted. The hills are some small ones that skirt the Son, very rocky but not steep; 6 parts clear, 8 parts covered with stunted trees.
Dec. 26th	Nahatta to Porcha.	...	...	...	85	30	...	Crops mostly rice and such as grow in the rainy season. Ahars too few, but in good order. The soil everywhere good. The waste consists of broken corners 2, deserted or fallow 6, clear 4, grass 7, bushes 3, woods more or less stunted 63. Many cattle, the buffaloes in excellent order.
Dec. 27th	Porcha to Jadunathpur.	...	...	...	103	42	...	Less rice, more rubbi, but none of it watered. Three months' rain required for all crops, rain in winter destroys where(2). The waste land consists of 2½ broken corners, clear 4, deserted plantation 1, bushes 9½, of which 5 on good land, 4½ on rocks. 86 parts wood, of

(1) *Dolichos biflorus*, the Horse-gram, a leguminous pulse.

(2) We should probably read "wheat".

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	—	Waste.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
	Porcha to Jadunathpur —conold.	...	...	...	...	...	...	which 27½ are on little hills and 5½ on level, but 12½ of these are thin as if sprung up on deserted fields. Many cattle. I presume the people live chiefly by their milk.
Dec. 29th	Surki. (1) to Lora	...	32	...	86	15	...	Perhaps equal quantities of rice and high ground cultivated. The rice in narrow winding valleys well supplied with water from springs and torrents; water still remaining in many parts. The high land in the vicinity of the villages mostly occupied with wheat or barley not watered nor very poor; some arahar. The whole perhaps gives a summer crop. A little ricinus(2). No mustard. I see some spots which have been cultivated with the plough after long fallows and sown in the rainy season, but the quantity altogether trifling. I passed through 3 little valleys fit for rice but entirely neglected and 7 partly occupied including Kerki and Lora, but even there the quantity might be much extended by reservoirs. Of the waste land, 22 parts are lawns with scattered Mango, Mohuya and Bot trees round the villages; 14 are open grass with a few spontaneous trees, and 84 are stunted woods. On the whole from what I saw 3 anas may be too steep for the plough, generally rock; 1 ana may be channels of torrents and rocks generally near their banks, and 12 anas may have a good soil mostly yellowish, in a few places red, 1 ana perhaps might be rendered fit for rice and the crops pretty certain. I saw about 20 buffaloes and cattle in full proportion to the extent of cultivation both in excellent condition.
Dec. 31st	From Khet- hanga to Korhur.	...	90	...	150	6	...	On the whole 3 anas too steep for the plough, 2 anas rocky and barren, 6 anas of a good soil; of the waste, 106 stunted woods, 3 thin woods, 31 scattered trees or lawns, mostly on a good soil cultivated after occasional fallows. A good

(1) Sanraki, which Buchanan spells in a variety of ways.

(2) *Ricinus communis*, the castor-oil plant.

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	Waste.	Fallows.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
any. 1st	From Khat-hangs to Korbur— <i>concl'd.</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	deal of deserted rice land among this. Much new rice land might be made by the rivers.
	From Korbur to Kuriyari ghat.	...	35	...	36	12	...	On the whole 7 part(s) may be hilly, 15 parts more rocky or barren, 33 parts good. Of this 15 anas cultivated, of which $\frac{1}{2}$ part may be rice, $\frac{1}{2}$ rubbi, $\frac{1}{2}$ cleared spots in the woods. Of the waste, 56 are woods, 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ scattered trees in lawns near the villages, $\frac{1}{2}$ broken corners. A full proportion of cattle.
		...	...	100	...	1	...	A fine valley almost totally neglected. Of the waste, 86 parts woods mostly bamboos, 6 bushes, 8 clear, formerly occupied.
any. 11th	Saseram to Alempur.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	30	...	127 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	The great crop rice. A good deal has failed, but not so much as usual in this country owing to the Ahars being rather better, and what has failed or is waste is entirely owing to the neglect of these, only 2 had any water. A good deal of Kesari(1) and pease even among the stubble, which might have been the case every where else. Even the inside of the tanks in most places cultivated. Much rubbi watered, no sugar, much cotton. Of the waste, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ broken corners, 15 deserted rice fields, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ clear. Few plantations, many buffaloes. Near Saseram and Alempur cultivation very fine. About 2 miles from Saseram the neglect begins and continues rather less than 4 miles.
any. 12th	Alempur Kurma.	...	...	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	12	...	Much as yesterday, 2 tanks have this year been repaired. Less rubbi and a great deal of it not watered. Except Chana this is very poor. Where watered by the Koiri very rich; a good deal of anise (2) among this both yesterday and to-day. Of the waste, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ broken corners and 16 deserted or fallow owing to want of water, 4 bushes, 1 stunted woods, very few plantations.
any. 13th	Kurma to Sberogur.	...	...	31	...	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	All the cultivation rubbi: not watered. Crops poor, wheat, barley, But, Kult.

(1) Khsari, the "Chickling-vetch", *Lathyrus sativus*.(2) Saunf, *Pimpinella anisum*.

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
	Kurma to Sheregur— concd.							The waste 1 broken corners, 1 deserted, 4 bushes, 25 stunted woods. The soil everywhere good, but some broken by torrents.
Jany. 17th	Kurma to boundary.	1	...	10½	...	58½	...	The waste 3½ broken, 11½ bushes, mostly broken land near the Durgauti and unfit for cultivation 4½ deserted, partly village partly rice, both clear.
	Boundary to Kujura.	...	1	53	...	69	...	The waste 4½ broken corners, 2 deserted rice fields, 16 clear, chiefly poor land near the hills, 10½ bushes mostly near the hills. In both divisions the country nearly the same. Much rubbi, especially Chana, very little watered and the crops poor. The rice has been in general very poor, most of the Ahars having been neglected, but some are repaired this year. No Kesari except at Kujura, where some old tanks give a supply of water. They are now almost choked. A few palmiras among the trees, many of which are scattered through the fields and are not formed into clumps.
Jany. 18th	Kujura Garwat.	6½	...	25½	...	89	...	Much Rubbi, little or none watered. Near Rupa much Arahar on land apparently newly reclaimed and rather swelling; crop good, finely fitted for Maize. A good deal of the rice has Kesari among the stubble. Many Ahars, but none very large 2 fields of sugar near Kajura, the only ones I have seen in the district. Oxen very small; many buffaloes: a large herd of sheep.
Jany. 19th	Garwat to Chayenpur.	15	2	52	...	132	...	For about 2 thirds of the way was among the hills or along their skirts. The whole of the waste, except 2 of the broken corners, is in this space and consists of broken corners 9, clear 10, some of it broken banks of rivers, 25 bushes, some of it the same, wood 7. All to my right appeared a fully occupied country, and the villages large, numerous and better than usual, especially Bagwanpur and Rampur(1), which I saw at a little to my left. The whole crop there rubbi,

Date.	Place.	Water.	Hills.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
	Gurwat to Chayenpur— <i>concid.</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	very good without watering and much of the land seems to be newly taken in; much arahar and Chana. The last third of the way on the plain as fully occupied as possible. Mostly rice. More than a half has had a full supply of water and produces linseed and kesari among the stubble. The Ahars far from equal to those in Behar, and in some parts wretched. There much of the crop has failed. The inside of the Ahars and vicinity of villages, Rubbi not watered, not so good as near the hills; some sugar, two mills with stone mortars, cane very poor. Plantations moderate; many palmiras round Chayenpur.
Jany. 20th	From Manli Osman Koti through Chayenpur.	...	...	3½	...	56½	...	The waste land mere broken corners. Many of the Ahara good. Villages better than usual; some sugar cane. Most of the rice has linseed or Kesari among the stubble.
Jany. 31st	Chayenpur to Mohaniya.	1½	...	19½	...	180	...	Except at Mohaniya, where owing to the neglect of Ahars 3 are deserted, the country is everywhere cultivated as much as possible. Much rubbi not watered, and much of it good, especially pease. By far the greater part of the rice has Kesari among it. Many Ahars and tanks still retain water. Many repairing and new making. At 3 villages much sugar cane. A little watered near villages. Tobacco, vegetables and poppy the most valuable crops. Few plantations, but enough to satisfy the eye. Villages numerous, better than usual in this district. Fully as many cattle, cows, buffaloes, sheep and swine as where there is much waste.
Jany. 24th	Mohaniya to Ekiaspur.	5	...	44	...	73	...	Irrigation much neglected. Most of the tanks in decay; very little of the rice therefore has kesari, and a great deal has failed. Very little of the rubbi near the villages watered from wells. The crops however tolerable, wheat, barley, Mosuri, flax and Chana chiefly. The rivers neglected, see Journal. Many of the inside of the tanks waste. A

Date.	Place.	Water.	Hills.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
	Mohaniya to Ekhaspur— concd.	...	...	...	...	...	...	good deal of sugar watered from wells. In 2 or 3 villages the Ahars good, and there the rice has kesari. The soil very tenacious of water; several small tanks quite full of water which seems to be neglected. The whole quite clear.
Jany. 26th	Mohaniya to boundary.	...	...	2½	...	22½	...	Country more fully occupied than on the 24th, but in other respects little different. Few plantations. Few or no palms; a few bamboos.
Jany. 27th	Boundary to Kandihara.	2	...	28	...	135	...	
Jany. 27th	Kandihara to Barahari except 4 in Baraong.	...	...	72	...	130	...	Country less fully occupied than yesterday, in other respects much the same. On the 3 last days there has been much cotton mixed with the pulse, and the same has probably been the case before until (sic) I only discovered it to-day: the people busy digging wells for watering it. Of the waste, 8 are broken corners, 20½ have not been cultivated for some years and are covered with long parched grass, 43½ are covered with short grass, partly rice land deserted, partly high fields that seem to be occasionally cultivated with Chana. The same was the case on the two last days. The cattle allowed to eat the straw as they please on the thrashing floor.
Jany. 28th	Kandihara to boundary of Karunj.	...	...	16	...	25	...	For 154 the country much as yesterday, but no sugar.
Jany. 28th	Boundary to Bahuyara.	1	...	67½	...	83½	...	The soil is as yesterday a stiff clay. In many villages where the reservoirs have been neglected the people have given up rice and have sown both sides with rubbi, which is seldom watered. The waste land is clear, and may be ½ of what has no ahars. In others where the reservoirs are good the rice gives kesari, and there is no waste but broken corners, the inside of the tanks and vicinity of villages being occupied by rubbi, while the intermediate spaces give rice. Much cotton. The wells for watering it last only one year, and are lined with a grass rope. There are few plantations. In the remaining 49 parts the plantations increase and the soil is light. The tanks have been mostly neglected, and most of the country is covered with long grass. The rubbi

Date.	Place.	Water.	Hills.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
	Boundary to Lahuyara— <i>coacled.</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	all watered, but its quantity very inconsiderable. On the whole the waste consists of 5 broken corners, 4 deserted rice land, 43½ clear, mostly in the west part, 31 long grass, mostly towards the east.
May. 20th	Bohuyara to boundary of Karonj and Bilsungti boundary to Latan.	...	...	65	...	91	...	Wherever the tanks are in good order the country is well cultivated and the rice produces kesari, but in most parts the ahars have been neglected and much is waste, while the rice land as far as the tenants' strength goes is turned into rubbi. All the rubbi, except Chana, watered. The soil very hard and apparently clay, but it is called mixed. Some say that rice and rubbi alternately do best. The waste land, broken 6½, deserted rice fields 15½, clear or perhaps fallow rubbi land 29, long grass which is rice land long deserted 17, bushes which is rubbi land long deserted 5. Ali Huseyn Khan's estate in good condition. Baboo Sahebzadah's very bad.
May. 30th	Latan to Yogodespur.	...	...	78	...	62	...	No Chitni(1): most of the rice crop seems to have failed. All the rubbi watered, crop good. Many cattle. Some palmiras. The waste is: broken 4, clear 4½, deserted 2, long grass 17, bushes 3½, woods 47. Far from wishing to diminish these the whole lands of a village that was intermixed have been planted with Mangos, and in a few years will be a wood, for Mangoes and Mohuya are thick scattered through the forest which has many small villages intermixed.
Feb'y. 4th	Jogodespur to boundary of Dumraong. Boundary of Dumraong to that of Karonj passing a corner of Ekwari in which the wood is boundary of Karonj to Koyat.	2	...	16	...	42	...	Waste 2½, broken, 13 long grass, chiefly the inside of reservoirs, one of which has been just repaired. The village to which it belonged half fallen. No chitni(1).
		...	...	59	...	35	...	The waste, 5½ broken, 2 deserted, 14 clear, 15 grass, bushes 5, wood 17½. A little Chitni(1) in some places. Many cattle; a few palms; many plantations.
		...	...	6½	...	25½	...	As above.

(1) Broadcast. *Chhinta* means "scattered", or sown broadcast.

Date.	Place.		Water.	Hill.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
Feby. 5th	Koyat Karonj.	to	2	...	68	...	97½	...	All the rubbi watered from wells except that in ahars. The waste consists of broken corners 6, deserted 4, clear 17, long grass 23, small bushes on poor sand land 18, very little chitni. The waste land has been evidently all once cultivated and the traces of the ahars remain. Plantations numerous all the way. Several ahars repairing this year. All the rubbi except in ahars watered. A few bamboos.
Feby. 6th	Karonj to boundary of Karaong.	to	2	...	78	...	78	...	For about the first 5 miles most of the rubbi watered, the soil being looser. Beyond that, except near villages, much rubbi not watered but very poor, the soil stiffer and plantations fewer. The devastation old, but the plantations and sites of villages remain. Many villages entirely gone, in most some houses deserted. Most of the Ahars cultivated in the ditch. Dunawar(1) better than the Perganah nearest Karonj, some tanks being in good repair and having Chitni among the stubble. The waste broken 4½, clear chiefly in Dhunawar(1) 26, grass 47½.
	Boundary to Kochus.	to	...	...	7	...	13	...	The tanks in good repair, but some new ones wanted. The waste broken corners and long grass. Most of the rice has Chitni.
Feby. 7th	Kochus to boundary to Borna.	to	2	...	22	...	49	...	Country in both rather bare. The land at a distance from the villages neglected. Most of the rice chitni. Close to the villages the rubbi watered and the crops very rich; some poppy, much cotton, no sugar. At a little distance from the villages the rubbi not watered, very poor. One coconut palm in fruit but small. The waste, broken 5½, Clear 32, long grass 5. The water of the nullah which runs most of the way much, although not entirely, neglected. A good deal of the waste apparently owing to its banks, which are rather broken.
			...	...	20½	...	43½	...	
Feby. 8th	Borna Ramgur.	to	4	...	27½	...	101½	...	Irrigation much neglected. Little or no use made of the 3 rivers. Not one

Date.	Place.	Rivers.	Hills.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
	Borna to Ramgar— <i>concl'd.</i>	...	...	...	...	...	...	Pain(1). Not one good Ahar, yet so retentive of moisture is the soil that much of the rice stubble has Chitni. The rubbi only near villages watered. Few plantations. A good deal of poppy; a little sugar; much cotton. The waste, broken 6½, deserted land formerly watered by wells 2½, clear 13½, bushes 5.
Feb. 11th	Ramgar Darauli.	to 1	...	21½	...	63½	...	Near Ramgar some very poor land; although ploughed, some of it I believe has not been sown. Farther on the soil good, and where watered the rubbi is excellent, a good deal Chitni. Tobacco fine, 5 sugar mills in one yard, a good deal of Sukurkund(2) in this vicinity. Waste, 4 broken corners, clear 5, grass 5½, stunted woods 7, mostly Palas.
Feb. 13th	Ramgar boundary Sawut.	to 2	...	44½	...	9½	...	Irrigation much neglected. Few Ahars and these either small or ruinous. Much of the rice has failed. No Chitni. A good deal of watering from wells about the villages; crops very rich, except the sugar which is poor, but there is a considerable extent. A good deal of poppy. Tobacco uncommonly fine. Waste, 19 poor clear land and deserted rice fields, 9½ palas bushes also rice fields that have been long deserted; soda(3), 1, broken corners 9.
	Boundary Sawut.	to 2		2		25		
Feb. 18th	Sawut Amayu.	to 3	...	15	...	143	...	Few reservoirs, especially near Sawut where the crops are almost entirely rubbi. Farther on, some reservoirs in good condition with rice fields producing chitni. Rubbi rather poor, little watered from wells. The waste is 9 broken corners, 5 deserted, I am told in consequence of disputes for the property, 1 bushes. A few palms and bamboos in the plantations.
Feb. 19th	Amayu to Mer	...	1	6½	...	54½	...	Many reservoirs, but not good. Only some of the rice has Chitni, but little would appear to have failed. Little watering from wells. The waste, 3½ broken corners, 3 bushes. The cattle very poor.

(1) A *pain* (पड़न) is an artificial water channel, or canal, made for purposes of irrigation.

(2) *Sakarkand*, the Sweet Potato, *Ipomoea Batatas*.

(3) i.e., *reh*, or soil impregnated with impure carbonate of soda.

Date.	Place.	Rivers,	Hills.	Waste.	Fallow.	Occupied.	—	Observations.
Feby. 20th	From Mer to boundary,	...	23	34	...	65½	...	From Mer to Ghati the great cultivation rice, with ahars in good repair; no waste but broken corners. From Ghati to Ramgar no waste but a little poor clear land. All rubbi not watered; crops rather poor. From Ramgar to the boundary all woods, part plain, part hill. The waste is broken 4, clear 4½, long grass 2, woods 23½, besides hills.
Feby. 23rd	Ramgar road to Burari.	...	...	1	...	17	...	All rubbi. Scattered trees very fine. Much sugar. One half rubbi, mostly wheat and barley in the Tals(1) or Reservoirs which are very large; crop poor, not watered. One half rice. Little Chitni, but the crop has been good. Many buffaloes.
Feby. 23rd	Barari to Serampur.	...	...	2½	...	40½	...	
Feby. 24th	Barari to boundary.	½	...	24	...	36½	...	The waste merely broken corners.

(1) In Shahabad the word *tal* is applied to low land at a distance from the village site, usually subject to inundation during the rainy season, and generally cultivated with winter or *rabi* crops. Here, however, Buchanan evidently means a tank or reservoir, a sense in which the word *tal* is used in the U. P. (Crooke, *Agric. Glossary* for N.W. P. and Oudh). This latter is the original meaning (Sans. ताल).

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF STONES PROCURED IN SHAHABAD.

(Manuscript, Volume 3, Pages 195-6.)

1. Stone of Jabra pahar, 6th December 1812.
2. Stone from the quarry at the pass between Sahasaram and Tilautha, 12th December 1812.
3. Stone from the detached hill towards Tilautha, 12th December 1812.
4. Calcareous breccia from Kotula Devi, 14th December 1812.
5. Silicious hornstone of Totala Devi, Idem.
6. Imperfect limestone of Totala Devi, same date.
7. Limestone of Kotula Devi, same day.
8. Destroyed limestone of same place and time.
9. Rotten stone from the quarry of Khari near Balanaya, 15th December 1812.
10. Limestone from the same mine.
11. Substance called Chanra from the same.
12. Khari from the same.
13. Stone from under the Khari from the same.
14. Milstone, 15th December 1812.
15. Stone too hard for milstone, 15th December 1812.
16. Thin hornstone flags or slate from the ascent to the quarry, same date.
17. Pyrites of Amjhor, 17th December 1812.
18. Reddish fragments of rock from do. do.
19. Whitish do. do. do.
20. Black do. do. do.

21. Central ore of Kasis like gentle slate do. do.
22. Ore of Kasis from the upper end of the mine do. do.
23. Ore of Kasis from the lower end of the mine do. do.
24. Flowers of Kasis from Amjhora, 17th December 1812.
25. Rock from the summit of Murli, 18th December 1812.
Calcareous.
26. Breccia of Murli, same date.
27. Limestone of Murli, same date.
28. Stone from the north end of Murli at the bottom, same date. Lime.
29. Stone from the east side of Murli at the bottom, same date. Lime.
30. Stones of which Rotas is built, 23rd December 1812.
31. Rock of Jadunathpur, 27th December.
32. Yellow efflorescence from the ore of Kasis at the Kori-yari mine, 1st January, put into a bottle.
33. Whitish efflorescence from do. same date, put into a bottle.
34. Ore of Kasis like gentle slate do. do.
35. Pyritical ore of Kasis, do. do.
36. Rock above the mine, hornstone passing into hornblende, do. do.
37. Pebbles from the Son at Jadunathpur, 28th December.
38. Rock of Dhuya Khund altered and unaltered, 8th January 1813.
39. Stone of Gupti Banaras. Lime, 15th January.
40. Touchstone of Chrystal of do. do.
41. Stalactites of do. do.
42. Spar from Buduya do.
43. Limestone of Suraiya, 19th January.
44. Reddish do. do.

45. Granular whitish stone above the limestone of Suraiya, 19th January.

46. Stone marl called Khari, some place and date.

47. Stones mixed with the above marl, do. do.

48. Limestone from Suraiya ghat, considered useful?

49. Granular stone from the above, do.

50. Breccia intermixed with the same, do.

51. Potstone of Musayi, 19th January 1813.

52. Milstone of do. do.

53. Stone from the top of the hill above Osman Koti, 20th January 1813.

54. Stone of Osman Koti for building, etc., do.

55. Saline water as from the wells of Sadullahpur, 11th February 1813.

56. Karail soil of Sadullahpur, do.

57. Ujarki do. do. do.

58. Lalki do. do. do.

59. Asorhur limestone of the Karamnasa, 21st February 1813.

60. Crystallized limestone of do.

61. Stone of Pateswar Koti, 23rd February 1813.

62. 4 stones of Pateswar hill, 23rd February 1813.

63. Stone of the hill forming the boundary between Bihar and Banaras, 24th February 1813.

APPENDIX A.

THE ARRAH HOUSE.

Since 1857 the name "Arrah House" has been associated with the little bungalow in which the gallant defence of eight days was made in that year⁽¹⁾. The name "Arrah House" had previously been applied to a house near the "Judge Sahib ka Talab" in the north central part of the town, in mauza Murshidpur, which had been built towards the end of the eighteenth century by William Augustus Brooke, the famous Revenue Chief of Patna (1781-87) and the first "Collector" of Shahabad. From records in the possession of Chaudhari Karamat Husain of Arrah, it appears that Brooke acquired an area of 42 bighas odd for building purposes in 1196, *Fasli* (A.D. 1788), and constructed a residence, which he called Arrah House, with several outhouses. The property changed hands many times. It appears to have been occupied by John Lewis Chauvett, Judge and Magistrate of Shahabad, who died on the 15th August, 1794, and was buried on the east of the tank. It seems later to have been in the possession of William Cowell, who was judge of Shahabad for 12 years (May, 1802, to April, 1814). Cowell sold it to a Mr. John Paul Marcus of Calcutta in 1815. Marcus sold the property in 1845 in two lots, the major portion, with the house, being purchased by Chaudhari Basharat Ali. The house continued to be let to officials, however, for many years; and it is believed for good reasons to have been the house that was occupied by William Tayler while district judge of Shahabad for some five years, before he became Commissioner of Patna (1855), and after him by Arthur Littledale, who was judge in 1857-8, and was one of the defenders of Boyle's bungalow. Subsequently, the judge having moved to the more open area in the vicinity of the maidan and collectorate buildings, the old residence was demolished by the proprietors, its place to be taken by shops, *golas* and a market; but some of the original outhouses are still standing. Chaudhari Karamat Husain informs me that from some Persian documents in his possession it appears that Brooke's house stood upon a portion of the site of the old Qila', or fort, that had been constructed under the Muhammadan rulers.

(1) Shahabad Gazetteer, 1924, page 153.

APPENDIX B.

WILD CATTLE IN SHAHABAD.

The emperor Babur in his memoirs relates that, among other animals, wild elephants and wild buffaloes used to roam over the Mirzapur hills in his time. Captain DeGloss refers (1766) more than once to rhinoceros. Peter Mundy (1632), when near Sasaram, met two wild buffaloes that were being driven up country as a present for the emperor, Shah Jahan. Buchanan in his Report tells us that in the woods of Jagdispur and Dumraon there were some wild cattle "of the common breed; they resemble entirely in form and in variety of colours those bred about the villages of this district, but are more active and very shy." They were carefully preserved from injury by the Raja of Dumraon and his kinsman of Jagdispur; but many of their neighbours alleged that these "sacred herds" were committing wide devastation and causing lands to be deserted. He adds: "The origin of these herds is well known. When the Ujayani Rajputs incurred the displeasure of Kasem Aly, and for some years were compelled to abandon their habitations, some cattle were left in the woods without keepers, and on their owners' return had acquired the wild habits, which their offspring retains. Several calves have been caught; but it has been found impossible to rear them, their shyness and regret for the loss of liberty has always proved fatal." When I was acting as Collector of Shahabad in 1894, Nawab Saiyid Imdad Imam mentioned to me that during a shooting excursion in the north of the Bhojpur pargana he had seen wild cattle. In reply to a reference recently made to this gentleman, he writes: "They have now totally disappeared from the Jagdispur side on account of the clearance of the *jungle* after the mutiny. But I remember to have come across them three times while camping in the Dumraon *diara* lands. The first herd I saw must have numbered over forty. They looked superior in size and general condition to the ordinary domestic cattle. The bulls were much bigger and healthier looking than the breeding bulls that are imported into India for improving the Indian breeds." I believe that some of these "wild cattle" are still to be found in the northern *diaras*. When I was Sub-divisional Officer of Buxar in 1892-4 they were said to be found in the vicinity of Mahuar and Nainijor. Mr. W. Johnston, who has recently held charge of the district, tells me that

he had heard of the existence of these wild cattle, but had not seen them himself. Qasim Ali ravaged the possessions of the Ujains in 1762. It is quite possible that Buchanan's "well-known" explanation may be founded on fact; but, if so, it is curious that even young calves could never be tamed again. On the other hand, knowing of the vast area of forest and *jungle* that once existed in this district (see Introduction, pp. xv—xviii), we might be led perhaps to speculate whether the origin of these wild cattle did not go further back than Qasim Ali's time, were it not that we find no evidence of indigenous wild cattle in India, and that we have examples in other parts of the country of domestic cattle becoming wild, for instance, in Gorakhpur, Gonda (1), Bharatpur (2), etc.

(1) Mr. F. J. R. Field, a retired officer of the Opium Department, who is intimately acquainted with animal life in India, tells me that he had known cases, in the Gonda district, in which young calves captured from these wild herds had been tamed.

(2) For an interesting account of the devastation wrought by herds of these animals, see O'Dwyer, *India as I knew It*, 1925, pages 92—93.

APPENDIX C.

ROHTASGARH.

In the *Harivamsa purana* it is stated that Rohita, the son of Hariscandra, had Rohitapura constructed with a view to the consummation of his dominion ⁽¹⁾. The very name carries us back, according to the dynastic lists of the puranas, sixty generations before the great Mahabharata battle. According to the oldest tradition Rohita was worshipped for long centuries at Rohtasan, the "seat of Rohita" where still stand the *chaurasi sirhi*, or stairs of "eighty-four steps," that led up to the old temple of Rohita, long since destroyed, which crowned the highest point of the hill, overlooking the broad Son valley far below—a truly magnificent situation for a temple to the deified scion of the great "solar race".

The earliest inscriptions hitherto discovered in the vicinity of Rohtasgarh (excluding of course the Asoka inscription in the cave on the Chandan Pir hill near Sasaram) preserve to us the name of an important local chief, Pratapadhavala Deva. It is possible that there was more than one chief with the title Pratapadhavala. The Mahanayaka Pratapadhavala Deva appears to have been a semi-independent ruler under the suzerainty of the then Gahadavala (vernac. Gaharwar) king of Kanauj. According to an inscription on the Tarachandi hill near Sasaram he was called Japiliya, i.e. of Japila (the modern Japla pargana). The earliest inscription of this ruler is one at the Tutrahi waterfall, mentioned by Buchanan, which has been assigned to the year 1158 A.D. A slightly damaged and undated inscription ⁽²⁾ at Phulwariya on the Rohtas plateau tells us that Pratapadhavala's family were Khayaravalavamsa, which means of Kharwar race, a very significant piece of information. In a paper ⁽³⁾ read before the Royal Asiatic Society in 1824 Buchanan mentions that he found, among other names, that of Pratapadhavala Deva engraved on a rock at Bandu ghat, which is situated to the south of Rohtasgarh, and also that the family which "yet possesses the principality of Bilonja," represented by Raja Bhupanatha in his time, claimed descent from Pratapadhavala, chief of Japila. It appears then that Pratapadhavala was lord of Rohtas and the

(1) राज्यसिद्धये

(2) See *Ep. Ind.*, IV, 311.

(3) *Transactions, R.A.S.*, Vol. I, Part I, 204.

country around, including at least parganas Japla and Belaunja on the other side of the Son, in fact was probably chief of most of the territory which long afterwards was ordinarily assigned in fief to the governors of Rohtasgarh, from which to maintain their troops and the dignity of their high office—the nucleus of Sarkar Rohtas of Todar Mal's rent-roll and of the early British administration.

The sandstone that caps the Kaimur plateau is prone, from its texture, to decay ; this may partly account for the fact that no earlier inscription has yet been found at Rohtasgarh. I once noticed some fine pieces of stone carving near the foot of the hill, to the south-east of Rohtasan. It is possible that some of the oldest sculptures may have fallen over the cliff, or even been hurled down by iconoclastic hands, and that search and excavation along the edges of the slope may yet reveal some valuable material for the history of this ancient stronghold. From the year 1538, when Sher Khan snatched it from its Hindu raja, we find frequent mention of the fortress by the Muhammadan historians, a mere summary of which would exceed the scope of these notes.

APPENDIX D.

SHER SHAH'S RESIDENCE.

As a good deal of misconception⁽¹⁾ is liable to arise from the lax use of expressions like "Sher Shah's ancestral home," it is as well to note that Sher Shah's "ancestral home" was not at Sasaram. The ancestral home of the family lay amidst the ridges of the Takht-i-Sulaiman mountains in Afghanistan. Mian Ibrahim Sur, as Ni'amat-ullah calls him the grandfather of Sher Shah, wandered into the Panjab in search of service late in life with his son Hasan. He was employed at Bajaura, and then at Hissar Firuza, where Farid, afterwards known as Sher Khan, was born. Later he settled at Narnol, and died there. Hasan lived at Narnol for a considerable time, until his patron Jamal Khan, who had been appointed Governor of Jaunpur by Sikandar Lodi, assigned him the pargana of Sasaram as a fief, from which he was to furnish 500 horse. We do not know exactly when Hasan took up his residence at Sasaram, but it is unlikely that he had been there more than twenty years before he died.

There still stands in the south-east central part of the town of Sasaram the remains of what must once have been an imposing building. There is a very lofty archway or gateway, with remains on either side, from the structure of which it appears that the facade was originally 4 or 5 stories high. Buchanan gives a rough sketch of this facade as it existed in his time. The topmost portion has since fallen down, and some of the smaller arches have had to be filled in with masonry, as they were in a dangerous condition. On each flank of the main gateway there had apparently been a row of rooms, possibly intended for gatekeepers or outdoor servants, fronted with pillared arches. When I last visited the site some ten years ago these compartments were used as *golas* for the storage and sale of grain. According to one tradition still current among old residents this ruin is what is left of the residence, or "palace" of Sher Khan. By local Hindus it is often called the *navrattan*, (i.e. *nava-ratna*), and by Muhammadans the *qila* (fort) or *haveli Sajdar Jang*. We know that a fort once existed at Sasaram. Even in Buchanan's time considerable traces of the ramparts seem to have

(1) e.g., J. R. A. S., Jan. 1923, where his residence has apparently been confounded with the mausoleum!

existed; but these have since been obliterated, and hidden by buildings, etc. Buchanan gives another sketch in the margin of his journal (MS. p. 115) of the elevation of a building which no longer survives, but which may have formed part of the Qila' buildings in the same vicinity.

Thomas Twining writes⁽¹⁾ of alighting at "the pavilion of one of the ancient palaces, situated a little to the west," but it is not known where this pavilion stood. He adds "The palace, part of which I now occupied, as well as most of the old imperial buildings at Sasseram, was in the hands of the Khan" (meaning the *Sajjada-nishin*). This was between 1802 and 1803.

In December, 1829, Victor Jacquemont, the learned French traveller, passed through Sasaram, and wrote in his journal: "The big gateway still standing in the south of the town, where it dominates like a tower all the surrounding houses, was no doubt that of the prince's residence; but there are no remains of walls to be seen. Some families of poor weavers nestle, with birds, in the ruins of the palace; the halls had been ornamented with arabesque decoration covered with fresco painting which the rain has not washed out. On some terraces formed of the debris of the higher parts of the edifice a layer of soil has collected, the possession of which is disputed by a multitude of wild plants (2)." Some residents of the district, such as Khan Bahadur Saiyid Aulad Haidar Khan of Koath, are of opinion that this ruin is the last surviving remnant of the residential buildings occupied by Sher Khan, which may have been erected in the time of his father Hasan Khan Sur.

The style of architecture, so far as can be judged from the remnant still standing, renders it, in my opinion, extremely improbable that this building dates from any such early period. To another name constantly applied locally to this ruin, viz. *Safdar Jang ki haveli* (or *Safdar Jang ka qila'*), sufficient importance has not hitherto been attached probably because the people have no recollection of any great man of this name having lived there (3). Moreover, what appears to be the older tradition, as Buchanan records it (p. 34 of Journal), associates the residence of Sher Khan with a mound to the north of the town, by the side of the Arrah-Sasaram road, near Kuraich.

(1) *Travels in India a Hundred Years Ago*, pages 494-5.

(2) Translated from the original French. *Journal*, Vol. I, pages 320-1. M. Saiyid Nazir-ud-din, the present Subdivisional Officer, informs me that traces of painting and enamelling are still visible.

(3) A reference supplied by the Subdivisional Officer points to Safdar Jang, the Nawab of Oudh, who came into Bihar in 1742 to assist Alivardi Khan against the Marathas.

APPENDIX E.

SHER SHAH'S MAUSOLEUM.

The earliest drawing that we have of Sher Shah's mausoleum at Sasaram is the sketch made in 1632 by Peter Mundy, a reproduction of which will be found in Volume II, page 130, of the Hakluyt Society's edition of his travels. This drawing is of extreme interest. It shows the stone-built bridge or causeway leading from the northern bank of the tank to the tomb as standing entire (ten arches shown). From this drawing it also appears that there were kiosks on each side of the steps leading down to the water, besides a kiosk at each corner of the tank; that a battlemented wall ran right round the tank at the top of the steps; and that on the level between this wall and the spoil banks at least a single (possibly a double) row of ornamental trees, shown by Murdy as about the height of the kiosks, had been planted in a continuous line round the tank. The sketch shows only the eastern end of the southern spoil bank, but this is shown as covered with trees or shrubs. We see, therefore, that originally the surroundings had been carefully laid out with trees and shrubs, and the "shady walks" which Buchanan so missed, had been provided. Mundy's short description of the tank and tomb is perhaps worth quoting:—

"Here is a very faire Tancke, with a goodly Sepulcher in the midst of it, with a bridge to goe to it, all of hewen stone. It is without question the formalist and largest Copula in all India, or that I ever saw elsewhere, although the Mosques att Constantionple have those that are verie spacious. This within the Arch conteyneth above 32 of my ordinarie stepps, and (as I finde by triall that 4 make 3 yards att least) is 24 yards and maketh 72 feete; soe much is it from side to side, a wonderfull breadth.

"Moreover, if a man doth hollow alowde, the sound will remaine neere half a minute, or while a Temperate man's pulse may beat 30 stroaks, with a quavering, shakeinge or trembling, like unto the sound of some Bells....."

Buchanan does not specifically give the diameter of the inner hall, though it can be calculated from the plan and the measurements recorded. Mundy's general accuracy of observation is well known. Here his figures are corroborated by Sir A. Cunningham's measurements, viz., 71 feet 5-7 inches.

The next account we have is that of Tavernier, who visited Sasaram in December, 1665. He confounds Sher Shah with

his son, Islam Shah, and describes the tomb as a "mosque," but he adds: "There is a fine stone bridge to cross into the island."

For at least 120 years after Sher Shah's burial, therefore, the causeway was intact. It is most likely that it was deliberately broken or blown up: but when this happened no record hitherto published discloses. William Hodges, R.A., who travelled in India between 1780 and 1783, drew a very fine view of Sher Shah's tomb. The artists Thomas and, his nephew, William Daniell visited Sasaram in 1789 or 1790. Both of them drew views of Sher Shah's tomb. Thomas exhibited a painting of the "Mausoleum of Sher Shah" at the Royal Academy in 1810; and in the first volume of Caunter's *Oriental Annual*, published in 1834, there is an engraving by Havell of the "Mausoleum of the Emperor Shere Shah drawn by Wm. Daniell". Before Hodges and the Daniells drew their pictures the causeway had been broken down; only some ruins of intermediate piers were left: but the topmost cupola on the summit of the dome was still standing. Commander Robert Elliott, who must have visited Sasaram between 1822 and 1824, also drew a beautiful sketch of this tomb, an engraving of which was published in Volume II of his *Views in India, &c.* By that time the crowning cupola had fallen, and only the plinth thereof was left, and one tottering pillar. Both Mundy's sketch and the Daniells' views show that it had been a cupola of design similar to those on the lower stages, which still remain as originally built, and not a pinnacle as constructed when the restoration of the monument was carried out by the then Bengal Government in 1882. In reference to this change the late Dr. T. Bloch wrote: "Why this was done I am not able to understand. It can hardly be called a restoration, and such an example should never be followed in carrying out a work of this kind"(1). When the Daniells drew their pictures the tomb seems to have been practically intact; fig trees had done little injury. Within a quarter of a century later this destructive tree appears from Buchanan's account, however, to have wrought much damage; and Elliott's view shows that ten years after Buchanan's time fig trees had taken root all round the structure.

(1) *A.S.I., Ben Cir.*, 1901-2, page 21.

APPENDIX F.

SHERGARH.

Buchanan's account of Shergarh and its remains is the most complete that has been published. In the A.S.I., Bengal Circle, Report for 1901-2, the late Dr. Bloch gave a brief description of the remains on the top of the little plateau. He refers to the absence of any complete and accurate account of the existing buildings, and adds: "My notes, which I took on the spot, will enable me to add considerably to the meagre account in the List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal." Possibly these notes are yet extant.

At the beginning of 1833 Lieutenants Waugh⁽¹⁾ and Renny of the Trigonometrical Survey paid a visit to Shergarh. In the course of a note recorded by them they refer to a temple dedicated to Siva, as standing on the right hand side of the entrance to the fort, at the top of the steps, and forming a part of the fortification. They remarked that the doorway of the temple was of Hindu style, and the flat roof was supported by similar pillars. They also formed the opinion that, although the fortress was supposed to have been built by Sher Khan, the style of the buildings would infer an older and a Hindu origin. They noticed some traces of gay painting on the walls of the palace, and on the hills about eight miles south of the fort they saw a ruined wall, neatly built of sandstone and mortar, which was said to have enclosed a large tract of country. As no other visitor seems to have suggested that an old Hindu temple formed part of the fortifications near the main gate, the point called for some inquiry. The present Subdivisional Officer of Bhabhua (S. C. Chakravartti) informs me that after careful examination he has been unable to trace any such temple to Siva, but to the south-east of the palace buildings there is an upright stone worshipped by the local folk as a Siva *linga*, and in a niche "in the middle of the main set of subterranean rooms" there are small paintings in a state of fair preservation, in the form of small squares, of precisely the same character as the marks made by Hindus where the household god is kept, and on which the *homa* sacrifice, etc., is performed. These may be some of the paintings seen by Lieutenants Waugh and Renny. The Subdivisional Officer adds that a local tradition is still current that a Hindu raja used to reside in these buildings and the place was originally constructed by him, and that

(1) Afterwards Surveyor-General of India (Sir Andrew Scott Waugh).

Sher Khan only repaired and strengthened it. He also states that he has been assured by gentlemen of the neighbourhood that the remains of stone-built walls still exist on the hills to the south, being all that is left of a rampart that is supposed to have extended from Shergarh to Rohtasgarh in the old days⁽¹⁾. The Subdivisional Officer further quotes an interesting legend related to him by a Kharwar family of Karamchat, of a Hindu raja who ruled over this part of the country and had 700 ranis. Some ruins below Shergarh, to the north, which seemed to him to be of older date than the buildings on the hills, were described as the *gausala* where the raja kept a great number of cattle. There is also a local tradition that the Cheros had a stronghold here, at the site still known as Rajandih (but there is no village there now).

It is possible that a fortress existed at Shergarh long before Sher Khan's time, as in the case of Rohtasgarh. Indeed it may have been one of the strongholds of the now legendary chiefs Bagha Mal and Deva Mal, who are supposed to have been finally defeated by Raja Laksmi Sah, the reputed great grandfather of Raja Salivahana of Bhagavanpur. Local tradition makes Salivahana to have been reigning at Chainpur in the time of Sher Khan. According to the account given by the late Mr. W. Crooke in his *Folk Lore of Northern India* (Volume I, page 191), however, he must have lived a century earlier. The tower-like peak opposite Shergarh, on the other side of the Durgavati, is still called "Raja Deo (=Deva) ka Pind". There are many legends associated with these hills and *khohs* that call for further study.

(1) Cf. also the reference made by Buchanan to a wall of hewn stone at Kota Ghat, near Dhuān Kund (*supra*, page 103).

APPENDIX G.

BELAUNJA.

It is not clear what Buchanan intended by the words "no such name being known". He himself refers to the principality of Bilonja "in the paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in December, 1824(1). The name is an old one, though it does not appear as a separate mahal in Todar Mal's rent-roll, being therein included in a mahal hitherto transliterated as "Jidar" or "Haidar" (2). In the Persian inscription of 1638 A.D. over the gate of the tomb at the foot of Rohtasgarh, Belaunja is mentioned as one of the parganas in *jagir* to Ikhlās Khan, the then governor of the fortress. In Muhammad Riza Khan's rent-roll of 1765-66 it was shown as one of the seven parganas included in Sarkar Rohtas. In the Supplement to Grant's analysis it is described thus:—

"One pergunnah Palouncha, to Rajah Menrajesing Kheterwar, and in Jageer to Hedayet Ali Khan."

Under the date 21st December 1766, Captain L. F. DeGloss, of the Bengal Engineers, who was deputed by Clive to make a survey in South Bihar, writes in his journal: "at 6 P.M. came to Hughly Village belonging to the Rajah Bisanatsing who had deserted the hills relating he was chief of the two Perganahs Chupellah and Belongeah [i.e. Japla and Belaunja] but his possessions [*sic*] was taken from him by Rajah Chamell [i.e. Shah Mal].....".

In Rennell's large scale "Map of the South-west Part of Bahar" published in 1773, pargana "Japellah" is marked as lying within Sarkar Rohtas, but Belaunja is not shown. Instead, a pargana "Manjeong" is shown to the south of the Son and west of the Koel, where Belaunja lies. On Plate IX (published in 1779) of his *Bengal Atlas* "Bittounja" (evidently meant for "Billounja") is shown as the name of a pargana to the south-west of the area marked "Manjeong" on the 1773 sheet, but beyond the limits of both the Rohtas and

(1) *Transactions, R. A. S.*, Vol. I, Part II, page 204.

(2) In Blochmann and Jarrett's translation the name is given as Jidar. Haidar is Beames' emendation. (J.A.S.B., 1885). Beames corrected many of the mistakes in names occurring in the original translation, but others escaped his notice from want of local knowledge. Jidar and Haidar are both wrong: the name should be Japla; just as Kotra should read Kutumba. Readers acquainted with the methods of copyists dealing with Persian manuscript will readily understand how these mistakes were made: it is a question of dots combined with malformation of letters.

Palamau Sarkars. Belaunja was included in Sarkar Rohtas under the Mughal administration; and it was evidently in that sarkar in 1765 and 1766. Later it became merged with Palamau in the huge district of Ramgarh, in which it lay in Buchanan's time. When the unwieldy Ramgarh district was divided up after the Kol rebellion of 1831-2, it was included with Japla in the old Bihar district, and it formed part of Bihar when Captain Sherwill carried out the revenue survey of that district in 1841-4. When the separate district of Gaya was created in 1865, Belaunja with Japla were retained in it; but in 1871 they were transferred to the then district of Lohardaga. Some 21 years later, when Lohardaga was split up into two districts (Ranchi and Palamau), Japla and Belaunja became part of Palamau.

APPENDIX H.

GUPTESVAR.

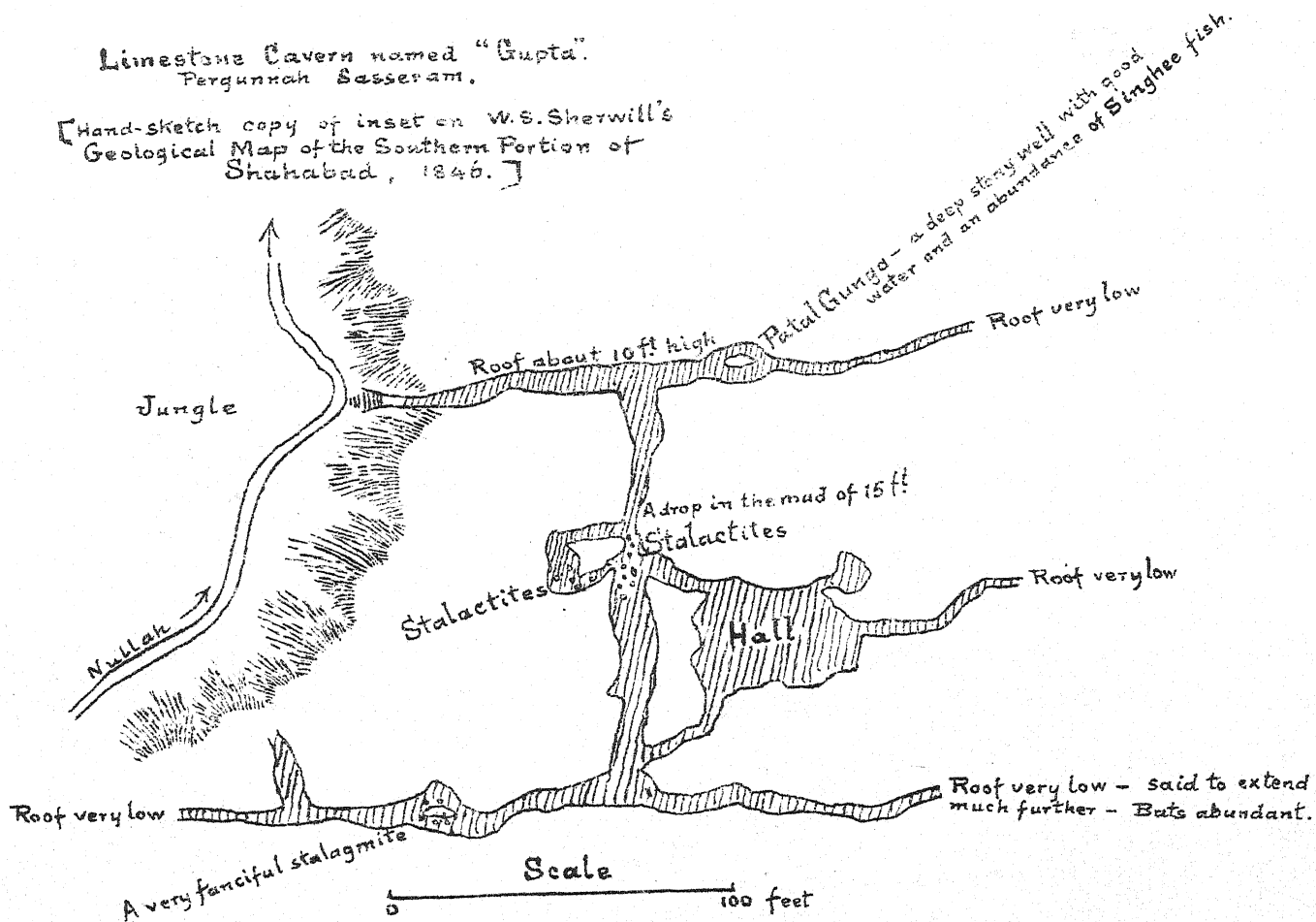
An account of the legendary history of the worship associated with the Guptesvar caves will be found in an article on the Primitive Races of Shahabad in the *Calcutta Review* of 1879 (Volume LXIX, page 348 f.). It is suggested therein that the story would seem to point to Siva as representing "some deity of the aborigines whom the Aryan found it to his advantage to identify with the Rudra of the Hindu pantheon": "The Brahman," the writer continues, "has not yet succeeded, as elsewhere, in wresting the shrine from the hand of the aborigines: the priest is a Kharwar." Of Ram Saran Kharwar, a descendant of the old chief Siva Singh (1), he writes: "Ram Saran still owns the shrine. Although swayed by the influence of conquest, he affixes Sinha to his name and puts on the sacred thread.....he still however calls himself a Kharwar Rajput."

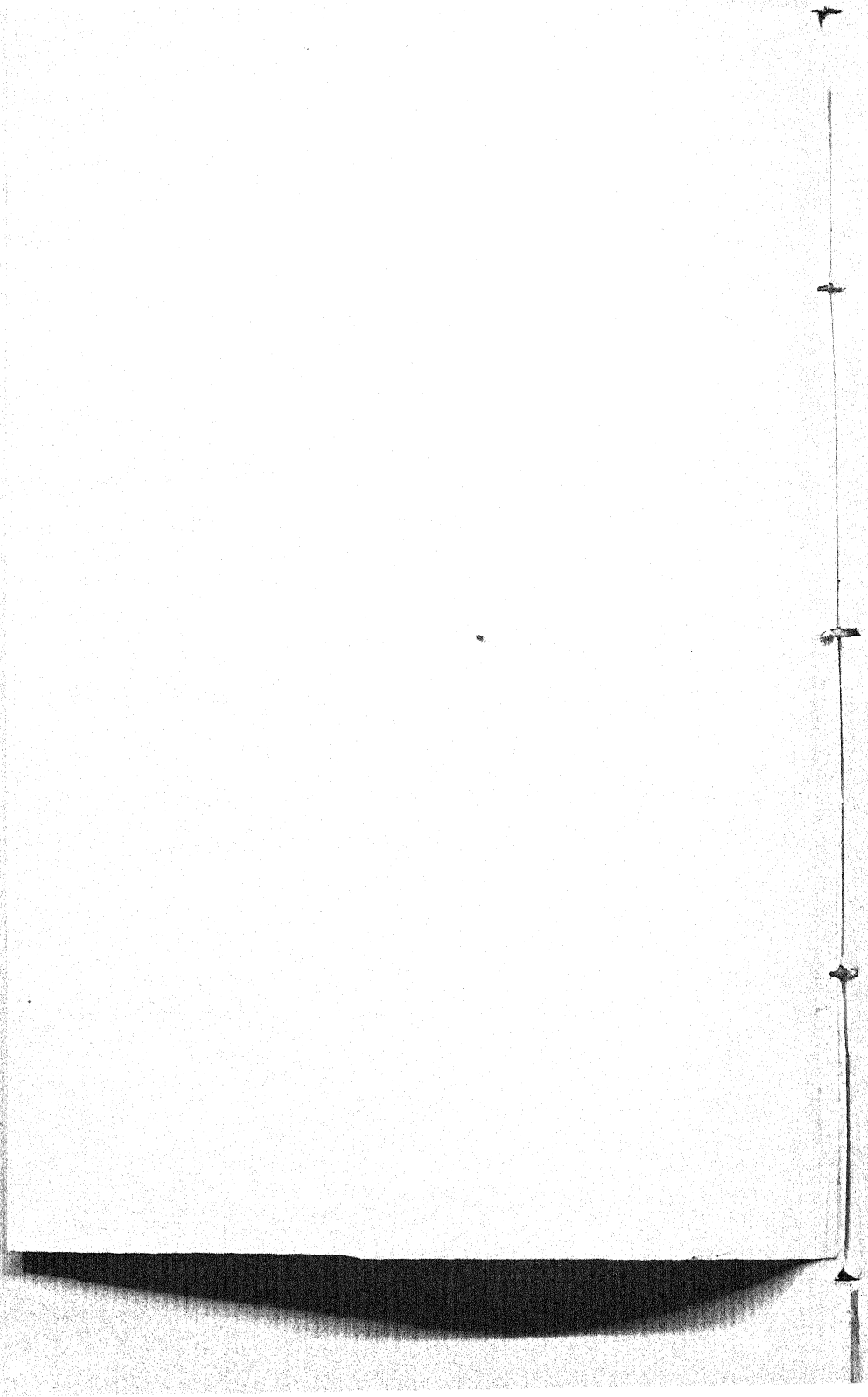
I am informed that a Kharwar still officiates as *pujari*, and that the office is hereditary.

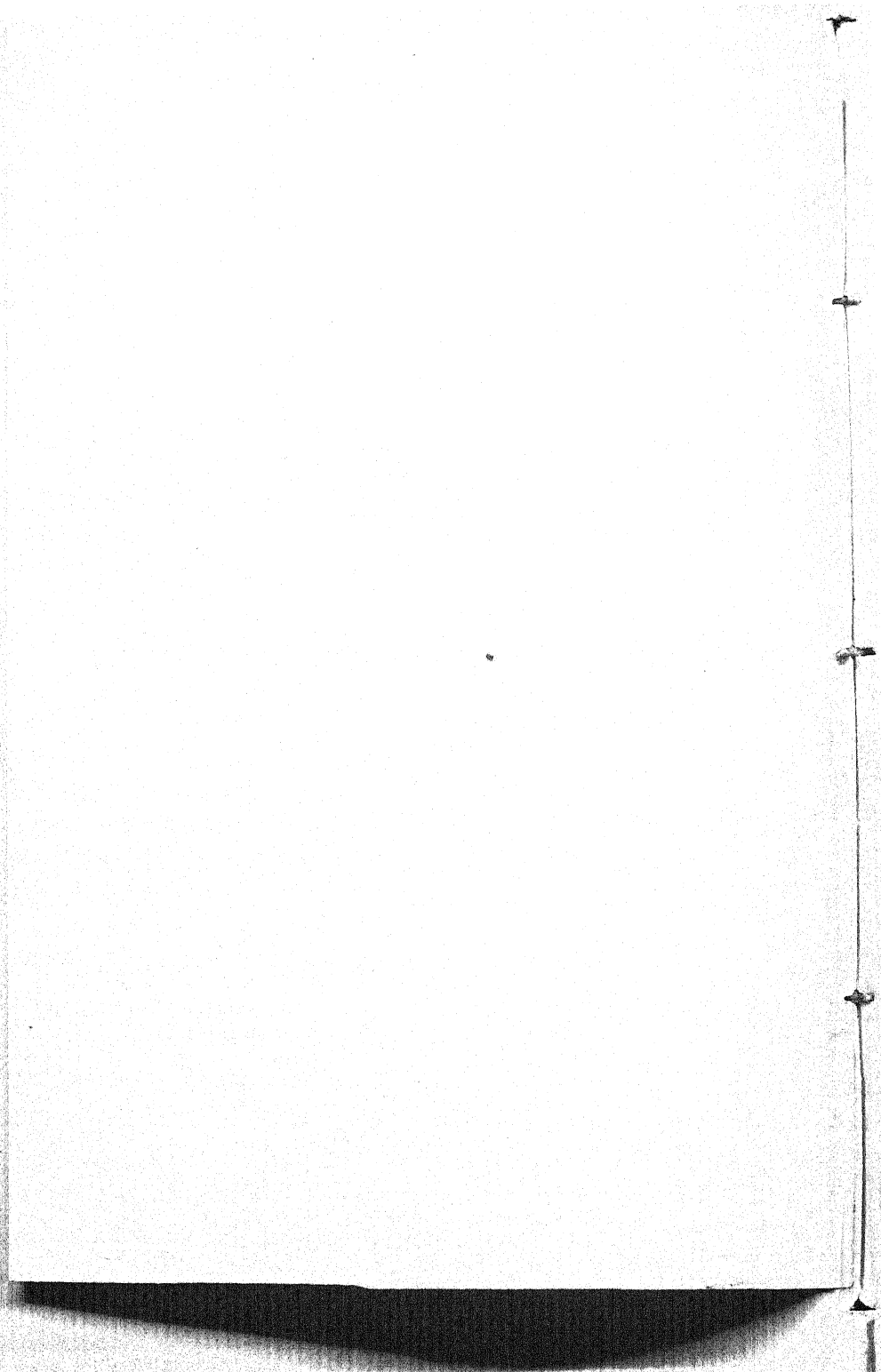
(1) This may be "Rajah Siva Singha, an old man, chief of the Koresh Khairwars" who came to Buchanan's camp at Domunhani on the 14th January 1813 (Journal, page 114).

Limestone Cavern named "Gupta".
Pergunnah Sasseram.

[Hand-sketch copy of inset on W.S. Sherwill's
Geological Map of the Southern Portion of
Shahabad, 1846.]







APPENDIX J.

GAHARWARS; KHARWARS AND CHEROS.

The Gaharwars are one of the most interesting of the old races of north central India. In old inscriptions the name is spelt Gahadavala, which the late Dr. Hoernle connected with the Sanskrit root *gah*, to be dense or thick, as meaning " dwellers in caves or deep jungle ". I would prefer to associate the name if possible with the vernacular word *garh*, meaning a fortress or castle. The title *Garhvala* would then mean the people of the fortresses. The earliest glimpses that we get of this race or tribe indicates that they occupied the hill country of the northern Vindhya and the western Kaimur range, pre-eminently the country of *garhs* or hill fortresses. All the celebrated hill fortresses of this area are known in the Hindi vernaculars as *garh*. Many readers will call to mind the numerous references in the ancient Sanskrit texts to the castles or fortified cities of the enemies against whom the " Aryan " invaders had to contend, the allusion in many cases probably being to the hill fortresses of the indigenous peoples. Vincent Smith⁽¹⁾ tells us that traditions in that old site Mahoba and its neighbourhood unanimously declare that a Gaharwar dominion preceded at some undefined date the famous Chandel dynasty. In fact the sway of the Gaharwars in those parts of Bundelkhand, the ancient Jejakabhukti, preceded the rule of the Parihars, who in their turn were overthrown by the Chandels in the first half of the ninth century A.D. Smith also tells us that some of the most charming artificial lakes in that country are still attributed to the Gaharwars. The Bundelas, who have given their name to the tract, are held to be derived from the Gaharwars, who appear, if not then, at all events later on, to have occupied a large area to the east and north-east along the Kaimur and its outlying spurs, in fact most of the ancient Karusa desa. It was a Gaharwar chief, by name Chandradeva, who about 1090 A.D. conquered Kanauj and founded the famous Gahadavala dynasty thereof, which, as we have seen elsewhere,⁽²⁾ exercised suzerainty over the Khayaravala Mahanayaka Pratapadhavala who ruled in South Shahabad in the latter part of the succeeding century. Indeed we know that Chandradeva's grandson, Govindacandra, overran the whole of South Bihar as far as Monghyr, as the Maner

(1) *J.A.S.B.*, 1881, Part I, page I f.

(2) See Appendix C.

(1124 A.D.) and Monghyr (1146 A.D.) grants disclose. It was possibly the effect of this, or of a previous, invasion that compelled Pratapadhavala to submit to the overlordship of the Kanauj kings. But the connexion between the Khayaravala chiefs of Rohtasgarh and the Gahadavala kings of Kanauj may have been even closer than this. Chandradeva's son was named Madanapala. Hitherto the Madanapala whose inscription has been found at Baidyanath near the Karamnasa in the north of the Bhabhua subdivision has been regarded as the Pala king of Bengal of that name; but I have failed to find any reliable evidence that this Pala king held sway over western Shahabad, and it may yet be found that the Madanapala of the Baidyanath inscription was no other than the Gahadavala king, the father of Govindacandra. Govindacandra's grandson was the still more celebrated Jayaccandra, better known as Raja Jaichand of Kanauj, whose daughter was abducted by the famous Chauhan Prithi Raja (Rai Pithora) of Delhi. Now one of the godlings of the Kharwars is Raja Lakhani, who is stated by the late Mr. W. Crooke to have been the son of Jayaccandra of Kanauj⁽³⁾, and who for some reason or other has become deified by the tribe. Though such deification of former great chiefs of the clan is by no means confined to the Kharwars, it may be noted here that the practice is exemplified by the deification of Rohita, the *Suryavamsi* eponymous founder of Rohtasgarh, to whose race, if not family, chiefs who assert descent from the Khayaravalavamsi Pratapadhavala claim also to belong. At least such appears to have been the claim in Buchanan's day. It would be interesting to know whether any persons who still profess to be descended from the same family as Pratapadhavala maintain the tradition that they come of Rohita's race.

The Kharwars of Chutia Nagpur, according to Risley (*T. & C. of Bengal*) claim Rohtasgarh as their original seat. This probably means that before moving eastwards into Chutia Nagpur they occupied the Rohtas plateau, as the general tradition among the Kaimur Kharwars appears to be that they came from still further west.

We do not know the stock to which the raja dispossessed by Sher Khan belonged, but he was probably what the Muhammadans of that period called a "Cheroh": and there is reason to think that the Kharwars were included under this name. W. Crooke tells us⁽⁴⁾ that the son of the king of Rohtasgarh was

(3) *Note on South Mirzapur*, by Crooke and Dampier, pages 24—5. He seems, however, really to have been the son of Ratibhan, and so nephew and heir, and possibly adopted son, of Jayaccandra.

(4) *Tribes and Castes, N. W. P. & O.*, II, 372.

granted by Sher Shah the pargana of Kera Mangraur now in the Mirzapur district, and he became a Muhammadan. The younger son fled to Kantit in the same district, and with the aid of a Brahman of Dhauraha near Bijaypur, "overcame the Bhar Raja of that place, and founded the family of the Gaharwar rajas of Kantit and Bijaypur. All the Gaharwars trace their lineage to Benares or Bijaypur." Sherring writes⁽⁵⁾ that the Gaharwars who settled in Kantit were under the leadership of Gadan Deo, "whom some have supposed to be Manik Chand, brother of Jai Chand, the Rathor king" (i.e. Jayaccandra, the Gaharwar ruler of Kanaur). He adds that the raja of Manda, who was related to the Gaharwar raja of Bijaypur "is said to be descended in a direct line from Jai Chand". All the Gaharwars in the Benares Division seem to have claimed descent from the same family of *suryavamsi* Gaharwars which settled at Kantit and Bijaypur, and which, according to Crooke's story quoted above, was founded by a son of the chief of Rohtasgarh. It is perhaps also a significant fact that, according to Tod, who calls them "Gherwal" Rajputs, the Gaharwars are scarcely known in Rajputana, and are not permitted to intermarry with any of the clans there.

The connexion with the Singrauli family referred to by Buchanan is also of much interest. This old family was once of great consequence in the hilly regions to the south of the Son and west of Palamau, a *terra incognita* to us up to the end of the 18th century. The well-known Ajit Singh who ruled from 1190 to 1234, *Fasli*, or from about 1782 to 1826 A.D., married a Gaharwar girl, as did also his son Udwant Singh; yet Crooke,⁽⁶⁾ who had first-hand knowledge of the locality, says the family is "undoubtedly of Kharwar descent". Crooke also adds that the raja in his time claimed to be a Benbans (i.e. Venavamsi) Kshatriya. (Cf. Buchanan's reference to the Benbans.)

It must also be remembered that there is considerable evidence of connexion between the Gaharwars and the Bhars, whom Buchanan, like many subsequent writers, treated as distinct. Mr. R. V. Russell, in his *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, after reviewing the available evidence, comes to the conclusion that the Gaharwars "were probably derived from the Bhars".

(5) *Tribes and Castes*, I, 175.

(6) *Note on the Country South of the River Son, in the Mirzapur District*, 1894, pages 23 & 59. Ajit Singh must have been of earlier date, however, as I find his name over a wide extent of country on W. Whitchurch's map engraved in 1776; and he was known to Rennell before 1782.

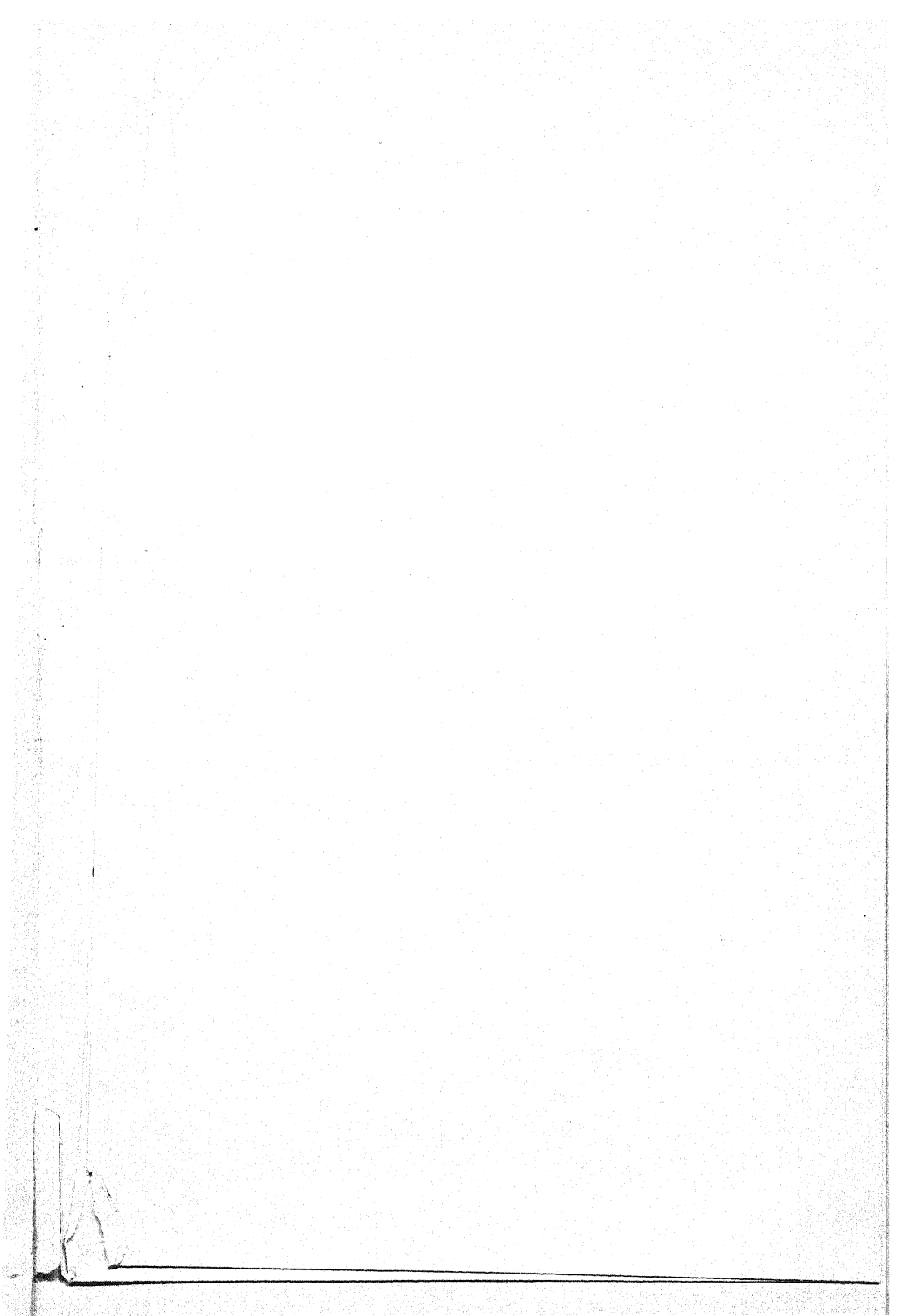
The Kharwars are one of the few tribes in South Bihar among whom we find a survival up to the present day of tribal organization and of the effective exercise of power by tribal chiefs. In Buchanan's time the organization seems to have retained more of its old vigour. He frequently refers to the "Rajahs" and the "Chaudhurs", and the "Taluks" into which the Kharwar villages were divided. The "Rajah" of Sanraki was attended by one of his Chaudharis when he came to meet Buchanan. "Rajah" Toral Mal had jurisdiction over the Tilothu hills, we are told, with seven Chaudharis, and "Rajah" Siva Singh over the Sasaram hills with one Chaudhari; while in another area there were four independent Chaudharis. The Kharwars in these hills still recognize the prestige and authority of the descendants of their old rajas, and acknowledge their prerogatives by various formalities. Though now bereft of his territorial sway, the Kharwar chief still retains the respectful title of "Raja". The Chaudhari is a local headman whose office is also hereditary. For the decision of internal disputes the Kharwars still have a regular gradation of courts, the final appeal lying to the "Raja" from the Chaudharis (7).

In south Shahabad I have often heard the Kharwars and Cheros linked together by the rural Hindu inhabitants. For instance, in reply to questions as to very old remains of which no historical record survived, I have frequently been met by the answer—"Kharwar-Cheruan ke ba," i.e. "it is of the Kharwars and Cheros." Not so across the Son to the east, in the south of ancient Magadha, where the reply in similar circumstances was almost invariably that it dated from the time of the "Kolrajia", i.e. from the time of the dominion of the Kols. This is noted as a further indication of the racial and linguistic difference between the peoples on either side of the Son. The name Kharwar is hardly ever heard on the lips of the rural folk in the Gaya district. Of the Cheros there are traditions in many places, but it always struck me that they were mostly confined to the area in the west and north-west of the district and the west of the Patna district, which tracts, it may be noted, lay on the left bank of the Son in olden times, when that river after passing Barun and Dihri, followed an even more easterly course than has usually been supposed (8).

C. E. A. W. O.

(7) For an account of their organization, see O'Malley's Report on the Census of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1911, Part I, page 459.

(8) See in this connexion Note (6) on page 1 of Journal.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

BUDDHASTATUEN.---*Ursprung und Formen der Buddhagestalt. Von Dr. Leonhard Adam. Mit 52 Photographien und 20 Abbildungen im Text. Stuttgart, 1925, pages xii, 122, 48.*

The author of this excellent, abundantly illustrated monograph, who has previously published a work on Central Asian Art (Hochasiatische Kunst), has been guided in his present publication by the laudable intention of presenting to the learned world a number of good reproductions of typical Buddha statues, without paying regard to their æsthetic value. The statues with the exception of a few characteristic samples of Gandhāra, Northern Indian and Turkestan art, come from Further India and from East Asia. The originals mostly belong to the Berlin Ethnographic Museum and to private collections at Berlin, including Dr. Adam's own collection. Short descriptions are added to the plates, giving an account of the origin, age and special features of each statue. The introduction contains a brief history of Buddha types in the chief Buddhist countries, showing their mutual interdependence. Thus the bodily marks of the Buddha and his gestures or *mudrās* as well as the halo may be generally traced to Gandhāra art, but the style of the Buddha statues of Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia and Java is more immediately derived from the Indian sculptures of the Gupta period. Burma may be supposed to have followed Ceylon models at first, its Buddhism originating in Ceylon, but the typical Buddha statues of the country correspond to Indian statues and the conical crowns of certain specimens resemble South Indian crowns. Burmese art, on its part, naturally enough has influenced the neighbouring art of Siam, but the pointed flames on the top of Siamese statues and certain peculiar attitudes and gestures of the Buddha must be of local origin. In China

it is the Foistic form of Buddhism which represents national Chinese art, while the Indian type has been preserved both in the statues coming from Tibet and in those imported from India direct. The early Buddhist art of Japan is decidedly more Indian than Chinese in its character, and so is Korean art to which it may be traced back. In explaining the *Om maṇi padme hūm* prayer, the author has not yet been able to avail himself of the evidently correct interpretation of the *Ṣaḍakṣarī* proposed by Professor Konow. *Maṇipadme* should be taken together as one word, a vocative of the feminine base *maṇipadmā*, an epithet of Tārā, meaning "thou in whose *padma* there is a *maṇi*". See J.B.O.B.S., March, 1925.

J. JOLLY.

INDIAN PAINTING UNDER THE MUGHALS.—*By Percy Brown*,
11½ × 8½. 204 pp. Oxford Clarendon Press, 1924.

The portrait of Amir Timur shown on *plate IV*, figure 1, is ascribed by Mr. Brown to about the year 1575 A. C. In the Memoirs of Jahangir, however, under the events of the third year of this reign (1608 A. C.) we read :— "Muqarrab Khan, Surati, sent me a picture, (with a letter) saying that the Europeans (*Firangīs*) assert that it is a portrait of Hazrat Amir Timur, taken, at the time when he made a prisoner of Bayazid, the Sultan of Turkey, by a painter who had accompanied the ambassador sent by the Christian governor of Constantinople with some presents, etc. If this were true, no present in the world could have been better for me ; but as the face and features (of the portrait) did not resemble those of his descendants I could not believe it."

From this statement of Jahangir it would seem that there was no authentic portrait of Amir Timur in the possession of the Mughal Emperors up to that time (about 1608 A. C.) ; for if there had been, it would have been easy enough for Jahangir to say that it did not resemble the older pictures.

The portrait on *plate XVII*, figure 2, said to be of the Young Prince Salim is ascribed to 1585 A. D., when Salim was only a youth of 17 or so. From other pictures of the prince we

know him to have had a handsome face, with charming features, showing intelligence and sensitiveness in every line. He could not have developed a bulky build and a flabby face so early in his life. A truer representation of this prince is that shown in the coloured plate CXIX of Mr. Vincent Smith's *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* (facing page 476) which is taken from prince Dara Shikoh's private album.

Plate XXIV.—The inscription on the original picture may be wrong as the author tells us in the footnote on page 37. But in the description of the Durbar given on subsequent pages better authorities than Bernier could have been consulted with advantage.

Bernier was not an eye-witness at the court of Shah Jahan when the Persian Embassy was received. He begins his work from the War of Succession which broke out between Shah Jahan's sons in 1658 A. C. ; and, on page XX, he is stated to have reached Surat "most probably, towards the end of 1658 or early in 1659", when Dara Shikoh had already been twice defeated by Aurangzeb. Much of what Bernier has written, therefore, is mere fiction or hearsay. Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, in the introduction to his '*History of Aurangzeb*' (Vol. I, page XXI), speaking of Tavernier, Bernier and Manucci, who visited India in this reign, says "apart from the few events in which they took part or which they, personally witnessed, their report merely reproduced bazar rumours and stories current among the populace, and cannot be set against the evidence of contemporary histories and letters in Persian".

In these contemporary works, Shah Jahan has been universally praised by native authors for his amiable manners and for taking great care of his Royal dignity both in conversation and in general behaviour. The use of such harsh words "Ai Bad-Bakht" to the Ambassador of the Persian King would have created a scandal throughout Asia ; but as none of the Persian histories (written in India or Persia) contain any reference to the "anecdotes" given by Bernier, we must infer that the

French traveller has either manufactured these or merely reproduced bazar jokes.

Plate XXV.—The throne reproduced in this plate can not be the Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan, for that famous Throne was not the outcome of a few additions and alterations to the old throne of the Mughals, as the learned author seems to suggest. It was a new throne altogether, and, if Court histories, like the *Badshah Nama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori, are to be believed, it took seven years in the making, cost one *crore* of rupees, and was finished in 1044 H.—1634 A. C. Its roof was supported on twelve pillars, with a pair of peacocks above; but there were no figures of Jesus and Mary on it. See *Badshah Nama* (*Bib. Ind.*, Vol. I. pt. II), pp. 78-82.

On page 91, the name of Shah Jahan's wife is given as Arjuman Begum. But her correct name was Arj-mand Bāno Begum, *Arj* meaning *value* and Arj-mand signifying *valuable*. She was given the title of Mumtaz Mahal by Shah Jahan, and the first part of her title was shortened and vulgarised into Taj in later times. In the contemporary histories of the period the magnificent Taj is always referred to as the Mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal.

Plate XXVII.—In the description of plate XXVII Mr. Brown makes a regrettable mistake. He says on page 92, "here we have, as *the inscription boldly tells us*, a representation of the chief Government artist in the flesh, and also of the painters and writers who were his collaborators". In the plate description given below the illustration (as also in the list of illustrations at the beginning of the book) the picture is described as giving a "portrait of Muhammad Faqirullah Khan, Head Artist, at the court of Shah Jahan, painted C. A. D. 1650....."

But the inscription on the picture does not say so. On the other hand it says that the picture shows "a portrait of Sayyid Hidayat-ullah, the Sadr; painted by Deulah." (*Shabihi Sayyid Hidayat-ullah, Sadr; amal-i-Daulah*). Daulah probably stands for Daulat, the artist whose portrait, painted "by

the order of Jahangir on the fly-leaf of an illuminated manuscript," (p. 82), is reproduced by Mr. Brown on plate XVIII. Sayyid Hidayat-ullah (son of Sayyid Ahmad, Qadiri, who held post of Sadr-i-kul in the reign of Jahangir) served as the Diwan of Qandahar for some time under Shah Jahan and was made a Sadr in the 21st year of his reign, i.e., about 1648. (*Maasirul Umara*, Vol. II, pp. 456-7.) The picture was possibly made soon after he took over charge of his new office, and Mr. Percy Brown is probably right in ascribing it to 1650 A.C.

Two other points in this picture call for remarks—(i) In the first place, the minor figures of five young and two old men in the borders of the picture are described by the author as those of the "remaining members of Faqirulla's staff" forming "an interesting group around the portrait of their master—the painters being differentiated from the writers by the characters of the implements and materials that are placed before them". But these "implements and materials" consist of a *single pen and inkpot* placed to right of the old man seated in the right hand top corner of the picture. No other implements can be seen in the illustration. The "Master" is not examining an artistic production of any of his subordinates, none of whom is represented as writing or painting anything. The two young men in the upper and lower borders (who might be the sons of Sayyid Hidayat-ullah) are apparently getting their lessons from the Maulvis. The open pages of their books do not exhibit any trace of a picture or an unfinished page of writing; while the books placed in front of the old men are apparently closed, and it is only their illuminated bindings that we see now. Similarly the three young men standing in the left hand border of the picture are not engaged in writing or painting anything; and the book held by the central figure, closed and bound as it is, might be anything from a theological work to a ledger of accounts. These three standing figures obviously represent personal attendants, clerks or other subordinates attached to the office of the *Sadr*. But whosoever they might be certain

it is that they are neither painters nor writers " of Faqirullah's staff ", just as the central portrait is not of Faqirullah.

(ii) Mr. Brown continues, on page 93, " Four of his (Faqirullah's) assistants are Muhammadans, the three others being Hindus ". The author gives no reasons for identifying three of the minor figures as Hindus.

Plate XXVIII.—The nobleman shown on this plate is wearing the *Nādirī* dress introduced by Jahangir and presented and allowed by him to only a few favourite officers.

Under the events of the twelfth year of his reign Jahangir writes:—" I chose certain garments for my own use and ordered that no other person should use them with the exception of those to whom they are presented by me. One of these garments is the *Nādirī* which is worn over the *qabā*. It hangs below the waist and has no sleeves..... The Persians call it *Kurdi*, but I have given it the name of *Nādirī*."

On page 133, in the description of plate XLII, Mr. Percy Brown describes Irādat Khan and Fidai Khan (Firdai is probably a misprint) as "*shikaris*". The appellation, however, is hardly applicable to noblemen who occupied some of the highest positions under the Emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

Irādat Khan, whose real name was Sayyid Muhammad Baqir, on his arrival in India (he belonged to Sāwa in Mesopotamia) first took service under Asaf Khan, Mirza Jafar, as the Faujdar of Sialkot, Gujrat and Punjab. Shortly afterwards he was married to a daughter of Asaf Khan and was introduced to the Emperor Jahangir. Later on, through the good offices of Yamin-ud-Daulah, Asaf Khan, he rose gradually to respectable positions until he was made the Khān-i-Sāmān of the Royal Palace. He greatly economised expenses as Khān-i-Sāmān, and, as he showed considerable ability and honesty in his work, was promoted in the 15th year of Jahangir's reign to the Subadarship of Kashmir. Some time later he was made the Mir-Bakhshi or Pay-Master General, which position he occupied until the accession of Shah Jahan in 1627 A. C., when he was confirmed as Mir-Bakhshi and was given the rank of 5000 Zat,

with a banner and drum which were allowed to few noblemen only. During the first year of Shah Jahan's reign he acted as the Wazir.....(*Māāsir-ul-Umara, Vol. I, pages 174-180*).

Now the hunting scene represented in the picture (plate XLII) is described in the Memoirs of Jahangir under the events of the 18th year of his reign, and from the account of Irādat Khan given in the previous paragraph we know that Irādat Khan occupied the post of the Mir-Bakhshi from about the 16th year of Jahangir's reign. The Pay-Master General of the realm could hardly be called a mere 'shikari'.

Fidai Khan, whose real name was Mirza Hidayat-ullah, began his official life as a naval commanding officer (Mir Bahr-i-Nawara). Afterwards he became the Wakil (agent) of Mahabat Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Forces; and as he was constantly in the presence of the Emperor and was patronised by Mahabat Khan, he soon rose to the position of a *nobleman*. He must have been occupying a high position in the 18th year of Jahangir's reign to which time the Hunting scene refers. For, in the 22nd (regnal) year, when Mukarram Khan, the Subadar of Bengal, was drowned, Fidai Khan was made the Governor of that province. A *nobleman* who could be entrusted with the charge of a rich and important province like Bengal, was certainly not a mere 'shikari'. (*Māāsir-ul-Umara, Vol. III, pages 12-18*).

It may be interesting to note in this connection that the big lion killed by Jahangir on this occasion measured 10 feet and 6½ inches from head to tip of tail.

The picture reproduced on *plate LI* is inscribed "Ustad Bibzad". Apparently the native connoisseur who wrote this inscription believed it to be the work of that great master artist of Persia.

The picture shown on *plate LXVIII* is inscribed "Taswir-i-Shah Karak, i.e., a portrait of Shah Karak". This Shah Karak was a famous Muhammadan ascetic residing in Patna about 1800 A. C. when the picture under review was probably painted. He was a disciple of Sayyid Amin and though the

name is somewhat unusual, we read of a Muhammadan *faqir* of the same name, in the time of Ala-ud-Din Khilji, whom he (the *faqir*) praised in several Persian verses, one of which ran as follows :—

“ *Har kih kunad ba to jang*
Sar dar kashfi, tan dar Gang ”

i.e., Any one who opposes thee, shall have his head in the boat, and his body (thrown) in the Ganges.

The *Takya* of Shah Karak is a well-known quarter in the City of Patna.

According to Mr. Percy Brown “the inscription (in this picture) was written by a Muhammadan while the painting is the work of a Hindu”. But in the 18th and 19th centuries, when India was still under the Mughals—nominally at least—Persian was the court language of the country and was extensively studied by Muhammadans and Hindus as well as by many Europeans. From the picture itself it is almost impossible, therefore, to say anything as to the religions of the person who wrote the inscription on this picture in Persian characters.

MOHAMMAD HAMID.

ASOKA TEXT AND GLOSSARY.—By *A. C. Woolner, M.A. (Oxon).*

Part I. Introduction, Text. 10 × 12½, XXXVII + 52. *Part II. Glossary.* 10 × 12½, IV + 103 (53—156) pp. *Punjab University, Oriental Publications. Oxford University Press, Calcutta, 1924.*

The inscriptions of Aśoka with notes have been published up till now in various languages—European and Indian. The task of the present day would be to critically collate all these results and prepare an edition giving all the (i) textual peculiarities, (ii) interpretations and (iii) right readings verifiable from accompanying plates representative in character and chosen to illustrate both the Brāhmī and the Kharoṣṭhī scripts. The India Office and Dr. Hultzsch are preparing such an edition. The work of Mr. Woolner based on that of Dr. Laddu (pages i—vii)

does not pretend to anticipate Doctor Hultzsch. It is meant to be "a handbook for University students" (p. vi). Viewed as such, it might have tried to remove the defects of many such handbooks noted below. But the result is not satisfactory.

To compare at a glance the textual peculiarities of different versions, it is desirable to have corresponding words in a line, one above or below the other. The Calcutta University Text has adopted this arrangement. Mr. Woolner sticks to the old method of putting the lines in separate columns. (ii) The interpretations do not seem to have taken sufficient note of the recent studies of Michelson (*Journ. American Oriental Society*; A.J.P. xxx; IF. xxiv) criticizing Senart, Franke and Johansson, i.e. Final—*as—as—o*, etc. (Woolner, p. xxvi). (iii) As regards estampages, photographs, plates, etc. Mr. Woolner asks the students to "go to the Rocks and Pillars" (p. vi), and pleads increase in the cost of publication as an excuse (p. vi). The Glossary (Part II) is far from complete—cf. "Ājivikehi." D. R. Bhandarkar says "not Brahmanical, as title *Bhadanta* is never used of Brāhmans" (p. 68). But D. R. Bhandarkar seems to have changed his opinion, cf. *Aśoka Carmichael Lectures*, 1923, pages 170-72. D. R. Bhandarkar's second opinion is his own and wrong—cf. Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. p. 159. The real answer seems to lie in a comparison of Khāravēla's occupation of Gorathagiri (*J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. IV., pp. 364-403) and the inveterate hatred of orthodox Jains towards the "Ājivikas" the followers of Gosāla "the treacherous impostor," one time disciple of Mahāvira (Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I., p. 159.) as evinced by the deliberate chipping off of their names from the Barabar Hills cave inscriptions of Aśoka. Mr. Woolner has ignored the riddle altogether.

From the above it is clear that Doctor Hultzsch's edition will be awaited with greater interest than ever. Mr. Woolner's edition removes none of the defects of the numerous University handbooks already in use.

A. B.-Ś.

ASOKA.—*The Carmichael Lectures*, 1923. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A. (Bomb), Hon. Ph. D. (Calcutta), F. A. S. B., Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, 5½" × 8½", xviii + 347 pages. University of Calcutta, 1925.

The Calcutta University, under its rules, expects its Carmichael Professor of Indian History to deliver at least four original lectures a year, to go out to the world as a contribution to the knowledge of Indian History or, as the University puts it, of 'ancient Indian History and Culture'. The book under review is the contribution for the year 1923. Without much hesitation, one has to pronounce that the book does not fulfil the condition of originality, as hardly one per cent. of the matter is original. The book is a palpable attempt to supercede Dr. Vincent Smith's *Asoka* at whose expense it is filled up. The present generation of scholars owes it to the memory of that worker to resent such an attempt.

The language of the volume is such as no one teaching at a University should allow under his name. It is better to write in one's vernacular than misuse a foreign tongue meant to be the vehicle of modern culture practically the world over. The following may be cited at random :—

(i) "Constantine leaned to toleration for political purposes. Asoka's toleration was a genuine commodity" (page 226).

(ii) "the Beloved of the Gods has might though he is repenting. Unto them (the people of the forests) [therefore] it is said 'They should express sense of shame and they shall not be killed' (pages 43—4)."

(iii) "the Indians cultivated the science of politics with as much boldness and alacrity as they did theology and philosophy (page 240)".

The Carmichael Lecturer has compared Asoka with various celebrities of history (pages 220-248) and finds solace only in the Feudatory Ruler of Baroda who is according to the

putwa of the Professor of the Calcutta University—“an Incarnation of Aśoka” (page ii). Flattery takes the place of history in a publication which bears the seal of “Advancement of Learning”. The Prince of Baroda alone could be compared with the Emperor, in the opinion of this Professor of Culture; while men from Alexander to Napoleon do not pass successfully at his hands—hands which have not, evidently, turned the pages of their histories.

In the interest of scholarship, this class of literature must be condemned in the strongest possible terms. They mean neither the advancement of learning nor an exposition of truth. It is an example in its bad form of the *Indianization* of scholarship: it is vernacular put in the language of modern civilization—unreliable facts in murdered English, not fit even for an irresponsible daily newspaper. Researches, as already said, are practically nil.

A. B.-Ś.

SADHANAMALA.—Volume I, edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, M.A., Central Library, Baroda. Gacwad's Oriental Series, no. XXVI, 1925. 6 × 9½, XXIII + 342 Pages.

The book is a random collection of short *Sādhana*s or rituals for worshipping deities, belonging to the Vajrayāna school of Northern Buddhism. It also contains some *Mudrās*, *Mantras* and *Dhāraṇīs*. It is written in a Sanskrit similar to that in the *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, the *Lalitavistara* and similar Buddhist works.

The St. Petersburg *Bibliotheca Buddhica Series* undertook its publication about 11 years ago but it did not materialise owing to the outbreak of the great war and subsequent suspension of purely intellectual pursuits. The present version therefore removes a long felt want.

The text published so far brings the number of *Sādhana*s to no. 170. The second volume promises fuller details, a bibliography and notes on the Vajrayāna system of Philosophy.

The edition evinces painstaking critical care. It is based on

eight manuscripts. The editor's general principle, viz. "Regarding different readings, the one that approaches nearest to correct Sanskrit has generally been adopted" may not be acceptable to readers who might utilize the book from the philological point of view, but their interest has been safeguarded by a recording of variants in the footnotes. A more serious desideratum would be to consult four other important and independent manuscripts—(1) in Cambridge, (2) in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, (3) in the possession of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Especially so, in view of the probable interconnection of the eight manuscripts consulted.

In his well-written *Buddhist Iconography* the editor has made the subject intelligible and easily accessible even to a layman. The present edition is a valuable contribution in the same direction, and would be welcome also by the specialist.

The printing and get-up do credit to the Baptist Mission Press, already noted for so many critical publications.

A. BANERJI-ŚĀSTRĪ.

ORISSA IN THE MAKING.—By B. C. Mazumdar, Advocate, Calcutta High Court, Lecturer in Anthropology, Comparative Philology and Indian Vernaculars in the University of Calcutta, University Press, Calcutta, 1925.

In this book the author has brought together the results of his long experience of the States of Orissa with reference to their ancient, mediæval and modern history. The book was published by the Calcutta University but at the cost of Maharaja Sir Bir Mitrodaya Singh Deo, Dharmanidhi, Jñānagunākara, K.C.I.E., the Ruling Chief of Sonpur State. A casual reader of Mr. Mazumdar's book will think that the Chauhan rulers of Sonpur and Patna are the most influential, ancient and powerful rulers among the feudatory chiefs of Orissa.

In the first chapter of his book Mr. Mazumdar describes the physical aspects and the geographical extent of Orissa. In the second chapter, entitled "Kalinga as distinguished from the

high lands of Orissa," Mr. Mazumdar has tried to prove that the high lands of Orissa, i.e., the territory now ruled by the feudatory chiefs of Orissa was not included within the limits of the ancient Kalinga Empire and that the inhabitants of these high lands were quite distinct from the ancient and civilized inhabitants of Kalinga. Mr. Mazumdar's object in bringing out this distinction is not apparent except in the ninth chapter of his book. By differentiating the people of Kalinga from the inhabitants of the high lands, Mr. Mazumdar tries to prove that all chiefs of Orissa, who do not pretend to be of Rajput origin, were descended from the aborigines like the Bhuiyans or Kandhas. The methods adopted by him are faulty and totally unconvincing.

The third chapter of the book, entitled "The Kalinga Empire and its dissolution" contains an appendix on the Hatigumpha inscription of Khāravela. In the first place Mr. Mazumdar insinuates that the Hatigumpha inscription of Khāravela had not been completely deciphered as yet. Those who know this difficult inscription intimately have expressed their opinion repeatedly that all parts of this records, which are legible, have been deciphered. Those parts of the Hatigumpha inscription, which have become illegible, cannot be deciphered by anybody.

In the next place Mr. Mazumdar criticises the interpretation of terms like *panatisahi* and *panatariya*. His criticism is not constructive but totally destructive because he does not hazard any suggestion about the real meaning of these terms. His criticisms of the translation of the term *ti-vasa-saia* and *terasa vasa-sata* are equally unconvincing. Perhaps Mr. Mazumdar is not aware that similar expressions are used to denote hundreds of years in the *Jātakas*. He makes a curious suggestion which one does not expect from an Oriental scholar in the twentieth century. He says "As Kharavel embraced the Jaina religion (or Buddhism, I do not know which), or rather was born in a family which had Jainism for its faith, he might naturally be expected to use Magadhi speech for his record." (pp. 61-62). A scholar who states frankly after the publication

of articles about the Hatigumpha inscription of Khāravela that he does not know whether Khāravela was a Buddhist or a Jaina, puts himself above criticism.

In the body of the third chapter Mr. Mazumdar makes some very curious statements. In the first place he states, "It is now a widely known historical fact that the Andhra rulers became very powerful in the Deccan at the time of Chandragupta Maurya (p. 39). Perhaps Mr. Mazumdar is not aware of the fact that an inscription of the second king of the Andhra dynasty in the Pandulena cave at Nasik (Luders' list of Brāhmī Inscriptions—*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, Appendix, p. 129; No. 1144) and of the queen of the third king at the Nanaghat pass prove that the first king of this dynasty could not have existed before the time of Āśoka.

A few pages later Mr. Mazumdar states that "Moreover at this time the Dravadians had no script of their own, as has already been noticed." (pp. 35-36). I would like to know how this statement is received by South Indian scholars. Has it been made perfectly certain by the learned professor that the poor Dravidian had no system of writing of his own before the civilized Aryan lord brought it to India from his unknown land. The statement is so very bold that any other man would have taken a long pause before attempting to state it.

The fourth chapter of the book is not very important and the author begins the history of Orissa in the fifth. The principal defect of Mr. Mazumdar's treatment of the early rulers of Orissa is his want of up-to-date information. In treating of the early history of Orissa, Mr. Mazumdar has omitted several salient factors of chronology. He speaks of the Sulkis, who according to him were the vassals of the Kosala Guptas. In his attempt to magnify the Kosala Guptas he has forgotten the Karas who were the real rulers of Orissa, and were acknowledged as such even by the emperors of China. The Chinese account recently published in the sixteenth volume of the *Epigraphia Indica* coupled with the

discovery of the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara prove without doubt that the Keśarī kings of the Orissan tradition were one and the same with the dynasty of Śubhākara. Several queens of this dynasty ruled over Orissa and assumed imperial titles such as Tribhuvanamahādevī, Bakula-mahādevī and Daṇḍimahādevī. Palæography leaves no doubt about the fact that the Kosala Guptas had no control over Orissa when the Karas or the Keśarīs were the supreme overlords of the sea-board.

In the sixth chapter Mr. Mazumdar deals with the Bhañja Rulers. His boldness has led him to commit a serious blunder about the origin of the Bhañja chiefs. He says, "It is narrated that the celebrated Man Singh of Jaypur in Rajputana came to Puri and got the Zemindary of Hariharpur on marrying a daughter of the then Gajapati Raja of Puri, and that subsequently the eldest son of this adventurer became the ruler of the northern half of the State and the second son became the proprietor of the southern half which developed into the State of Keonjhar. It is also stated that Jay Singh after the acquisition of Hariharpur conquered *Mayurdhaja then holding the gadi at Bamanghati* in the western part of the State, and thus effected a territorial extension. The new ruler after this acquisition of territory assumed the surname Bhañja as a measure of policy" (pages 119-120). On comparing the gazetteer of the Feudatory States of Orissa compiled by Mr. L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, D.C.S., I am compelled to say with regret that Mr. Mazumdar's statements tends towards exaggeration. This gazetteer states about the origin of the chiefs of Mayurbhanj as follows:—

"According to tradition the Mayurbhanj State was founded some 1,300 years ago by one Jay Singh, who was a relative of the Raja of Jaypur in Rajputana, Jay Singh came on a visit to the shrine of Jagannath at Puri and married a daughter of the then Gajapati Raja of Orissa and received Hariharpur as a dowry. Of his two sons, the eldest Adi Singh held the *gadi* of the Mayurbhanj State. The annals of the Mayurbhanj Raj family, however, say that Jay Singh came to

Puri with his two sons, Adi Singh and Jati Singh, the elder of whom was married to a daughter of the Puri Raja (page 239).

"In 1098 A. D. one Jay Singh, son of Man Singh, a Kachua Rajput of the solar race and a chief of Jaipur in Rajputana, came on a pilgrimage to Puri where he married the daughter of the then ruling Gajapati Chief of Puri, receiving as a dowry the territory of Hariharpur which comprised modern Mayurbhanj and upper Keonjhar. Of this union two sons were born, the elder being called Adi Singh and the younger Jati Singh. Adi Singh early in life showed prowess in the field subduing a troublesome petty chief called Mayuradhwaja, for which service he received the title of 'Bhañj' (*bhanjan* to break) from the Gajapati ruler, which surname has remained in the two families of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj" (pages 213-14).

I beg to draw the attention of the readers to another statement in Mr. Mazumdar's book which contradicts that on page 119 "Ruling House of Mayurbhanj is not even distantly connected with the Bhañjas of epigraphic records. The family records of the Raj House affirm that quite a foreigner of the United Provinces came into Orissa at the time of the invasion of Orissa by Man Singh and he it was who established the present Ruling House on obtaining the zamindary of Hariharpur from a Raja of Puri. This time cannot be earlier than 1589" (page 217).

In the first place Mr. Cobden-Ramsay does not say any where in the gazetteer of the Orissa Feudatory States that the progenitors of the Chiefs of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar was "a son of the celebrated Man Singh of Jaypur in Rajputana." Jaipur, the present capital of the Rajput State of that name came into existence in the eighteenth century and Man Singh, son of Bhagwan Das is known as the Raja of Amber. In mediæval Rajput history the Kachhwahas are known to be the chiefs of Dhundhar. I cannot understand how Mr. Mazumdar connects the traditional founder of the States of Mayurbhanj

and Keonjhar with a son of the celebrated Rajput general of Akbar and Jahangir. In the second place it is very difficult to understand how "Jaypur in Rajputana" (page 119) comes to be placed in the "United Provinces" (page 217). Mr. Mazumdar's construction of the origin of the modern Bhañja Chiefs of Orissa inclines somewhat to belittle the Houses of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Baud.

If we compare Mr. Mazumdar's statements about the origin of the chiefs of Mayurbhanj and Sonpur then we find that he places absolute faith in the traditional evidence of Sonpur while rejecting similar evidence in the case of Mayurbhanj. A separate article will be necessary to criticise Mr. Mazumdar's construction of the early history of the Bhañja dynasty because by neglecting to consult the "annual report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy in the Southern Circle for the year 1918" he has made the sixth chapter of his absolutely useless and unreliable. I shall pass over this chapter with one or two remarks. In the first place Mr. Mazumdar states on page 124 of his book that "The Bamanghati record which was published by the late Professor Kielhorn"; but the Bamanghati plates of Kanabhañja and Rajabhañja were not edited by Professor Kielhorn, but by the late Partapa Chandra Ghosh in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1871. Again on page 134 of his book Mr. Mazumdar states, "Invariably in all other records of Mayurbhanj as well as of other places the Bhañja ruler have called themselves *aṇḍajavaṃsa-prabhava* and yet an orthodox *gotra*-name has been in the family and this name is Kāśyapa" (page 134). But the chiefs of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar belong to the *Vasiṣṭha-gotra* and not the Kāśyapa.

In the seventh chapter also, which is entitled "The Kosalā Guptas (Makers of Orissa)" Mr. Mazumdar tries to prove that Sonpur was the capital of Kosalā Guptas. The most serious mistake in this chapter is that after the publication of M. Sylvain Lévi's contribution in the *Epigraphia Indica* it is hardly proper to state that one or two of the Somavamsi

Rulers of Orissa bore the title "Keśarī." Mr. Mazumdar also commits the mistake of thinking that because the Chōḷa kings of Tanjore bore the secondary title of *Pirudā*, "Keśarī", therefore the "Keśarī" kings of Orissa were of Chōḷa origin. The discovery of the Chinese record of the embassy sent to China by Śubhākara of Orissa proves beyond doubt that the Keśarī kings of Orissa were much earlier in date than Parāntaka I Parakeśarī Varman, who was the first great king of the Chōḷa dynasty. Mr. Mazumdar permits his fancy to play beyond the realms of sober history when he states, "At the time of the conquest of Orissa, or rather the easy annexation of Orissa by Chōḷa Ganga to his Andhra Kingdom, Uddyota who has been called a Keśarī was in Orissa as the last representative of the once mighty dynasty of the Kōśala kings. Evidently the Gaṅgas did not wage any war against Uddyota, for in the first place, Uddyota was allowed to remain unmolested where he was, and in the second place, Uddyota as a ruler of Orissa has not been registered in the Madra Panji." (p. 190). We do not know when this Uddyota Keśarī began to reign and how his reign ended and therefore nobody has any right to say definitely that Uddyota Keśarī was allowed to reign by Anantavarman Chōḷa Gaṅga as Mr. Mazumdar has done. Mr. Mazumdar committed another blunder while editing the Sonpur plates of Kumāra over Someśvaradeva in which he stated, "It is not clear whether *Srimad-U(d)dyota* who was called a Kesarin, is really a lineal descendent of the Guptas." (E. I. Vol. XII, p. 239). In plain language the writer of the Sonpur plate of Kumāra Someśvara meant that Someśvara had defeated Abhimanyudeva who had been placed in charge of a kingdom or Kōśala by Uddyota Keśarī. This statement is proved by the use of the term *atīta rājye*.

The most flagrant injustice to Orissa is to be found in the eighth chapter in which Mr. Mazumdar states that the Bengali script was used for Oriya writing in the time of Bhānudeva II "who ended his rule in 1227" (p. 206). Mr. Mazumdar evidently does not know that one particular variety of the

northern script was used in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa till the end of the fourteenth century. It was a script common to all of the north-eastern provinces and was not the personal property of the Bengalis. In Bihar it was succeeded by Nagari after the influx of the Konojia and Sarayūpārī or Sarwariya Brahmanas and in Bengal and Orissa the different forms took final shape in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Such parochial statements should not figure in any writing claiming to be historical.

The ninth chapter of Mr. Mazumdar's book is full of mistakes, discrepancies and exaggerations. In his attempt to prove that the Chauhan chief of Sonpur and his family consisting of the former chiefs of Sambalpur and the modern chief of Patna were independent monarchs from the beginning, Mr. Mazumdar has dealt with his facts more violently. A few examples will suffice :—

A. "According to this history it will be correct to say that not only the State of Patna but also the State of Sonpur as well was acquired by the Chohans by conquest" pp. 225-226. But Sir Richard Temple quoting Major Impey's report says that "the zemindary of Patna has, as the present chief alleges, been held in his family by emigrating from the Gangetic Doab and through the influence of the Ruler of Orissa established himself as 'Chief of the eight Garhs' noted in the margin"—*Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, new series, Vol. XV, page 219, note 1.

In spite of this direct evidence the compiler of the Sambalpur gazetteer Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley was so far misled by the statement of two Sambalpur gentlemen as to state that at one time the Rajah of Sambalpur was acknowledged as Suzerain by the chiefs "of the eighteen Garhjates, viz., Bamra, Gangpur, Bonai, Patna, Sonpur, Khariar, Rairakhol, Raigarh, Sarangarh, Bindra-Nuagarh, Sakti, Borasambar, Phulgarh, Baud, Athgarh, Panchgarh, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar". How Mr. O'Malley came to be misled by Mr. Satyabadi Padhi and Babu Nand Kishore Bohidar and ignored Sir Richard Temple, is not known,

Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., quoting Sir Richard Temple gives a list of the eighteen states or Atharagarah in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and in this list the names of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar are absent. The eighteen states as mentioned by Sir Richard Temple are :—

- | | |
|---------------|---------------------|
| 1. Patna. | 10. Bonai. |
| 2. Sambalpur. | 11. Raigarh. |
| 3. Sonpur. | 12. Bargarh. |
| 4. Bamra. | 13. Sakti. |
| 5. Rebracole. | 14. Chandarpur. |
| 6. Gangpur. | 15. Sarangarh. |
| 7. Bod. | 16. Bindranawagarh. |
| 8. Athmalik. | 17. Khariar. |
| 9. Phuljhar. | 18. Borasambar. |

The Chohan chiefs never ruled over the Bhañja kingdoms of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj. Mr. C. U. Wills has further exploded the theory of Chohan suzerainty in the Sambalpur tract on the evidence of Mr. Molle and Major Kittoe by stating broadly that “ this alone might tempt one to conclude that the application of the term Atharahgarh to the states which at one time acknowledged the hegemony of Sambalpur and Patna is without historical foundation ” page 222.

A. Mr. Mazumdar has attempted to hint that the Chohan Rajahs attempted to levy tribute from the Bhañja chiefs. “ It is reported that some old records disclosed the fact that the Chohan Rajas of Patna and Sambalpur issued orders of demand of revenue from time to time upon some chiefs of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj ; it is regrettable that no trace in records can now be obtained though they were inspected either by Sir A. Grant himself or by his responsible assistants some time previous to 1862, ” page 227.

What is the value of such assertions ?

B. Mr. Mazumdar also tries to prove that the Chohan Rajahs never submitted to Mughals. “ It goes without saying that the Chohan Rajahs maintained their thorough independence from the time of their acquisition of the states to 1745 ” page 236.

It appears from the Central Provinces gazetteer by Charles Grant, second edition, published at Nagpur in 1870, that Patna and Sonpur were sixth rate states which acknowledged the suzerainty of the Haihayas of Ratanpur in the time of Akbar. Kalyana Shahi of this family submitted to the Emperor Akbar I and he was the overlord of all Chohan Rajahs. "The jurisdiction of Kalyan Sahi, from the details given, extended over the whole of the country now known as Chhattisgarh, with the exception of Kawarda, Khairagarh, and the other zamindaris skirting the western hills, which are not mentioned, and evidently must at the time have belonged to the Gond dynasty of Mandla. But in addition to the present limits of Chhattisgarh it would seem to have included Korla, Surguja, and other parts of the Chota Nagpur division, with Ramgarh, now included in Mandla, and Lanji of Balaghat. The Rajas named in the margin are noted as subordinates or rather as feudatories of the Haihai Bansi house, which, there seems no doubt exercised paramount authority for a long series of years over this thinly populated, but extensive eastern tract of the present Central Provinces.

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. Sambalpur. | 6. Sarangarh. |
| 2. Patna. | 7. Sonpur. |
| 3. Khariar. | 8. Raigarh. |
| 4. Bastar. | 9. Sakti. |
| 5. Kharod. | 10. Chandrapur. |

(page 92).

Mr. C. U. Wills states about the authenticity of these revenue records, "But no suspicion was thrown on them by the few Europeans who examined them and I, therefore, presume that they were genuine records of mediæval Chhattishgarh" page 238.

C. Mr. Mazumdar also attempts to prove that the Sambalpur tract remained independent for a time after the conquest of Orissa from Nawab Alivardi Khan of Bengal. "That the principalities of the Sambalpur tract remained thoroughly independent during this time is proved by the fact that the Marathas after becoming masters of Eastern Orissa had to ask the Rulers of the principalities of the Sambalpur tract to acknowledge the

overlordship of the Bhonslas of Nagpur almost towards the end of the 18th century," page 238.

The contrary evidence is contemporary. An Englishman named Motte who visited Sambalpur area in 1766 says "Jonepur is a large town situated at the conflux of the Mahanuddee and Tail rivers, the Rajah of which is dependent on Janoojee. The Rajah took no notice of me nor I of him" page 222.

One fails to understand what sense there is in writing a book if the author has not got the time to go through printed and easily available literature on the subject

PARAMANANDA ACHARYA.

DRavidIAN INDIA.—*Vol. I. By T. R. Sesha Iyengar, M.A. with a Foreword by C. R. Reddy, M.A., (Cantab), M.L.C., 5 × 7½, III + 254 pp. Madras 1925.*

It is an introduction to a study of Dravidian Culture and its place in Hindu Civilization. Sanskritic studies have long established the fact that Hindu Civilization includes three elements—Vedic Aryan, Asura and Dāsa. The book under notice discusses the same problems from a predominantly Dravidian point of view.

The writer's method is first of all to collect references to the Dravidians from Sanskritic and Dravidic sources : then to test them archæologically : lastly to interpret them from the view-point of a Dravidian.

There seems to be some initial confusion about the import of the term Dravidian—the author sometimes takes it to be equivalent to the Dasyus of the R̥gveda (pp. 21, 124), elsewhere as signifying the Asuras (pp. 53-61). The R̥gveda, however, makes a clear differentiation between the two : (a) at the beginning, Zend *āhura* as well as R̥gvedic *asura* means 'mighty' (c.f. R̥gveda—II. 28. 7.). *Asura* is often employed for the Vedic deities e. g. Varuṇa, Paryanya, etc., (R̥gveda 63. 7). Then the Vedic Āryas distinguish between themselves and

others perhaps of a different stock and described as non-sacrificing *ayajvānāḥ* and *mṛdhravācāḥ* of unintelligible speech and their enemies (Rg. VI. 33. 3; VII. 31. I).

(b) But the Dāsas are the aborigines—ugly, dark and noseless—*kr̥ṣṇāḥ*, *asiknāḥ*, *anapnūsaḥ* and *anāsaḥ*. Probably an amalgamation of the *Asura* and the *Dāsa* or *Dasyu* slowly led to a new type—a suggestion borne out by the disappearance of the former and an elevation of the latter (pp. 21-2).

The archaeological excavations at Mahenjo-Daro in Sindh and Harappa in the Punjab have brought out relics of a Non-Vedic-Aryan Culture in India. In the absence of any authoritative account it is premature to call them Sumerian or for the matter of that by any other name. Waddell's highly imaginative interpretations of the *Indo-Sumerian Seals* (1925) and the *Phœnician Origin* (1924) impose caution.

The author's own suggestions would have gained in value by a judicious choice of authorities. "The Dravidian magicians became the ancestors of the Brahmans" (p. 129) and the "caste system was Dravidian in Origin" (p. 129) and similar observations of Dr. Slater have ceased to be "very profoundly interesting" (p. 128). It is time to reconsider even its Indian Aryan origin in the light of the suggested *Caste System in the Avesta, Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, Calcutta 1922*, pp. 94-100.

The concluding chapters dealing with the history of the south from Dravidic sources supply much useful information.

A. B.-Ś.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's Office on the 2nd August 1925.

PRESENT.

Mr. V. H. Jackson (in the chair).

Mr. G. E. Fawcett.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar.

Dr. A. P. Banarji-Sastri.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 8th March 1925.

With reference to item 3 of these proceedings, and more particularly with reference to the choice of a site and design for a building for the Society, the Secretary was directed to enquire of Government as to when the Society would be consulted in the matter, no communication on the subject having been received as yet.

2. A number of nominations for election having been received, it was resolved to enquire of those nominated whether they wished to become members of the Society. It was further resolved that, in future, reference be made to the person nominated before his name is put before the Council for election.

3. Read and recorded letter No. 2384E., dated the 29th June 1925, from the Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa in the Ministry of Education on the subject of the cataloguing of palm-leaf manuscripts in the Puri district.

4. Read a letter, dated the 21st April 1925, from Professor J. N. Samaddar, with reference to the review of his book,

The Glories of Magadha, published in the March issue of the Society's Journal.

Resolved that Professor Samaddar be informed that the Society reserves to itself the right to review any book which comes within its province ; and that, in point of fact, two copies of his book were received—one from the University, the publishers, and another from the author.

5. Read (a) letter No. 2101, dated the 2nd May 1925 from the Registrar, Patna University ; (b) a letter, dated the 18th June 1925, from the Editor, *Journal of Indian History*, proposing an exchange of publications.

Resolved that these proposals be accepted.

6. Read and recorded letter No. 5-R.J., dated the 24th April 1925, from the Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa in the Revenue Department with reference to the publication, *Man in India*.

7. Read a letter, dated the 28th May 1925, from the Rev. Father A. Grignard, S.J., with reference to the supply of free copies of the Society's Journal to the Rev. Father Hoffmann, who is writing an Encyclopaedia of the Mundas and cognate tribes.

Resolved that the Rev. Father Grignard be informed that the Society does not distribute any free copies of its Journal ; but that if the Rev. Father Hoffmann becomes a member of the Society, he will enjoy the usual privilege of getting back numbers of the Journal at half-price.

8. Resolved that the following be obtained for the Library out of funds allotted for the purpose :—

Beschryving van Barabudur, by Krom and Van Erp. three volumes.

L'Art Javanais, by Krom.

The back numbers of the *Journal Asiatique* required to complete the Society's set of the Journal, from 1836 onwards, so far as available.

9. Read and recorded the following letters :—(a) from Dr. Hermann Jacobi, dated the 18th February and the

10th March 1925; (b) from the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, dated the 11th May 1925; (c) from the Librarian of the American Oriental Society, dated the 18th April 1925; (d) from the Publishers of the *Acta Orientalia*, dated the 20th May 1925.

10. Resolved that the French School of the Far East, Hanoi, be asked to supply the Society with their back publications in exchange for a complete set of the Society's Journal.

11. Resolved that with a view to replenishing the stock of paper for printing the Society's Journal, the Government Press be asked to submit samples.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society held at the Society's Office
on the 13th September 1925.**

PRESENT.

Mr. V. H. Jackson (in the chair).

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar.

Dr. A. P. Banarji-Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 2nd August 1925.

2. Elected the following new members ;—

Mr. Sahadeva Narayan Pandey, B.A., Patna College, Patna.

Mr. Lakshmikanta Jha, B.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Patna.

Mr. Rameswara Prasad Jaruhar, B.A., Patna.

Dr. Satyanarain Prasad Varma, B.Sc., M.B., Patna.

Mr. Tribeni Prasad Singh, Murarpur, Gaya (life-member).

Mr. W. G. Urdhwareshe, Kavyatirtha, M.A., M.B.A.S., Holkar College, Indore.

3. Read a letter No. 1004-05-E. R., dated the 24th August 1925, from the Secretary to Government in the Ministry of Education, forwarding a plan of the proposed joint building for the Museum and Research Society.

Resolved that Government be informed that the Council have duly considered the plan and, in particular, the accommodation provided for the Research Society, and fully approve of the same.

The Secretary was directed to draw the attention of Government to the need for improving the lighting of the galleries on the ground floor, and to make other minor suggestions ; also to request that the Society may be furnished, later on, with detailed plans of the rooms designed as Hall and Library for the Society, showing the height of the rooms and the arrangements proposed for book stacks.

Read also a letter, dated the 9th September 1925, from the Hon'ble Sir John Bucknill, a member of the Council of the Society.

Resolved that, the letter be recorded. Resolved further that while there should be, as desired by Sir John Bucknill, the closest co-operation between the Society and the Museum authorities, it is essential that the Research Society, in virtue of the distinctive object which it exists to promote, should maintain its separate and independent existence, with its own constitution and its own funds.

4. Considered the budget estimates of the Society for 1926-27 and the revised estimates for 1925-26.

Resolved that these be adopted, as amended.

Resolved further that, as regards the remaining two parts of the Buchanan Journal, which like the first part will be published by Government in volume form as well as in the Society's Journal, Government be asked to bear a proportionate share of the cost of composing and printing the same.

5. Considered the question of appointing a peon for the Editor.

Resolved that, while a whole-time peon does not appear to be necessary, it should be the duty of the Secretary's peon (who is provided with a bicycle) to call every day for papers which the Editor (or Assistant Editor) may have for disposal.

6. Reconsidered item 10 in the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council.

Resolved that the Director of the French School of the Far East, Hanoi, be asked to state on what terms he can supply the

Society with a complete set of the publications of the School previous to 1920.

7. Considered a proposal for an exchange of publications with the Vedic Magazine.

Resolved that the proposal be not accepted.

8. Considered a letter, dated the 2nd March 1925, from the Honorary Secretary, India Society, London.

Resolved that the Society become subscribers to the publications of the India Society.

9. Read letter No. 1224-R.T., dated the 9th September 1925, from the Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, on the subject of the free supply to the Society of publications relating to subjects of archaeological and historical interest which are published by or for the Secretary of State for India.

Resolved that the letter be recorded.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

Proceedings of a Meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's office on the 18th November 1925.

PRESENT :

The Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson, *Vice-President* (in the chair).

The Hon'ble Sir John Bucknill.

The Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick.

Mr. V. H. Jackson.

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Dr. A. P. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

Rai Sahab Manoranjan Ghosh.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 18th September 1925.

2. Mr. K. C. Chatterji, M.A., Lecturer in Sanskrit, Benares Hindu University, was elected a member of the Society.

3. Mr. V. H. Jackson was unanimously elected Vice-President of the Society, in succession to the Hon'ble Sir Hugh McPherson.

4. Resolved that the next Quarterly Meeting of the Society, at which Dr. J. Ph. Vogel will deliver a lantern lecture on "Hindu Monuments in Java", be held early in December at the Radhika Sinha Institute, if arrangements can be conveniently made to hold it there; or, if not, at Patna College.

5. Read a letter, dated the 31st October 1925, from Mr. B. D. Banerji, Superintendent, Archæological Survey,

Eastern Circle, to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the President of the Society.

Resolved that Dr. A. Banerji Sastri be deputed to prepare readings (for publication in the Society's Journal) of the late mediæval Sanskrit inscriptions in the Lingaraj temple at Bhubaneswar, in accordance with Mr. R. D. Banerji's request that a member of the Society should be deputed for this purpose. The Society will meet Dr. Banerji-Sastri's travelling and other out-of pocket expenses.

Resolved, further, that the authorities of the Patna Museum be asked to lend the services of a peon to take impressions of the inscriptions under Dr. Banerji Sastri's direction ; and that a set of estampages be presented to the Museum.

6. Resolved that the proof-reader employed to read the proofs of the catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts be paid at the rate of one rupee per 16 pages forme.

7. Read and recorded letter no. 1378-E.R., dated the 11th October 1925, from the Secretary to Government in the Ministry of Education, on the subject of the arrangements made for anthropological research on the part of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray.

8. Read letter no. 1275, dated the 9th October 1925, from Dr. V. S. Sukathanker, of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, asking for the loan, for the purpose of collation, of a very old Maithili manuscript of the Karnaparvam of the Mahabharata, belonging to the Society.

Resolved that the request be granted on the understanding that the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, will make himself responsible for the safe custody of the manuscript, and that the work of collation is done in his office ; and that the Secretary be accordingly directed to write to the Superintendent, requesting his good offices in the matter.

9. Read and recorded Memo. no. 9695—98-B, dated the 14th November 1925, from the Under-Secretary to Government in the Public Works Department, on the subject of the allocation of rooms in the High Court Chambers,

10. Read letter no. 3786-E., dated the 11th November 1925, from the Secretary to Government in the Ministry of Education, asking for a detailed list of the furniture and equipment which will be required for the Research Society in its proposed new premises.

Resolved that the Secretary be directed to furnish an inventory of the furniture which the Society possesses at present, and to say that, as regards the equipment of the Library, the Council are of opinion that this should be specially designed for the purpose. Before submitting any useful proposals on this head, however, it will be necessary for the Council to have before them detailed plans of the new building, showing the wall-space into which the book-almirahs are to be fitted.

11. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, speaking on behalf of the Council, expressed their deep sense of obligation for all that the retiring Vice-President had done for the Society during his three years of office. He had restored life to what, when he assumed office, was a practically moribund institution. He wished him many years of happiness in his retirement; and hoped that he would continue to keep in close touch with the Society's activities.

Sir Hugh McPherson made a suitable reply.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

**Proceedings of a Quarterly Meeting of
the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
held at the Radhika Sinha Institute
on the 4th December 1925.**

1. Mr. V. H. Jackson, Vice-President of the Society, was in the chair; and there was a large attendance of members and visitors, the meeting being thrown open to the public.

2. Mr. Jackson introduced the lecturer—Doctor J. Ph. Vogel, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Leyden, and a member of the Society. Doctor Vogel delivered a lecture illustrated by lantern slides, on “Hindu Monuments in Java”.

3. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal moved a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

Bhatta-Svāmin's Commentary

on

KAUTĪ LYA'S ARTHA-ŚĀSTRA

Edited by K. P. JAYASWAL

and

A. BANERJI-SASTRI

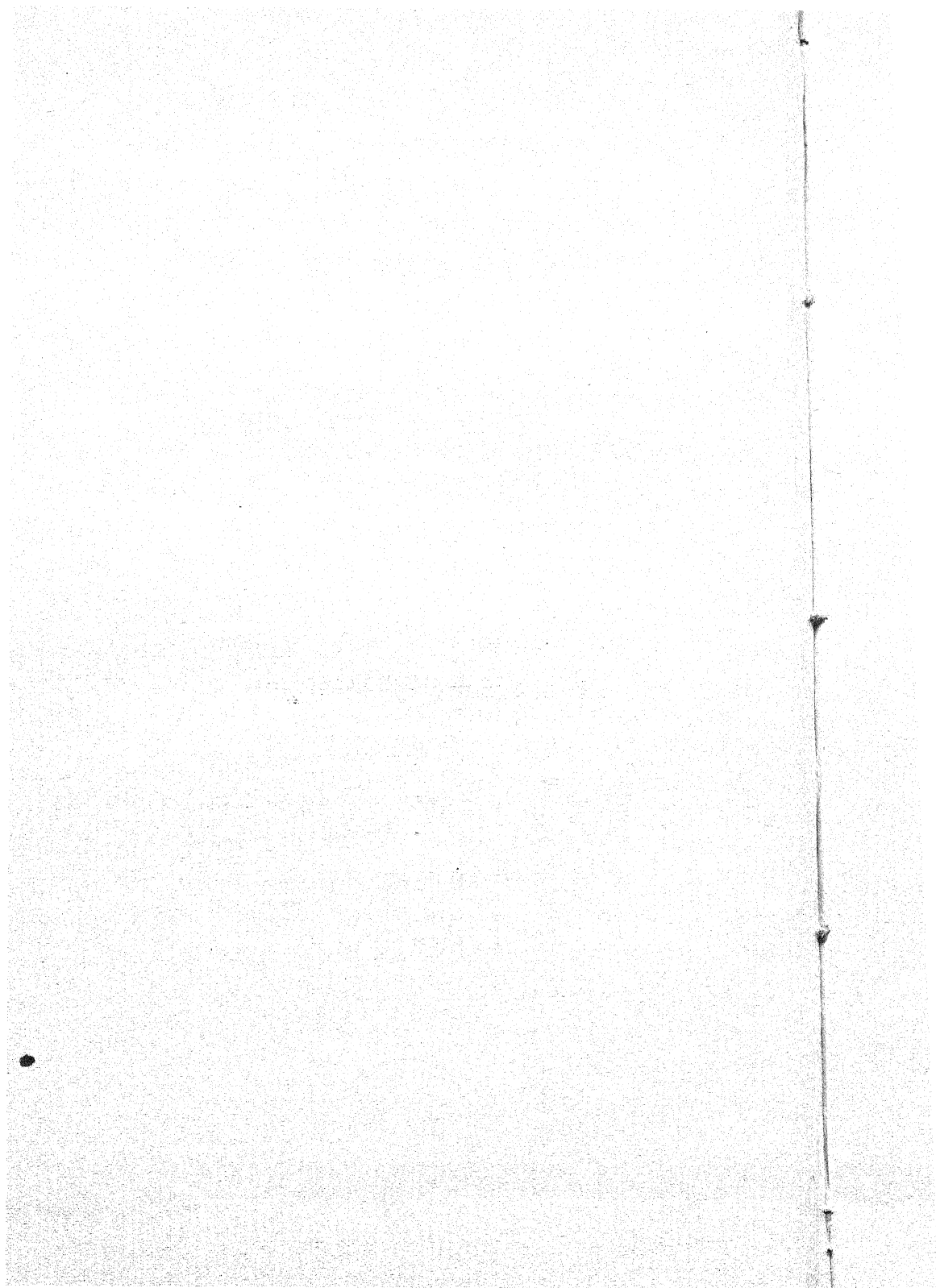
भट्टस्वामिनः

प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायाम्

द्वितीयाधिकरणे द्वादशोऽध्यायः ।

[Continued from June 1925 number of this Journal]



एवं सप्तप्रकारान्सुवर्णादिधातूनभिधाय मणिधातूनाह,—अच्छ
इत्यादि । अच्छः येन व्यवहितमपि द्रव्यान्तरमुपलभ्यते, स्निग्धः
स्नेहार्द्र इव लक्ष्यते, स प्रभो दीप्तिमान्, घोषवान्धमायमानो महा-
घोषः दृक्कादिभिर्विच्छिद्यमानो वा शीततीव्रः । अग्नेरपनीतः शीघ्रं
शीतीभवति, स्वतोतिशीत इत्यपरे । तनुरागः स्वरूपरागः, मणि-
धातुः काचफलहेतुः ।

तथा च—

“कनक[^१]रूपं ताम्रं सीसं त्रपु तीक्ष्णकञ्च वैकृतम्[^२]

मणयोष्टौ निर्दिष्टाः अष्टानान्धातवोऽप्यष्टौ [॥”]

सुवर्णादीनामुत्पत्तिमभिधाय विनियोगप्रकारमाह,—

धातुसमुत्थमित्यादि । धातुसमुत्थमाकरोत्पन्नम्
सुवर्णादिद्रव्यन्तज्जातकर्मान्तेषु सुवर्णाद्याकारेषु प्रयोजयेत्
प्रभूततरोत्पत्तये विनियोजयेत् । अथवा तज्जातास्तज्जातीयानिपुणा-
स्तैरधिष्ठिताः कर्मान्तास्तज्जातकर्मान्तास्तेषु दृष्टप्रत्ययात्प्रयोजयेत् ।

“कृतभाण्डव्याहारमिति, ईषद्वटिताघटितभाण्डसुवर्णादि-
क्रयमेकमुखमेकापणमस्मिन्नेव प्रदेशे क्रयविक्रयादिकं कर्तव्यमिति
कृतनियममत्ययं दण्डश्चान्यत्र कर्तृदीनां स्थापयेत् । श्रावयेत्तत्र
दण्डप्रमाणस्यानभिधानात् । वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणाध्यक्षामिहितपञ्चविंशति-
पणमत्ययञ्चेति, पञ्चविंशतिपणा इत्ययं स्थापयेदिति केचित् । द्रव्याणां
सारासारापेक्षया शुल्काध्यक्षधर्मस्थीयकण्टकशोधनाकापराधानुरूपो
दण्डः कल्पनीय इत्येव तत्प्रमानाभिधानमित्यपरे । अन्यत्र कर्ता
तदाकारादन्यत्र धातुभ्यस्सुवर्णादिपायिता क्रेतृविक्रेतारौ प्रतीतौ ।

आकरिकमाकरनियुक्तकर्मकरादिकं किञ्चिद्द्रव्यजातमपहर-
न्तमष्टगुणं दापयेत् अन्यत्र रत्नेभ्य इति, रत्नापहारे तु
धातं वक्ष्यति ।

१ “पत्रहेतुः”—स ।

२ “अकृतं”—स ।

स्ते नं तत्स्करमाकरिकमनाकरिकं वाष्टगुणदण्डदानासमर्थं नि-
सृष्टो प जी वि नमननुज्ञातधातुवादव्यवहारिणं बद्धा निगलसंयुतं
कृत्वाध्मानादि कारयेत् ।

भा एडो प का रि णश्च संग्रहणाद्युपक्रोशगृहीतान् तदण्डदाना-
समर्थान् बद्धा क र्म कार ये त्, चः समुच्चये, व्य य क्रि या भा रि-
क मि ति व्य य भा रि कं बहुपरिव्ययसाध्यक्रियाभारिकं कर्म भूयि-
ष्ठमाकरं भा ग के न च पञ्चभागषड्भागादिना प्र क ये ण परिपणेन
वान्येषां द द्या त् । ला घ वि क म ल्प व्य य म ल्प प्र या स ज्ञा-
क र मा त्म ना का र ये त् ।

इदानीमवान्तराध्यक्षव्यापारमाह,—लो हा ध्य क्ष इ त्या दि । लोह-
शब्देन सुवर्णरजतव्यतिरिक्तं ताम्रादिकं गृह्यते, तदध्यक्षस्तत्कर्मान्ता-
धिकारि ता म्रा द्यु प स्कर घ ट न क र्मा न्तान् का र ये त् ।
ता म्रा द यः प्र ती ताः, आ र कू ट को रीतिका, वृत्तं
वृत्ताख्यलोहं, लो ह भा एड व्य व हा रं चेत्यत्र लोह-
शब्दस्ताम्रादि समस्तवाचकः, भा एड व्य व हा र घटितताम्रोपस्करादि
क्रयविक्रयव्यवहारश्च समुच्चये ।

एवं लोहाध्यक्षव्यापारमभिधाय, पणयात्राव्यवहारार्थं लक्षणा-
ध्यक्षव्यापारमाह,—ल क्ष णा ध्य क्ष इ त्या दि ल क्ष णा ध्य क्षः दङ्क-
शालाधिकारी, स्वव्यवहारार्थं रूयरूपं कर्षापणमिति च प्रसिद्धव्यपदेशं
रूयमयं तावदाह,—च तु र्भा ग ता म्र मि त्या दि ना शास्त्रान्तर-
प्रसिद्धः षोडशमाषकः पणस्तस्य चतुर्भागाश्चत्वारो म१ाषकास्ता म्रं
तीक्ष्णादीनां चतुर्णामे क त मस्य मासप्रमाणेन, बीजेन बन्धनार्थेन
युक्तमेकादशरूयमाषकपणास्यमुत्तमरूपं कारयेत् ।

एतेनैव योगेन तदर्धप्रमाणमर्धप्रमाणञ्चतुर्भागप्रमाणकं पावकं
पादार्धे नाष्ट भा ग मि ति कारयेत् । एवं सारतमां कोशप्रवेश्याम्

1 “संग्रहाद्युप०”—स ।

“न्या”—स ।

पणयात्रामुक्तं, व्यावहारिकीमाह, पा दा जी व मित्यादि,—आजीव्यत
इत्या जी वो रूपरूपस्य चतुर्भाषः ता अ रूप मि ति, ताप्रमर्श रूपं
रूपस्य चत्वारो भागास्ताम्रस्य चैकादशभागाः पूर्ववत्तीक्ष्णादीनाम-
न्यतमभागयुक्तं मा ष कं श्रान्त्यमाषकदशकप्रमासमर्द्धमाषकं तदर्धं
का क णी भाषचतुर्भाग म र्द्ध का कि णी^१ म् मा ष चतु र्भागमर्द्ध-
काकिणी माषभागकाष्टमित्येवं कारयेत् ।

रूप द श क इ ति रूपपरीक्षकः प ण या त्रां दातृगृहीतव्यनहारं
द्विविधां व्या व हा रि कीं लोकव्यवहारार्थं पादाजीवं ताप्ररूप-
मित्येवलक्षणां, को श प्र वे श्यां च व्ययभाण्डाभावरजवेशनार्हां
चतुर्भागताम्रं रूपं^२ रूपमित्येवलक्षणं [णां] हीनोत्कृष्टभेदेनापि
व्यवस्थापयेत् ।

इत्येवं राजकर्तृकां पणयात्रामभिधाय ज्ञानपदानकारयता राज-
भाव्यमाह,—रूपि क म ष्ट कं श त मि त्या दि । पणशतेष्टौ पणा
गृह्यास्तस्य च रूपि क मि ति संज्ञा, तथा पप्रशते पञ्चपणा गृह्या-
स्तस्य च व्या जी ति संज्ञा प [पा]री क्षि कं परीक्षानिमित्तमा ष्ट-
भा गि कं श तं पणशते पणस्याष्टभागो ग्राह्यस्तस्य च पा री क्षि क-
मि ति संज्ञा । प ञ्च विं श ति प ण म त्प र्यं च स्थापयेदिति
वर्तते, यथारूपितव्याजीप[पा]रीक्षिकाणि, क्षीण्युपादानानि, तद्वत्पञ्चविं-
शतिपणात्पर्यं च, त्रकारादनन्तरोक्तो^३ ष्टभागिकशब्दोलानुकुष्येत, तत-
श्चाष्टभागिकमष्टभागे भवं पणाष्टभागमात्रापचारेण ज्ञानपदादीना-
मध्यक्षपुरुषकर्मकराणां वा, पञ्चविंशतिपणमत्पर्यं दण्डं स्थापयेदेवं
पणचतुर्भागापहारे, चतुर्भागिकं पञ्चाशत्पणमित्येवमपचारवृद्धौ दण्ड-
वृद्धिः । किमयं सर्वेष्वेवापचारेषु दण्डो नेत्याह, अ न्य त्र क र्त्तुं क्रो तु-
विक्रे तृ प री क्षि तृ भ्य इ ति अ न्य त्रा न्यसिन्नपराधेष्टभागापहरणादौ,

लवणाध्यक्षमाह,—ल व णा द्य क्ष इत्यादि पाकमुक्तमुखादिषु

१ “श-स-य-गा”नां काकणीस ।

२ “रूप्यरूप०”श-स-य-गानाम् ।

३ “०-क्ता”०—स ।

अयमन्यत्रशब्दो व्याख्यानाद्वा रावर्तते इति तेषान्त्वन्यत्र कर्त्रा(दीना)मुक्त
पच दण्डः, कूटकरूपकं [कुरूपकं] ¹कारयतो निपातयतो वा सहस्रदण्ड
इति ।

एवं लक्षणाध्यक्षव्यापारमभिधाय खन्यध्यक्षव्यापारमाह । ख न्य -
ध्यक्षः शङ्ख वज्रे त्यादि, शङ्खादीनां षण्णां कर्मान्ताङ्का-
रयेत् । तत्र शंखकर्मान्तान्पाटनघर्षणादिभिः वलयादिक्रिया, वज्रमणि-
मुक्ताप्रवालानां खनननशोधनरञ्जनवेधना क्रिया, क्षाराणां यवक्षारा-
दीनामुत्पादनपरिष्कृयादिकाः षण न व्य व हा र ङ्च तेषामेव शङ्खा-
दीनां क्रयविक्रयादि खन्यन्तर्गतमेव ।

निष्पन्नं पाकमुक्तं लवणभागं भागार्पितलवणाकरलब्धव्यम्प्र-
क्रयश्च परिपणार्पिताकरलब्धव्यमुक्तं हि—‘व्ययक्रियाहारिकर्माकरं
भागकेन प्रक्रमेण वा’ दद्यादिति ।” तद्विविधञ्चैतद्दृष्टव्यं यथा काल
मिति । यथापरिभाषितकालं स गृहीयात्तच्च संगृहीतं राज-
पण्यवैदेहकादीनां विक्रेतव्यम् । तस्याश्च विक्रयादादा²देयं, तदाह
विक्रयाच्च रूपमिति । रूपं पारीक्षिकं मूल्यञ्च यथायम्पण्य-
मूल्यव्याजितञ्चायमानव्यावहारिकमानयोर्विशेषमुक्तं हि,—‘मानोन्मान-
विशेषो व्याजो ।”

इत्येवं राजपण्यादेयं निगद्यागन्तुकं पण्यस्याह,—आगन्तुक³-
लवणमिति । परविषयादागतं षड्भागं दद्यात् राज्ञः तच्च
षड्भागं कदाचित्कालान्तरमास्ते कदाचित्तदानीमेव क्रियते च, विक्रिये
च यदादेयं तदाह,—दत्तभागविभागस्येत्यादि । भागः षड्भागः,
विभागो मानव्याजि[जी]तिपनः [ण्यः] पञ्चकं शतं व्याजिति,⁴

1 “कुर्वतः कारयतः”—ग । “श-य” धृतं वाक्यमसम्पूर्णमित्यनुमीयते ।

2 ‘से’न ‘वा’-पदस्यानुल्लेखोऽर्थानुपपत्तिकरः ।

3 द्वितीयो “दा” वर्णो वर्जनीयः । लिपिकरप्रमादोऽयं प्रतिभाति ।

4 ‘श-स-य गा’ नां “आगन्तुलवण” ।

5 Ought to be “क्र”

6 Ought to be “व्याजीमिति”

पणग्रहणस्य व्याजीति संज्ञा, रूपञ्च पारीक्ष्यं, तमष्टभागिकं रूपि क -
म ष्ट कशतमित्येवमागन्तुलवणस्य, पञ्चोपादानविशुद्धो विक्रय इति ।
क्रेता शुल्कमिति, शुल्कन्तु क्रेता दद्यान्न विक्रेता, निजपण्यस्य
राजपण्यविक्रयार्थमध्यक्षस्य वैदेहकस्य वा पित्तस्य वा यस्मिन्नाशितन्त
द नु रूपन्तावन्मात्रमेधा[वा]सौ वै ध र णं द द्या त् । वै ध र ण -
मिति छिन्नपूरणस्य संज्ञा न्यत्र क्रेता राजपण्ये सति षट् शतं
दण्डं दद्यात् ।

वि ल व णं विलादिविमिश्रितं तद्ग्रहणेन तद्व्यवहारि गृह्यते,
स उत्तमन्दण्डं दद्यात् । अनुसृष्टापजीवी चान-
नुज्ञातः स्वयमुत्पाद्यापजीवी चोत्तममेव दण्डं दद्यात्, नेत्याह न्यत्र
वानप्रस्थेभ्य इति । ते ह्यनुसृष्टोऽजीविनोपि न दण्ड्याः । श्रोत्रिया
वेदाध्यायिनो गृहस्थाः ब्राह्मणाः, तपस्विनः पाषण्डाः, अन्धेषां
सम्भवात् विष्टयश्च^१ तत्कर्मपराः, ततो भक्तोपभोगमात्र-
मिति पात्रे[थे]यभैक्षादिभोजनमात्रोपयो[गं] लवणं हरेयुः ; ताव-
न्मात्रमदोषयेति ।

अतो न्यो वक्तव्य इति [ए]के लवणक्षारवर्गैः शुल्कमेवं
दद्यात् । तच्च स्वयमेव पण्यति, सैन्धवसामुद्रविलयवक्षारानुवर्चिको-
द्भेदजलवणवर्जमिति सैन्धवसामुद्रविलजानि लवणानि
यवक्षारसुवर्चिकोद्भेदजावयः क्षारा इति^२ ।

AS'. p. 85

अध्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकानाह, एवमित्यादि । एवमिति यथोक्तो-

१ 'स' धृत C मूले "द्विलवणम्" । ग—विड (कृतकलवण) मृदादिमिश्र
लवणम् । cf. विटलवण-U. C. Dutt's "Indian Materia Medica p. 84.

२ तत् (लवणाकर) कर्मपराः—स ।

३ "ड"—ग ।

४ Ought to be "सु" ।

५ "सैन्धव-सामुद्र-विड-यवक्षार-सौवर्चलौद्भेदजा लवणवगः" । "फाणित-गुड-
मत्स्याण्डिका-खण्ड-शर्कराः क्षारवर्गः (कोष्ठागाराध्यक्षे वक्ष्यमाणः)"—ग ।

पसंहारः, मूल्यादीनि दशधा तु पण्ये च द्वे, इत्येवमेतानि द्वादश
संहरेत् । तत्र मूल्य^१ वि भा गौ प्रतीतौ, व्या जी द्विविधा, पञ्चकं
शतं मानोन्मानाविशेषश्च प रि घः[घं], पारीक्षिकमिति केचित् । धातु-
समुत्थितानां तद्वत्ता[जा]तकर्मान्तेषु प्रयोगाल्लाभविशेष इत्यपरे, अत्यय-
दण्डयोर्विशेषः । अत्यय आश्रावितः । वक्ष्यति हि,—“अत्ययञ्च ज्ञापये-
दिति” । दण्डस्त्वत्र[श्च]ावित एव शु ल्क वै ध र णा वृत्तौ रूपं द्विविध
मभिहितं, रूपं रूपं ताम्ररूपञ्चेति, रूपि क मष्टकं शतमिति ।

एतद्धातुपण्याभ्यां सह ख नि भ्यो द्वादशप्रकारमप्युपादानं संहरेत् ।
उपरितो^२ यथैतत् संहरेदेवं सर्वेषु पण्येष्विति, निर्धारणे
सत्तमीमुपसंख्य मु क्त सं ग्र हं सारसंग्रहं स्थापयेदिति केचित् ।
अन्ये तु मुक्तं ‘ग्रहमिकार्षणं स्थापयेदिति ।

अनुष्ठानादरातिशयार्थं आकरकर्मान्तप्रवर्तनस्य प्राधान्यमध्याय-
प्रान्ते प्रतिपादयति । आ क र प्र भ व इत्यादि, निगद्व्याख्यात-
श्लोक इति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अथ शास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचा-

हिके द्वितीये धिकरणे,

द्राक् शो ध्या यः ।

आकरकर्मान्तप्रवर्तनं आदितस्त्रयस्ति शो ध्या यः ।

1 “मूल्यं विभागः”—‘श-य-गा’ नाम् । ‘मूल्यविभागः’ ‘स’-स्त- C मूले ।

2 [प्य]-ग ।

3 “उपभीत” इति मानुकायाम् ।

अथ त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः

अक्षशालायां सुवर्णाध्यक्ष इति सूत्रम्

अक्षशाला सुवर्णरूप्यादिध[ध]टनशाला, तस्यामधिकृतोक्षशालायां सुवर्णाध्यक्षः, तद्वग्रहणेन तद्व्यापारो गृह्यते, स इहाभिधीयत इति सूत्रार्थः । सम्बन्धस्तु कोशप्रकृतिः प्रकान्ता सा पूर्वोक्तप्रकरणैरनेकशोभिहिता अनन्तराध्यायद्वयेनैव प्रधानभूतस्य रत्नसुवर्णादेरुत्पत्तिरुक्ता, तस्येदानोमवस्थानस्थितिवर्णशोधनपराक्षणपरिकर्मभेदादिकथनप्रकारैरार्जनं रक्षणं चाभिधीयत इति ।

तदाह सुवर्णाध्यक्ष इति । सुवर्णरजतकर्मान्ता नामलङ्कारादिधनक्रियाना¹(म)वस्थानभूतां शालां कारयेत्, किंविशिष्टामित्याह, असम्बन्धावेशनेत्यादि । असम्बन्धानि परस्परमसंश्लिष्टानि आवेशनानि शिल्पकर्मस्थानानि चतुःशालानि, प्रत्येकं चतस्रश्चतस्रः परस्परावलोकित्यशाला येषु तानि असम्बन्धावेशनचतुःशालानि यस्यां शालायां तामसम्बन्धावेशनचतुःशालां दारुकाख्यामवस्थानम् । तामेकद्वारा मिति रक्षासौकर्यार्थं, अक्षशालेति सुवर्णादिकपरिकर्मावस्थानस्य संज्ञा, तां कारयेत् । विशिखामध्ये रथग्रामध्ये सौवर्णिकम्पौरजानपदानां रूप्यसुवर्णक्रयविक्रयघटनादिनियोगाधिकारिणं शिल्पवन्तं क्षेपणादिसर्वकर्मकुशलमभिजातं कुलोद्भूतं कुत्सितकर्मप्रतिषेधार्थम् प्रात्ययिक²-मनेकशो दृष्टप्रत्ययमुपधाशुद्धमित्यपरे । चकाराजानपदादिगुणोपेतं च तमेवभूतं स्थापयेत्तद्व्यापारश्चोपरितनाध्यायेभिधास्यते । इह त्वस्य

1 “वसानभूतां”—स ।

2 ‘स’-धृत-‘C’ मूले-‘प्रत्ययितम्’ ।

निर्देशः सुवर्ण(अथवा)धीनत्वज्ञापनार्थं, राजद्रव्याणां पौरजानपद्रव्याणाञ्च रक्षाविधानं प्रति तुल्यत्वज्ञापनार्थं च ।

साम्प्रतम्पञ्चभेदम्पञ्चवर्णं त्रियोनिं सुवर्णमाह—जा भू न द - मि त्या दि । जा भू न दं मेरौ जम्बूनदीसमुत्पन्नं जम्बूरसवर्णं, तच्च देवतानामेवेह तस्य निर्देशः कदाचिद्विद्याधरादिभिरानीयेता^१र्जुन-वह्नैवानुभावयोगिनां तद्देशगमनमपि सम्भाव्येत वा । शातकुम्भं, शत-कुम्भपर्वतजं पद्मकेशरवर्णं, हा ट कं हाटकाकरोत्पन्नं कुरण्ड^२कुसुमवर्णं, वै ण वं वेणुपर्वतजं कर्णिकाकारं कुसुमाभम्, ^३शृङ्गि शुक्ति सुवर्णादि तज्जं मनःशिलाभमेवमेतस्य पञ्चप्रकारस्यापि त्रिविधामुत्पत्तिमाह,— जा त रू प मि त्या दि । तद्रूपसुवर्णमेवोत्पन्नं र स वि द् रसेन काञ्चनीकृत मा क रो द् ग तं मृत्पाषाण(ादि)भ्यश्च पातितञ्चकारात् क्रियावारो[दो]त्पन्नमिति केचित्, तेषां चतुर्था योनिः, तथा च—

“हेनः पञ्चप्रकारस्य त्रियोनेः पञ्चवर्णतः [काः] ।

जम्बूको कौ[को](कन)दास्लानकर्णिकारमनःशिला[ः] इति ।

गुणानाह,—किञ्च त्व व र्ण मि ति, तत्तमतत्तञ्च पद्मकेशरवर्णं मृदु रूक्षं, स्निग्ध मपरुषमुखरं अनादिस्वनरहितमपरेत्वनुनादीति पठन्तो दीर्घस्वनमिति व्याचक्षते । भ्राजिष्णू रुचिमत् एतच्छ्रेष्ठमुत्तमोत्तमम् । र क्त्वा पी त वर्णद्वयोपेतं मध्यममुत्तमानामेव भवति । र क्त्वा रक्तैकवर्णं म व र म ध मं श्रेष्ठमध्यमाभ्यां तदव्यक्तमेव ।

साम्प्रतं [तम] शुद्धस्य लक्षणं शोधप्रकारञ्चाह,—पा ण्डु श्वे त ङ्का-प्रा स क मि ति । पा ण्डु शरकाण्डगौरं श्वेतमष्टादिकुसुमामं चः समु-च्ये । अ प्रा स कं द्रव्यान्तरसङ्गमादुत्तमवर्णितामागतं, तद्येन यावताप-

१ “०यते”—स ।

२ “करन्द०”—स । “कुरण्डक०”—ग ।

३ मूले शृङ्गशुक्तिजमिति पाठः । “ग”—श्रुतः पाठः “शृङ्गशुक्ति०” ।

द्रव्येणाप्राप्तकमशुद्धं तच्चतुर्गुणे नापद्रव्यचतुर्गुणेन फेनेन^१ शोधयेत् । आवर्त्तयेदासीसक्षयात् सीसान्वयेन सीसद्रवानुवधेन लि^२द्य-

मानं शुष्कपटलैरारण्यगोमयैर्धर्मापयेदाध्मापयेत् ।
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रूक्षत्वात् लि^३द्यमानं तैलगोमये निषेचयेत् आवर्त्तावर्त्य प्रक्षिपेत् । अयञ्च विधिर्जातरूपरसविद्योर्द्रष्टव्यः, आकरोद्गतस्य विध्यन्तरविधानादिति केचित् ।

आकरोद्गतात्सीसानुविद्धोत्पन्नस्य शुद्धिविधिमाह,—आकरोद्गतमिति । सीसान्वयेन लिद्यमानं पाकपत्राणि तन्तुपत्राणि कृत्वा गरिड^४कासु काष्ठाधिकरणेष्टकाष्ठचुन्तिकया कुड्येत् । यद्वा कन्दलीवज्रकन्दकक्के तत्कषाये निषेचयेत् । वा विकल्पे ।

एवं सुवर्णमभिधाय चतुर्विधरूप्यमाह—तुत्थोद्गतमित्यादि । तुत्थोद्गतं तुत्थपर्वतोत्पन्नं जातिकुसुमाभं गौलि^५कं कामरूपजं तगरपुष्पाभं, काष्ठुकं^६ कम्बुपर्वतजं, चाकवालि^७कं चक्रवालाकरोद्भवं तदुभयं कुन्दकुसुमोपममिति रूप्यम् ।

तस्य गुणत्रयमाह, श्वेतमित्यादि । तच्च श्वेतादिप्रतीतं, चतुरोदोषानाह,—विपर्यय इति । श्वेतादिगुणविपर्यये कृष्णरूक्षखरा दोषाः स्फोटनञ्च भिद्यमानं त्वतो दुष्टं भवति । तस्य शुद्धिमाह तदिति । तद्दुष्टं सीसचतुर्भागेन तत्प्रमाणचतुर्भागेन सीसेन शोधयेत् ।

शुद्धस्य लक्षणमाह—उद्गतचूलिकमिति । उत्थितबुद्बुदमुत्थितरश्मिकमित्यपरि । शेषमृजु ।

१ सीसेन शोधयेदिति मूले ।

२ भिद्यमानमिति मूले ।

३ भिद्यमानमिति मूले ।

४ 'गन्धिका'—स ।

५ गौडिकमिति मूले । 'गौलिक'—स ।

६ 'कवक'—य ।

सम्प्रति षोडशसुवर्णवर्णकान् ह—शुद्धस्येत्यादि । शुद्धस्य यथोक्तविधिना शोधितस्य स्वभावशुद्धस्य वा हरिद्रस्य^१ सुवर्णजाते, सुवर्णः षोडशमाषप्रमाणक एको वर्णः प्रधाना वर्णिका भवति ततः तस्माद्दर्पकादन्ये षोडशवर्णा उत्पद्यन्ते । शुल्बका कण्युत्तरापसारितेति । शुल्बं ताम्रं, काकिणो माषचतुर्भागः, तां सुवर्णे प्रक्षिप्योत्तराधिका सुवर्णकाकण्यपसारितापनीता यदिह भवति, वीप्सलोपश्वात् द्रष्टव्यः, शुल्बस्य काकणीप्रक्षिप्योत्तरा सुवर्णकाकणी यदापसारितापनीता भवति । अत इत्याह—अतुस्तीमास्तादिति । सीमन्तोऽवधिः अ[आ]शुल्बचतुर्माषावधेस्तदिह काकणीग्रहणात् षोडशवर्णकभिधानाच्च माषकग्रहणमनुक्तमपि न्यायाल्लभ्यत इत्येवं शुद्धवर्णकेन सहैते सप्तदशवर्णका भवन्ति ।

तत्परिज्ञानार्थं निकषश्चेदनापलक्षणां त्रिविधाम्परीक्षामाह—सुवर्णं पूर्वं निकष्येत्यादि । सुवर्णं परोक्षणीयम्पूर्वम्प्रथमं निकष्य ततः पश्चाद्दर्पकं तत्परिच्छेदाद् वर्णिकां निकषयेत्^२ । निरुपाधिकं निकर्षितमाह,—समरागलेखमित्यादि । समरागा तुल्यरागा रेखा यस्मिन्तदनिम्नोन्नते समे देशे निकषपाषाणप्रदेशे निकषितं निच्छन्नविद्यादिति वाक्यशेषः । सोपाधिकमाह परिमृदितमित्यादि । अवष्टब्धं निक्षिप्तं तदुत्कर्षार्थं विक्रेता करोति, परिलीढं हस्तेनोन्मृष्टलीढं तदपकर्षार्थं क्रीता करोति । नखान्तराद्वेति, पूर्वं नखान्तरनिहितेन सुवर्णं गैरिकाख्येन धातुविशेषेणापचूर्णितं तदुत्कर्षार्थं विक्रेता तदभ्यर्थितो वा परोक्षकः करोति । एवं त्रिविधमुपधित्वं विद्यात् ।

१ “हरिद्रस्य”—‘श-स-य-गा’—नाम् ।

२ मूले षोडशवर्णका इति पाठः ।

३ “निकष्य”—‘श-स-य-गा’नाम् ।

४ ‘स’ श्वत C मूले—“निकषयेत् ।

पुनरपरं क्रेतृप्रयोज्यमेव उपाधिमाह,—जाति हि कुल केन सह
ससदाख्यहिङ्गुलकविशेषेण पुष्प कासी सेन । यद्वा, पुष्पं पारत-
त्कासीसं दत्तरागद्रव्यं तयोर्यो भूत्र भा वितयोरन्यतर दिग्धे न लिप्ते-
नाग्रह स्तेनाङ्गुलीभिस्सं स्पृष्टं सुवर्णं हेमश्चेतीभवति,
अपकृष्टवर्णं भवति ।

निकषगुणानाह,—सकेसर^१ इति । सकेसरो बहुलपक्ष्मलः
स्निग्धादयः प्रतीताः । निकषरागो^२ निकषरेखावर्णः श्रेष्ठ
उत्तमः ।

^३पालनविधिमाह—सायं प्रातश्च रात्र्यादौ प्रत्युषसि च, लक्षितं
AS. p. 87 चिह्नितं कर्तृकारयितुमुद्राभ्यां सुवर्णकारा-
ध्यक्षमुद्राभ्यां निदध्यात् स्थापयेत्करणमध्य इति ।

वर्तते त्रिप्रकारं कर्माहक्षेपण इत्यादि ।

तानि च स्वयमेव व्याचष्टे,—क्षेपणः काचापेणादीनि मणि-
योजनादानि ।

गुणः सूत्रवाणादीनि कटिसूत्रग्रथनादीनि ।

घनमङ्गुलीयकटकमस्थिस्थलाकादि, सुषिरं भृङ्गारादि, पृषितं
गुटिका तद्युक्तं, आदिशब्दात्पतिका, पत्रभङ्गादियुक्तं च शुद्रकञ्च,
सूक्ष्मपरिकर्म, इति शब्दः प्रकारे ।

क्षेपणविधिमाह । अर्पयेत्प्रवेशयेत्काचकमणः मणिसं-
योजनकर्मणः मणौ पञ्चमम्भागं तलभागं, काञ्चनमित्याधार-
सुवर्णं प्रवेशयेद्दशभागं सुवर्णप्रवेशितार्थं कटमानं प्रवे-

१ “सकेशरस्निग्धः”—‘श-स-या’ नाम् ।

२ “निकषरागश्चेष्टः”—‘श-स-या’ नाम् ।

३ मातृकास्थ-“कालिङ्गकस्थाली” शब्दात् “करणमध्येदद्यात्” वाक्यं (pp. 1

शयेत् । मर्णेर्दाढ्यार्थं वास्तुकोपरि सुवर्णपट्टिकाधानं कटमानं
 ताप्रपादयुक्तमित्यादिना, हरणोपायसम्भवमभि-
 धाय रक्षाप्रयत्नाधिक्यार्थमाह संस्कृतमिति तस्मा-
 द्रक्षेच्छेषमृजु ।

शुद्धकाचकर्मणो विधिमभिधाय पृषितव्यामिश्रकाचकर्मणो विधि-
 माह, पृषितकाचर्मण इति पृषितव्यामिश्रकाचकर्मणः । पञ्चधा
 सुवर्णं विभज्य त्रयो भागाः परिभाण्डमृषितमणिबन्धाद्यर्थः^१
 देयं द्वौ वास्तुकर्माधारपीठबन्धः, यद्वा परिकर्मवशात्सुवर्णं^२
 विभज्य चत्वारो वास्तुकंलयः परिभाण्डमिति ।

त्वष्टृकर्माह—त्वष्टृकर्मण इति, घनपत्रादिकर्मणो विधिरुच्यत
 इति वाक्यशेषः । शुल्बभाण्डं ताप्रभाण्डं, समसुवर्णेन यावद्भिः
 शुल्बवलेर्भाण्डं कृतम् तावता सुवर्णेन संयूहयेत्^३ दृढप्रति^४कृतेन
 योजयेत् । रूप्यभाण्डं घनं लोलं कटकस्थाल्यादि घनसुषिरं
 वाभ्यगारकलशादि, सुवर्णाधेनावलेपयेत् । रूप्यपलकृतम्भाण्डं
 पञ्चाशत्सुवर्णपलैस्तनुपत्रकृतैरवलपयेत्, शेषयेच्चतुर्भागसुवर्णं
 वा रूप्यभाण्डमिति वर्तते । पलशतघटितं रूप्यभाण्डं पञ्चविंशत्या सुवर्ण-
 पलैश्चूर्णीकृतैर्वा लूका हिङ्गुलुकचूर्णव्यामिश्ररसेन, पारतेन
 योजितेस्तनुषानिना द्रवीकृतैर्वासयेत् । तदेव सोमेनार्थेन चतुर्भागेन
 च त्वष्टृकर्मणा सुवर्णं योजयेदिति ।

तपनीयकर्मणि वर्णप्रकृतिमाह,—तपनीयमित्यादि । तपनीयं
 घाटनीयं ज्येष्ठमुत्तमम् सप्तदशवर्णकं षोडशवर्णकं वा सुवर्णं

१ 'स' धृत—“०द्यर्थन्” पाठः प्रासादिकः ।

२ 'स' धृत “सप्तधा” पाठोऽस्माकं मूले न प्राप्यते ।

३ “संयूहयेत्”—स ।

४ “०पत्रि०”—स । “०पत्री०”—ग ।

५ “०रजु०”—स ।

किञ्चलकुरङ्गढकाद्यन्यतमवर्णं सु^१ रा गं स्निग्धं भ्राजिष्णु रागनीला-
दीनाम्प्रकृतिर्भवति । यत्पुनरेवं भूतं न भवति तस्य शोधप्रकारमाह-
स म सी सा ति का न्तं तत्तुल्यसीसशोधितं पा क प त्र प कं अरण्य-
गोमयदग्धं सै न्ध वो[वि](क) या सौराष्ट्रमृत्तिकयो ज्वा लि त न्विष्टम्
नीलादिवर्णानामपञ्चाना म्प्र कृ तिः कारणं भवति ।

किन्तदेव केवलं, नेत्याह,—ती क्ष णं चा स्येति । तीक्ष्णं लोह-
विशेषः, च स्समुच्चये । अस्य नीलादेर्वर्णस्य प्रकृतिर्भवतीति वर्तते ।
तस्य लक्षणमाह, अ म र ग्री वा भ मि ति^२, तत्तुल्यवर्णं, श्वे त भङ्गं
शु क्ल च्छे दं चि मि त्रि मा य ति,^३ अतिभास्वरत्वात् कणिका ज्वलन्त
इव दृश्यन्ते । तदेवभूतं पो त चू^४ णि कं प्रतप्तनिक्षिप्तं चूर्णीकृतं का क-
णि कः माषचतुर्भागिकः सु व र्ण रा ग इति सुवर्णः षोडशमाणक-
प्रमाणस्तस्य रागार्थं देय इति ।

एवं सुवर्णमभिधाय रूप्यमाह,—ता र मि त्या दि । ता रं रूप्यं
उ प शु द्धं सम्यक्शुद्धं वा विकल्पे नीलादीनाम्प्रकृतिर्भवति । तस्या-
प्यशुद्धस्य शोधनविधिमाह,—अ स्थि तु त्थ इ त्या दि । अ स्थि तु त्थः
अस्थिचूर्णमिश्रमृत्तिका मूषा, तत्र चतुरो वारानावर्तितं तद्वत् स म-
सी से तुल्यसीसे च चतुष्कृत्वं शु ष्क तु त्थः कटकं शर्करामूषा तत्र
च तुः कृत्वा, क पा लं शुद्धमृत्तिकामूषा, तत्र त्रिः गो म यं गोमय-
मिश्रमृत्तिका मूषा तत्र द्विः ए वं स स द श तु त्या ति का न्तं सप्त-
दशमूषाविशोधितं सै न्ध वि क ये ति पूर्ववदु ज्वा लि त म् प त स्मा-
दुक्तलक्षणात् शोधितरूप्यात् का क णि म प नी य शोधितरूप्योप्य-
काकणिप्रक्षेपोपत्रयक्रमेण, द्वि मा ष का दि ति सु व र्णे रूप्यकर्णे देयं
प श्चा द्रा ग यो ग इति । शुद्धाशुद्धरूप्यं पूर्वमावर्त्य पश्चाद्यथोक्त-

१ 'स'-धृत C मूले तथा "गे"-“सरागं” ।

२ Ought to be “मयूरग्रीवाभम्” ।

३ चमिचमायति तद्—स ।

४ “पीतपूर्णिकं”—श ।

५ “कटुशर्करामूषा”—ग । समीचीनं प्रतिभाति ।

तीक्ष्णकाकिणिको रागयोगार्थं देय इत्येवं श्वेततारमलक्षित-
विशेषं, स नवधा भवति हस्तोपायश्चायमवगन्तव्य इति केचित् ।
अपरे त्वस्मच्छोधितरूप्यात् तपनीये काकिणीकाकिणिप्रक्षिप्योत्तरा-
मुत्तराञ्चापनीय एवं रूप्यकयुक्तं सुवर्णमण्डधा विभिद्यते, पश्चाद्वागयो-
ग इति पूर्वं सारूप्यं सुवर्णमावर्त्य ततस्तीक्ष्णकाकिणीरागयोगार्थं
देय इति श्वेतताराभं कनकं भवतीति ।

त्रयोशास्तपनीयस्येति । सामान्यसुवर्णद्वात्रिंशतिधापि
विभज्य ततोऽश्वेततपनीयं पूर्वोक्तशोधिततपनीयस्य त्रयोशाः प्रक्षिप्यन्ते,
ततस्तद्वात्रिंशद्वागिकश्वेततारमूर्च्छितं द्वात्रिंशद्वागिकेन
श्वेततारेण सह मूर्च्छितमावर्तितं सद्गणद्वयेन श्वेतेन लोहितेन च
सम्भिन्नं भवतीति केचित् । अपरे तु त्रयोशास्तपनीयस्य
शुद्धसुवर्णस्य तद्यथा द्वात्रिंशतां सुवर्णानां तृतीयांशेन सुवर्णविभागं
न्यूनांशका दश भवति ततः सुवर्णमपनीय त्रयाणामप्याशानां
द्वात्रिंशद्वागेन श्वेततारस्य सुवर्णेन सह मूर्च्छितं सच्छेदलोहितकं
भवति तस्मात्पुनरेकैकांशेन न त्रिभिरपीति व्याख्यायते । त्रयोश-
ग्रहणात् यत्त्रिभिरप्यंशैः सह वर्तनमभिप्रेतं तदा त्रयोशग्रहणं न कुर्यात्
द्वात्रिंशद्वागश्वेततारमूर्च्छितमिति ब्रूयात् । तावन्पीतं करोतीति
पूर्ववत्त्रयोशाः तपनीयस्य श्वेततारस्थाने यत्तावन् योजनार्थं इत्येवं
पीतकं रागं सुवर्णं करोतीति ।

तपनीयमुज्ज्वल्येति । तपनीयं सामान्यसुवर्णं पूर्ववत्
सैन्धविकयोज्ज्वल्य रागं त्रिभागांशं दद्यात् । तदेव रक्तपीतं
पीतरक्तं पीतरागमभवति । यद्वा तपनीयं शोधितसुवर्णं सैन्ध-
विकयोज्ज्वल्य रागत्रिभागमिति तीक्ष्णलोहस्य सुवर्णे काकिणिको
रागार्थप्रक्षेपो विहितः । स एव माषकद्वादशभागसुवर्णं देय इत्येव
पीतपीतवत्कटारं [रा]भं भवति ।

श्वेततारभागौ द्वावेकस्तपनीयस्येति । एवं द्विगुण-

शुद्धरूपं सुवर्णमावर्तिक[त]म् शुद्धगवर्णं भवति पश्चाद्वागयोग इति सर्वत्रानुवर्तते ।

का ला य स स्या र्थं भा गा भ्य क मि ति । तृतीयांशस्तपनीय-
 स्योक्तः तदर्थं षड्भागः का ला य स स्य भ व ति तेना-
 AS. p. 83
 भ्य क म नुल्लिप्तमभ्यक्तग्रहणमावर्तप्रतिषेधार्थं तपनीये
 कृ ण्ण मञ्जनाभं भ व ति ।

प्र^१ ति ले पि ना द्रवीकृतभालनकृष्णायसेनेति केचित् । तेनैव हिङ्गुल-
 कसहितेत्यपरे, र से न पारदेन च द्वि गु णा भ्य क म् बहुलतरा-
 भ्यक्तं द्विगुणं वा ता प नी य मभ्यक्तं द्विगुणाभ्यक्तम्, शु क प त्र-
 व र्णा भ म् ।

त स्या र म्म इत्यादि । तस्य नीलादेरारम्भे सुवर्णस्य च रूप्यस्य
 शुद्धस्याशुद्धस्य हरणप्रतिषेधार्थं प्र ति व र्णि कां गृ ह्णी या त् ।

इतरेतरान्तरपरिच्छेदार्थं ती क्ष्ण ता म्र सं स्का रं तच्छोधनम-
 नुक्तमपि धातुशोधना^२शास्त्रतः तद्विद्भ्यो वा बु द्धे र त । तथा च,
 निर्दिष्टं तत्क्रियाभिज्ञै र्धातुशास्त्रविशारदैः ।

औषधैः प्रतिवापैश्च शोधनं ताम्रतीक्ष्णयोः ॥ इति ।

अन्ये तु ताम्रसंस्कारमिति तारम्यन्ति, तच्चासत्कारसंस्कारस्या-
 त्रैवाभिहितत्वात् । उ क्तं हि, अस्थितुल्ये चतुरित्यादितीक्ष्ण-
 संस्कारस्य चानुकत्वात् तत्सहचरितानुक्तसंस्कारताम्रपायुक्तिमविति ।

त स्मा द्ब ज्ञे ति । त स्मा त्सुवर्णोदाहरणा द्ब ज्ञा दि रू पा णा-
 म प ने यि मा न म^३ पनीतत्वमसारमणिप्रक्षेपेण सारमणिपरिवर्तना-
 दिकं ह्रणप्रकारभुध्येतेति वर्तते । यद्वा वज्रादिसमेतं रूपं वज्रमणि-
 मुक्ताप्रवालसंयोजितमाभरणन्तस्मादपनेयिमानं, तद्यथा दशसौवर्णिके-
 केविंशतिः लिकादिपञ्चवज्राण्यायोज्यन्ते, पञ्चमाषिकाणि पञ्चमौक्ति-

१ 'प्रातिलेपिना'—'श-स-या' नाम् ।

२ आकारो वर्जनीयोऽन्यथार्थानुपपत्तिः ।

३ 'अपनेयमानम्'—स ।

कानि दशमाधिकानि पञ्चमौक्तिकानि तदा तैस्सह यावत्प्रमाणम् काकं भवति मूशोपनिषदिपादिनापचैकस्मिन्मणौ द्वित्रेषु वापनीतेषु यावत्प्रमाणं तद्भवति ततोपनेयिमानं बुद्धेयं केचित् कथ्यमानमपनेयिमानमिति । तथा रूप्यसुवर्णभाण्डानि रूप्यसुवर्णाभरणादीनि तेषां बन्धप्रमाणानि संयूहनादिप्रविभागात् तद्यथा शुल्बभाण्डं समसुवर्णेन संयूहयेत्यादि, इति शब्दश्चार्थे प्रकारे वा ।

सम्प्रति चतुर्दशतपनीयगुणानाह श्लोकद्वयेन—समरागमित्यादि । समरागं समवर्णिकं समद्वन्द्वं स्वसमानद्वितीयं तोल्यतो वर्णतश्चासकपृषितसंसक्तगुणिकासन्निवेशस्थिरमपि संवादि सुप्रसृष्टं^१ पूर्वोक्तविधिना सैन्धविकयातिशयो-ज्ज्वालितं, केचिदप्रसृष्टमिति पठन्तो[न्तः] कृत्विमच्छायमाचक्षते, असंवीतं मपायतं अनुत्कर्षितमित्यपरे । विभक्तं सुविभक्तावयवं, धारणे सुखं अमुञ्चतामदुःखकरमभिनीतमनुद्वणं, प्रभायुक्तं दीप्तिमत्, संस्थानमधुरमाकृतिरमणीयं, सममनिस्त्रातप्रदेशं संमनोभिराममवाच्यत्वान्मनोहरम् नेत्राभिरामं दृष्टिसुलभसुखं, चकाराद्रक्षोघ्नपलपुष्पादिफलगुणं, तपनीयगुणाभरणगुणास्तज्ज्ञैः स्मृत इति ।

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अर्थशास्त्रटीकायामध्यक्षप्रचा-

रिके द्वितीये धिक्करणे

तयोदशो ध्यायः ।

अक्षशालायां सुवर्णाध्यक्ष आदित् चतुस्त्रिंशो ध्यायः ।

—*—

१ “तौ०”—स ।

२ “छविमृष्टं”—स ।

३ “०संपी०”—ग ।

अथ चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः

विशिखायां सौवर्णिकप्रचार इति सूत्रम्

विशिखा रथ्या च सामान्याभिधानेऽपि सौवर्णिर्विपणिमार्गः
परिगृह्यते, तस्यां विशिखायां सुवर्णे नियुक्तः सौवर्णिकः, तस्य
प्रचारो व्यापारो विशिखायां सौवर्णिकप्रचारो यस्य इहाभिधीयते,
इति सूत्रार्थः। सम्बन्धस्तु कोशप्रकृतिः प्रक्रान्ता, तस्य राजक्रिय-
सुवर्णरूप्यघटनाद्युपदेशप्रकारैः रक्षणमुक्तम्।

इदानीं पौरजानपदानां पौराणाम्बहिर्विषयवासिनाञ्च रूप्य-
मयं सुवर्णमयं वा भाण्डमाकष[र्ष]ाणिक^१मावेशनीमिरिति।
आवेशनं^२ शिल्पिनां शाला, तन्निवासं सुवर्णकारादिभिः कारयेत्।
निर्दिष्टकालकार्यमिति,—निर्दिष्टः परिभाषितः कालः
पञ्चरात्रादिकः, कार्यं कटककेयूरादि, चकारात्परिभाषितवेतनादिकञ्च
कर्म कुर्युरिति। अयमावेशनानामुपदेशः किमयमेकान्त एव,
नेत्याह,—अनिर्दिष्टकालमपरिभाषितकालं कार्यापदेशं कर्तव्याति-
शयमतिसूक्ष्मपरिकर्म।

अथ कालातिपातने को दोष इत्याह,—कालातिपातन इति।
यथापरिभाषितं चतुर्भांगहीनं वेतनं तद्विगुणश्च दण्डः
कार्यस्यान्यथाकरणे, केयूरकरेभिहिते कटकादिकरणे वेतन-
नाशो मूल्यनाशः चकारान्नष्टवेतनो द्विगुणश्च दण्ड इति ननु
कण्टकशोधने कारुकरक्षणे समस्तकारुकानामुक्त एव दण्डः, पुनः
सुवर्णकारुकाणामिह दण्डाभिधानं कर्तृभेदज्ञापनार्थं, सर्वानेव कण्टक-

१ “०माकर्षणादिकम्”—स।

२ ‘स’-युक्त-“आवेशनशिला तन्निवासिसुवर्णकारादिभिः”—पाठोऽसम्पूर्णः।

शोधनोक्तदण्डान् प्रमास्तारः केवलाः कुर्वन्ति, सुवर्णकारदण्डन्तु सौवर्णिकसहिता इति ।

यथावर्णप्रमाणमिति । यद्वर्णिकं यत्प्रतिमात्रं च निक्षेपं घटनीयद्रव्यं कारवो गृह्णीयुस्तथाविधमेवार्पयेयुरिति, तथाविधग्रहणं काकिणीशतांशेनापि वर्णप्रमाणयोर्विहीतत्वप्रतिषेधा-
थम् । कालान्तरादपीति, सुवर्णकारस्य व्याध्यादिव्यसनात् भरणाद्वा तत्पुत्राः हस्तादपि तथाविधमेव गृह्णीयुरर्पये-
तारं न हीनवर्णं निक्षिप्योत्तमवर्णिकम् प्रार्थयेयुर्न वा
एषां वेत्तनानिर्दण्डो वा भवेत्, काशतिपातस्य व्यसन-
निमित्तत्वात् । यद्वा निक्षिप्तमात्र एव देशविभ्रमादिकृतत्वात् कालाति-
पातात् तथाविधमेवाधितमेवार्पयेयुः शिल्पिनमनिक्षेप्तारो वा प्रति-
गृह्णीयुरिति, तस्यापवादमाह न्यत्र क्षीणपरिशोर्णाभ्यामिति,
क्षीणमुपभोगादीनां [ना] धृष्टं परिशीर्णं भग्नं प्रचुरावयवे वा
तत्र सहस्रं दाय्य एव ।

आवेशनीयमिति । कालान्तरान्निक्षेप्ता हीनवर्णिकजत्वोत्तम-
वर्णिकं प्रार्थयते, शिल्पवेकातवर्णिका गृहीत्वा हीनवर्णमर्पयति तदेव-
मादिषु सुवर्णादिप्रयोगेषु तद्विषयेषु विवादेषु तत्तत्सत्यास-
त्यादिसर्वमावेशनिखरसाक्षिभूतैस्सुवर्णादिप्रयोगेषु तुलाविषमादिहर-
णोपायेषु क्रियमाणेषु तत्तत्सर्वं सौवर्णिको जानीयात्, सुवर्णः
किञ्चलत्ववर्णादि पुद्गलमाभरणादि लक्षणचिह्नितं प्रयोगः परिवर्तन-
मिति ।

अन्यत्र क्षीणपरिशोर्णाभ्यामित्युक्तम्, तदपवादमाह तत्तत्कल-
धौतयोस्त्यादि तत्तत्तदशुद्धं सुवर्णकलधौतं रूप्यं तयोः काक-
णिकः काकणिप्रमाणकः सुवर्णे षोडशमाषके क्षयो देयः

I 'स' धृत "विवादेषु आवेशनिभिः सान्निभूतैः तत्तत्सत्यासत्यादि सर्व-
सुवर्णाध्यक्तो जानीयात् । अथवा आवेशनिभिः सुवर्णाकारादिभिः सुवर्णादि-
प्रयोगेषु..." पाठो गरीयान् ।

निक्षेपकाले तावन्मात्रमधिकं देयं घटितं वा न्यूनप्रार्थनीयं तीक्ष्ण-
का कणि! संस्कृतलोहकाकणि रूप्यद्विगुणा^१ रूप्यकाकणीद्वययुक्ता
रागार्थं सुवर्णं प्रक्षेपः प्रक्षेतव्यः । तस्य त्रयस्य षड्भागोर्धकाक-
णिकः क्षयः, तावन्मात्रं घटनसमये क्षायते तं जानीयादिति वर्तते ।

दण्डमाह वर्णहीन इति वर्णिकाहीने माषावरे-
माषकप्रमाणानिकृष्टके ज्येष्ठवर्णिक^२माषमात्रमपि यदा हीनवर्णिक करोति
तदा तस्य पूर्वस्ताहसदण्डः । प्रमाणहीन इति,—प्रमाण-
मङ्गलवितस्त्यादि, तद्धीने मध्यमस्ताहसदण्डः अथवा प्रमाणं
पीतमानं तद्धीने मध्यमः साहसदण्डः^३ । तदेवमस्य वक्ष्यमाणस्य तुला-
प्रतिमानोपधेश्चायं विशेषः । अत्र हानिरेव शुद्धा न तुलाप्रतिमानो-
वधानं हानिश्च अत एवोत्तमो दण्डः । तदाह तुलं प्रति-मा-नो-
पधाविति, तुलाप्रतिमानपरिवर्तनादौ उत्तमः साहसदण्डः इति ।
कृतभाण्डोपधौ च घटितरूपपरिवर्तनादौ चोत्तम एव दण्डः । सर्व-
त्रामाषकावर इति योज्यम् ।

ततश्च हानिवृद्धौ दण्डवृद्धिव्याख्येयासौ वर्णिकेनाह^४ष्टमननु-
ज्ञातं विशिखायामेवानुज्ञातमेव । विशिखा तोन्यत्र वा प्रयोगमल-
ङ्कारादिकं कारयतो घटयतो द्वादशपणो दण्डः, कर्तुंश्च सुवर्ण-
कारादेर्द्विगुणं चतुर्विंशतिपणः, सापसारश्चेत्कारयिता कस्येदं
कुतो^५लब्धमित्यादि पृष्ठः तत्स्वामिनं शुद्धाममं वा यदा प्रतिपादयेत्
तदा यथोक्तदण्डः ।

अथ पुनरनपसारः पूर्वोक्तविपरीतस्तदा कण्टकशोधनाय
नीयेत चाक्षयकमादेरनुयोगार्थः प्रशास्तुपुरुषाणामप्येतत्कर्तुंश्च,

१ “०शी”—‘श-स-य-गा’ नाम् ।

२ “द्विगुणो”—‘श-स-या’ नाम् ।

३ “०कं”—स ।

४ “०दि०” ‘स’-धृतपाठः प्रामादिकः ।

५ “कुतोवा”—स ।

सुवर्णकारादेस्तथाविधस्य कुर्वतो द्वि श तो द ण्डः । प ण छे द नं
वा, पञ्चाङ्गुलिच्छेदनं हिरण्यभावेनापसारस्यैव ।

तु ला मा नं भा ण्ड मि ति । भाण्डशब्दः प्रत्येकः । तत्र तुलावेलकं
प्रतिमानानि च माषद्विमाषकादीनि^१, तुलाभाण्डं मानभाण्डं
द्रोणादिमानसाधनन्तस्य चेह प्रासङ्गिकमभिधानं, सर्वेऽपि न तद्व्यव-
हारिणः पौ त व^२ ह स्ता द्रक्ष्यमाणपौतवाध्यक्षहस्तात् क्री णी युः
अ न्य येति, स्वयङ्करणेन्यत्र क्रये वा द्वा द श प णो द ण्डः ।

साम्प्रतं हरणोपायभूतं षड्विधं सुवर्णकारस्य कर्माह, घ न मि-
त्यादि । तत्र घ नं लोलप्रभृता,^३ घ न सु वि रं भृङ्गारादि, सं यू ह्यं
दृढपत्रयोजनं, अ व ले प्य न्तनुपत्रयोजनं, स ङ्का त्यं कटिसूत्रादि,
वा सि तं पारतादिना वासितं, चः समुच्चये ।

एवं षड्विधे कर्मणि तुलाविषमादीन्पञ्च हरणोपायानभिधाय
व्याचष्टे ।

तत्र तु ला वि ष मं तावदाह, स न्ना मि नी त्या दि । मृदुलोभ(ह)व-
दिता स्वेच्छासन्नाभ्या स न्ना मि नी, उ त्का णि का पारतपूरितान्तः-
सुषिरा, मि न्न म स्त का विदारितमस्तका, सुषिरा प्रासाभिप्रतिघात-
मच्चेद्वितीयेनानानाभ्येतो प क णिं^४ ग्रन्थिवहुला, कु शि क्या संप्रयोग-
चेलका, स क टु क क्ष्या^५ पा रि वे ल्य य स्का न्ता तल्लोहमयसा
हि यतः सुवर्णं ततो याति ।

एवमष्ट दृष्टतुलासम्भवं तुलाविषममभिधायापसारणमाह, तत्रापि
यत्प्रक्षिप्य सारद्रव्यमपसार्यतेऽपह्रियते, तच्चतुर्विधमपद्रव्यं तावदाचष्टे,

१ “दिनी” इति मूले ।

२ पौतवाध्यक्षो वक्ष्यमाणः—Ch. 19, p. 103.

३ “घनम् अङ्गुलीयकादि”—ग ।

४ “०त्की”-“श स-य-गा”नाम् ।

५ उपकण्ठोति मूले ।

६ “सदकत्या”—स-धृतः पाठः प्रामादिकः ।

७ “स”-धृत-C मूले “परिः” ।

रूप्यस्येत्यादि । रूप्यस्य द्वौ भागावेकं शुल्बस्य तदावर्तितं
 त्रिपा^१कमिति तद्वत्संज्ञातेनेति तत्प्रक्षिप्या करोद्-
 गतमिति । शुद्धमप्याकर एवमलिनमेतत्, उत्पन्नामतिव्य-
 पदेशेनापसार्यते अपह्रीयते, तत्त्रिपुटकावसारितमिति,
 तद्विदां संज्ञा, एवं शुल्बेन ताम्रेण शुल्बावसारितं तीक्ष्णलोहं
 रूप्यञ्च समभागमावर्तितम् । वेल्हकमिति प्रतीतं, तेन वेल्हकाप-
 सारितं, शुल्बार्थसारेण ताम्रसमभागेन हेष्ठा हेमावसारितं ।

एवमेतान्यपद्रव्याणि उक्त्वा तानि कथं वा सारद्रव्यमपसार्यत इत्ये-
 तत्प्रतिपादनायाह,—मूकमूषेत्यादि । मूकमूषासम्पुटा अर्ध-
 मूषा, पूतिकिङ्कोलोहमलङ्कारदुकमुखं^२ शुल्ब^३मुखं, कर्तरिमुखमित्य-
 परे, नालीसन्दंशौ^४ प्रतीतौ । जोङ्गनो लोहकुट्टिपेण^५ शलाकेत्यपरः ।
 सुवर्चिका लवणं दङ्कुणक्षार इति केचित्, सुवर्चिका सुवर्चिकाख्यः
 क्षारो, लवणं प्रतीतमित्यपरे । तदेव सुवर्णमिति, श्रेष्ठं
 त्रिपुटकादिना परिवर्त्य कृतकच्छायं तदेवेदं सुवर्णमिति वदन्नपहरति ।
 इति शब्दः प्रकार इत्येवंप्रकारा अपसरणमार्गा हरणोपायाः ।

तथा पूर्वप्रणिहिताः प्रक्षिप्ताः, वा विकल्पे, पिण्डवा लुका-
 भरणोपायं द्रव्यधात्वनुगमात्तच्छाया सूक्ष्मवालुकाद्रवीभूतेन रूप्येण
 सुवर्णेन वा सम्पृक्ताः पिण्डोभवन्ति, यथामधुविन्दुना सक्तपिस्ताः
 पिण्डवालुका मूषाभेदादिति पूर्वमेव न वालुकाप्रमाणसारमपहृत्य
 ततो मूषामिहति । तत्संपृक्ता वालुका तत्स्वामिप्रत्यक्षमग्निष्ठादुद्धि-
 यन्ते । विस्त्रावणमाह,—पश्चाद्वन्धनमित्यादि । पूर्वं घटितस्य यदा
 सन्धेयता तदास्योत्तरकालं सम्बन्धने संयोजनकाले न तथाऽचितक

१ “त्रिपुटकम्”—‘श-स-य-गा’नाम् ।

२ “पूतिकिदवः”—स ।

३ “बुल्लिमुखं”—स ।

४ “-शो”—‘श-स-य-गा’नाम् ।

५ “जोङ्गु” ‘स’-धृतः पाठः समीचीनः ।

प त प री क्षा यां प्रभूतघटितपत्रपरीक्षायां कृतायामिति वाक्यशेषः ।
 रूप्यरूपेण रूप्यमयेन भाण्डेन परिवर्तनं विनिमयः सुवर्णमय
 स्येत्यर्थादापन्नमिति । ए त द्वि स्त्रा व ण मि ति । हरणप्रकारः पिण्ड-
 वालुकाणां सुवर्णाकरसम्भूतानां लोहवालुकाभिस्ताम्रादि-
 लोहकारणभूताभिः परिवर्तनं विस्त्रावणं अयश्चारविषयोपहारः-
 प्रसङ्गादिहास्याभिधानमिति ।

साम्प्रतं द्विविधं संयूहादित्रिकर्मकविषयं पेटकमाह गाढश्चेत्यादि
 पोटसंश्लेषण इति पेटकः तत्र गाढा[१] ष्टकावबन्धः, अभ्युद्धा यो-
 ष्टकावबन्धरहितं स्याद्विविधोपि संयुभ्या(ह्या)दिषु क्रियते, तत्र
 संयू(ह्या)वलेप्यसंघात्यानि कृतव्याख्यानानि । स कथं क्रियत इत्याह,-
 सीसरूपमित्यादि । सीसं रूपः सोसपत्रं सुवर्णपत्रेणा-
 वलिप्तमाच्छादितं तयोराच्छादनाच्छादितयोरभ्यन्तरं पटलसंपुटेषु
 दृढसंश्लेषणार्थमष्टकेन जतुसर्जरसादिना बन्धः सङ्गाढपेटकः ।
 सीसरूपग्रहणं यावन्मात्रस्य सुवर्णस्यापहार इति ज्ञापनार्थम् । स
 प वे ति । सोससुवर्णपत्रयोगेष्टकरहितः पटलसंयुटेष्वभ्युद्धार्यः
 पेटकः अष्टकरहितत्वात्सुखं विश्लेष्यते ।

इत्येवं द्रव्यापद्रव्ययोः समप्रतिभागिके संयूहने भरणप्रकारमभि-
 धाय सारार्थभागिष्ववलेप्येषु हरणप्रकारमाह,—पत्रमाश्लिष्ट-
 मिति, सुवर्णपत्रमाश्लिष्टमिति, सुवर्णपत्रमाश्लिष्टमेकपार्श्वेन यमक-
 पत्रं बोधयतोवलेप्येषु क्रियते । एवं बहिः पलाण्यभिधाय
 गर्भमाह,—शुल्बं तारं वा गर्भः । पत्राणां सुवर्णपत्राणाम्
 सङ्गाह्येषु क्रियते । सङ्गाह्यस्यैव विशेषविधिमाह—शुल्बरूप-
 मिति, शुल्बरूपं ताम्रभाण्डं सुवर्णपत्रसंहतं बहिस्सुवर्ण-
 पत्रवेष्टितम्, बहिर्ग्रहणञ्च वक्ष्यमाणयमकशब्दादवगन्तव्यं, प्रमृष्टं
 प्रकर्षणोज्ज्वलितं, सुपार्श्वमिति, शोभनमेकमेव बहिः पार्श्वं
 यस्य तदेव शुल्बभाण्डं यमकपत्रसंहतमन्तर्बहिश्च सुवर्ण-
 पत्रावच्छादितं प्रमृष्टमिति । द्विः प्रमृष्टग्रहणं बहिरन्तश्च

प्रमार्जनार्थमिति केचित् । अपरे त्वेकपाश्चावलिप्तस्य सुपाश्वर्मिति-
संज्ञा, उभयपाश्चावलिप्तस्य प्रमृष्टमिति, प्रथमस्तु प्रमृष्टशब्दो द्वयोरपि
संशुद्धिवचनं ता म्र ता र रूप^१ श्चोत्तरवर्णक इत्यनेन न केवलं
शुद्धं तारं वा गर्भसुवर्णपत्राण्येवाच्छादनं कर्तव्यमपि तु कृष्णाय-
सभाण्डस्यापि ता म्र ता र रूपं ताप्रपत्रं रूप्यपत्रं चोत्तरावर्णकः,
तदाच्छादनमुक्तमिति । अथवा शुद्धरूपं सुवर्णपत्रसंहतमित्युक्तं
तत्किमेकान्ततस्ताम्ररूपं जात्यं सुवर्णपत्राच्छादितमित्येव कर्तव्यं
नेत्याह, ता म्र ता र रूपं च ताप्रभाण्डस्य रूप्यपत्रमुत्तमवर्णक-
स्तदाच्छादनरूपं कर्तव्यमिति वाक्ययोजना ।

तस्य परीक्षामाह त दु भ य मि ति । गाढमभ्युद्गार्यश्च पेटकद्वय .
तापनिकषेण, तथा निः शब्दे न शब्दरहितेन छेदनेनेति केचित् ।
निःशब्दे नोल्लेखनेनेत्यपरे, उल्लेखनं तंक्षामुल्लेखं तेन विद्या-
जानीयादभ्युद्गार्यस्य विशेषेण परीक्षामाह,—अभ्युद्गार्यमष्टकबन्ध-
रहितं व द रा म्ल ल व णो द का नि प्रतीतानि सा ध य न्ति,
केचित्सादयन्तीति पाठे^२ शुक्तिकोपरि कुट्टयन्तीति व्याचक्षते । इत्यय-
मपेक्षोभिहितं ।

साम्प्रतं पञ्चप्रकार पङ्क्तच्छोधनं चाह, घ न सु षि र इ ति ।
घ न सु षि रे घनश्च तत् सुषिरश्च घनसुषिरं तस्मिन्, रूपे कटकाद्या-
भरणे, न^३स्वर्णं मृत्सुवर्णं मालुका च धातुविशेषः, हिङ्गुलक-
कल्कः जातिहिङ्गुलककल्कः, तसः प्रताप्यप्रक्षितन्मध्ये व ति ष्ट ते
गाढ^४ वास्तुके घनघटितपीठबन्धे रूपे लंकरणे वालुका मिश्रं
पूर्वोक्तसुवर्णवालुकासहितं ज तु गा न्धा र पङ्क्तस्सीपदकस्त^५ सो व-

१ “रूपोत्तरवर्णक”—स ।

२ “पंतुः” इति मातृकायाम् ।

३ “न” कारो वर्जनीयोऽन्यथार्थानुपपत्तिः” ।

४ “ढङ् वास्तुके” इति पाठो मूले ‘श-स य गा’नाम् ।

५ “सीसपंक” इति पाठोऽनुमीयते ।

तिष्ठत इति । शोधनमाह तयोरिति तयोर्धनसुषिरवास्तु-
कविषयोस्तापं दाहः अपध्वंसनं^१ ताधानं^२ विशुद्धिः शोधनोपायः
स परिभाण्डो () वा रूपे वेष्टितमणिबन्धे लवणम्प्रतीतमुल्कया

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ज्वालायाऋतुकशर्करोपेतः तं कटुकशर्करया मृदु-
पाषाणजात्या सह तस्मैव तिष्ठते । तस्य शुद्धि-
वदराग्लोदकेन सह काथनं विकारान्तरमाह,—अभ्रपटलमिति
काचमणिः अष्टकेन लाक्षादिना द्विगुणवास्तुके द्विगुणा
वगाढसम्बन्धे रूपे बद्धत इति तत्परीक्षामाह,—तस्यापि हित-
काचस्थेति । तस्य मणिप्रत्युप्तस्य, सुवर्णाभरणादेरर्तितकाचमण्या-
दिमतः परिज्ञानमुदके वदराग्लोदके निमज्जतः प्रक्षितस्यैक-
देशः सीदति, अभ्रपलरहितागुरवोऽवयवाधो गच्छति^३ स
सर्वोवयवोति, पटलान्तरेषु व्यवधायकेषु सत्सु, तदन्तर्गतताम्र
पलपरिज्ञानार्थं, तदाभरणं सूच्या भिद्यते, मणयो रूप्यं सुवर्णं
च त्रयं त्रिविधां धनसुषिरा^४भरणाणां, पिङ्कः । अपहरणा-
वकाशमणयो काचमणय जात्यमणीनां, सुवर्णं चाशुद्धं शुद्धस्य
द्वितीयपिङ्कशब्द उपसंहारार्थः ।

तस्मादिति । पूर्वोक्तहरणमार्गदर्शनात् कारणाच्चतुर्णां, वज्रादि-
रूपाणां षड्जात्यादीन्धुपलाभेव बुद्धयेत, तत्र जातिरूपत्तिर्वर्णो
रागः, रूपमाकारः, प्रमाणं माषकादिपरिमाणं, पुद्गलमाभरणं
लक्षणं चित्तम् ।

१ “स” धृत—‘अपभ्यज इनन्तादानंवा’ (अपभज्य अन्यतो दानं वा) पाठोऽ
स्माकं मूले न दृश्यते ।

२ Ought to be “ताडन” ।

३ “०ट०”—स ।

४ “काचक०”—स ।

५ “न सर्वेऽवयवा इति”—स ।

६ धनसुषिराणामिति मूले ।

सम्प्रति कृतभाण्डपरीक्षाविषयांश्चतुरः परिकुटनादौ हरणोपाया-
नभिधाय व्याचष्टे,—कृतभाण्डपरीक्षायामिति, न घटिता-
लङ्कारादिपरीक्षणे पुराणभाण्डप्रतिसंस्कारे, जीर्णस्य पुनः
नवत्वापादनेन च चत्वारः परिकुटनादयो हरणोपायाः तत्र परि-
कुटनमाह, पेदकापदेशेनेति । पूर्वोक्तपेदकसदसद्भावपरीक्षण-
व्याजेन पृषितं क्षुद्रगुटिकां गुणं शकटावयवं पिदका मृद-
गलितां परिशातयति^१ । समन्ततः ताडनेन परिपातयन्ति तत्परि-
कुटनं नाम ।

द्विगुणं वास्तुकानाम्पतपुटलघटितानां रूपे भाण्डविशेषे सी स-
रूपं सुवर्णाच्छादितम् प्रक्षिप्याभ्यन्तरं सुवर्णपत्रमव-
च्छिन्दन्ति, तदवच्छेदनम् ।

धनानां धनपटितानां तीक्ष्णेन तीक्ष्णशस्त्रेण, यदु-
ल्लिखन्ति तदुल्लेखनम् ।

हरितालादित्रयान्यतमचूर्णेन कुरुविन्दं पाषाणविशेषः
तस्य चूर्णेन वा शब्दः चार्थे, वस्त्रं संयूह्य व्यामिश्र कृत्य यत्परि-
मुष्माति परिघर्षयति तत्परिमर्दनं नाम ।

तेन सौवर्णराजतानि, भाण्डानि क्षीयन्ते प्रमाणा-
द्धीयन्ते, न चैषां भग्नं भग्नं किञ्चिदपि भवति ।

तेषु परिकुटनादिषु वर्णकर्णिकापातस्योपलक्षणार्थं अनुमानमाह
भग्नेत्यादि । सद्रूपेणानुमानं भग्नस्याभग्नेन
खण्डेन धृष्ट्याधृष्टेनावयवान्तरेणैतावदेव हृतमित्यनु-
मानम् भग्नं पेदकापदेशेन शातितपृषतादिकर्मखण्डसीसरूपप्रक्षेपणा-

१ “गुटिकम्”—स ।

२ “यति”—स ।

३ “द्विगुणवास्तु”—स ।

४ “मृद”—स ।

वच्छिन्न सुवर्णपत्रावयवं घृष्टं तीक्ष्णमुखोल्लेखनैः वस्त्रसंयूहितकुस-
विन्देन वा घर्षितावयवमवलेप्यानामच्छपत्रावच्छेदितानां
यावन्मात्रं यत्तत्प्रमाणमुत्पादितमुच्छेदितं तावन्मात्र-
मन्यदुत्पाद्यतत्प्रमाणेनाष्टानुमानं कुर्यादिति वर्तते । विरू-
पाणां वा, वाशब्दश्चार्थे, विरूपाणाञ्च प्रभूतप्रक्षिप्तापद्रव्याणां रुच्य-
सुवर्णभाण्डानां सदृशेनानुमानं कुर्यादिति वर्तते । तद्यथा निष्पन्नो कटि-
सूत्रादौ प्रभूतापद्रव्यप्रक्षेपणासंहारशङ्कायामेकां कटिकामादाय तापन-
न्तनुपत्रीकृत्यादौ दहनमुदकपेषणं तप्तमुदके प्रक्षिप्य चुन्तिकयोज-
कुट्टनं बहुशः कुर्यादिति ।

आवैवप्यीश्रपगमात्^१ अनुमाने प्रयोजनं दण्डविधानमुक्तम् हि
वर्णाहीने माषकावरे पूर्वसाहसदण्ड इत्यादि । मूकमूषेत्येवमादयो
पसारणमार्गा आकरोद्भवस्याभिहितास्तद्व्यतिरेकेनात्रावक्षेप इत्येव-
मादिकं सप्तदशप्रकारं काचमाह, तत्रापक्षेपो हस्तलाघवेन कथ-
मप्यपहृत्यास्यापद्रव्यप्रक्षेपः प्रतिमानं तत्परिवर्त्तना अग्निरिति
तन्मध्ये हरणप्रयोगः । गण्डिका काष्ठाधिकरणी, भाण्ड कोपस्का-
राधिकारः, अधिकरणो विष्वस्त्रं नाराचककक्ष्या चैलकं चेल-
कम्, चोलनं कथाव्याजेनानुग्रायिनां चित्तापहरणमिति केचित् ।

१ “०ख्या०”—‘स’-धृत-८ मूले ।

२ “यावदि” त्येवमूले ।

३ “तावदि” त्येवमूले ।

४ “०भृ०” इति ‘स’-स्य पाठो-निरर्थकः ।

५ “आवैवप्यीश्रपगमादिति” पाठो युज्यते ।

६ “०व०” ‘श-स-य-गा’नाम् ।

७ “पिच्छः”—‘श-स-या’नाम् । “पिच्छः”—‘ग’स्य ।

८ “चेलमवोल्लनं”—‘श-स-य-गा’नाम् ।

९ “चेलनं जोलनम्”—स ।

अपरे तु चेह्लचोलनमित्येकमेव पठन्तो वस्त्रपेट्टलिकामाचक्षते, तेषां षोडशविधः काचः शि रः केशसंयमनकण्डूयनादि । उत्सङ्गो गुह्यप्रदेशः म क्षि का तन्निवारणव्यजेन साकधकोपदिग्धदेहावयव संश्लेषणं स्व का ये क्षास्वेदापमार्जनपुलकादिनिरूपणं दूति(ः)ध्मान- भस्त्रो द क श रा वं जलभाजन म नि घृमग्निस्थानम् काचोपहरणो- पायाः राज्ञाम् ।

विस्त्रादीनि पञ्च दूष्टलिङ्गान्याह, राजता नामिति । अत्र राजतग्रङ्गात्पूर्वं सुवर्णस्येति मन्तव्यम् । वि ज्ञं सीसादिसंसर्गसंक्रान्त- दुर्गन्धं, म ल ग्रा हि मलयुक्तं, प रु ष मश्लक्ष्णं, प्र स्ति नं कठिनं, वि व र्णं म पद्रव्ययोगादुपहतच्छायं, दू ष्ट मि ति जा नो या त् । तत्प्रतिकारश्चोक्त एवास्ति चत्तरित्यादि ।

अध्यायप्रान्ते श्लोकमाह,—ए व मि त्या दि । ए व मित्युक्तोप- संहारः, न धं प्रत्यग्रधटितं जी र्ण मि ति चिरन्तनं, वि रू पं प्रभू- तापद्रव्यदूषितं स्प री क्षे त, यथाक्तैः परीक्षणप्रकारैः सम्यगवेक्षेत । अ त्य यञ्च दण्डमेवां शिल्पानां य थो दि ष्टं यथाभिहितं वर्णहीने माषकावरे पूर्वः साहसदण्ड इत्येवमादिकं प्र क ल्प ये त् प्र क- र्षेण कल्पयेदवश्यं कुर्यादित्यर्थः । यस्मात्सम्यगधिष्ठिता अपि कारवो दस्यवोवश्यमपहरन्तीति । वार्हस्पत्यौ चात्र श्लोकौ भवतः—

“अचो र[१]ः चोरधर्माणो वणिजः कारवस्तथा ।”

तस्मात्तेषु न विश्वासः कर्तव्यो भूतिमिच्छता ॥

1 “निर्घास द्रवलिप्तः”—‘ग’ स्य व्याख्या ।

2 “प्रत्सीनः”—‘श-य’-योः; ‘प्रत्सीन’-‘स’स्य; ‘प्रत्सीत’ ‘ग’स्य इति पाठभेदाः ।

3 “अचोरः”—स ।

प्रकाशतस्करानेतान् परद्रव्यापहारिणः ।

शिष्टिपनो वणिजश्चैव राजा दण्डेन वारयेत् ॥

इति भट्टस्वामिनः प्रतिपदपञ्चिकायाम्

अथंशास्त्रटीकायाम् अध्यक्षप्रचा-

रिके द्वितीये धिकरणे,

चतुर्दशो ध्यायः ।

विशिखायां सौवर्णिकप्रचारः आदितः

पञ्चत्रिंशो ध्यायः ।

अथ पञ्चदशोऽध्यायः

कोष्ठागाराध्यक्ष इति सूत्रम्

को ष्ट मुदरं तद्ग्रहणेन तदर्धानि सर्वस्नेहधान्यक्षारलवणादीन्या-
हारद्रव्यानि गृह्यन्ते । तेषां म गा रं संप्रहं सङ्कोपायनस्थानं कोष्ठा-
गारं, तत्रनियुक्तः कोष्ठागाराध्यक्षः तद्ग्रहणेन च लक्षणया तद्यत्रापा-
रामिधानं, तदिहामिधायत इति सूत्रार्थः । सम्बन्धस्तु कोशप्रकृतिः
प्रक्रान्ता तस्याकरकर्मन्तप्रवर्तनादिभिरुत्पादनरक्षणादिकमुक्तम् । इदानीं
शरीरस्थितिसाधनत्वेन प्रधानभूतस्य धान्यादेरुत्पादनरक्षणोचितव्ययो-
पदेशादिकमभिधीयत इति । अथवा सन्निधाता कोशप्र[गृ]हं कोष्ठागारं
पण्यप्र[गृ]हं कूप्यगृहमायुधागारं बन्धनागारञ्च कारयेदिति कोष्ठागार-
करणमुक्तम् । तदध्यक्षः तद्यत्रापारो वा नाभिहितः सोभिधीयत
इति सम्बन्धः ।

तदाह को ष्टा गा रा ध्य क्ष इति । स सी ता दोन् दश पदार्थानु-
प ल भे त जानीयात्तांश्चोद्दिश्य स्वयमेव व्याचष्टे ।

सां ता ध्य क्षो प नी त इत्यादि । सी ता ध्य क्षे ण राजनि-
कृतिकर्माध्यक्षेणाधिकृतेनो प नी तः कोष्ठागारं तम्प्रवेशितः ।
स स्थ वर्णं को ब्रीह्यादिधान्यजातिः सोता, सा कोष्ठागाराध्यक्षेण
शुद्धाभिनवा च पूर्णा च प्राह्या । पि ण्ड क रः क्लृप्तः तद्यथामुना
ग्रामेणैतावद्धान्यादिकं प्रतिवर्षं देयमिति षड्भागो राजभागः, षड्-
ग्रहणम् प्रायकत्वादप्येषामपि यथा देशप्रसिद्धानाम् तृतीयचतुर्थ्यादि-
भागानामुपलक्षणार्थम् । केचित्तु षड्भागमधिकदेयभागमाचक्षते,
तच्चासत्, सीतायामेवन्तस्यां तद्भावादित्यपरे । सेनाभक्तं सेना-
समुद्योगकाले यथादेशप्रसिद्धं स्नेहतण्डुललवणादि राजदेया, व लिः
षड्भागादन्यो यथादेशप्रसिद्धो दशविंशतिबन्धादिकः, क रः प्रति-

वर्षदेयः, भाद्रपदिकवासन्तिकाद्यं पादावं, उ त्स ज्ञो राज्ञः पुत्रजन्मा-
दिषु पौरजानपददत्तमिति केचित् । शालाकादिकमित्यत्र । पा श्व-
मुचितकरादधिकग्रहणं कोशाहिं संहरेतम् । प्रभुत्वादिच्छादिगम्यमिति
केचित् । पा रि ही णि क मपकृष्टपच्यसस्यञ्च, तुषाद्यैर्विनाशित-
सस्यं दण्डाधिगम्यमित्यपरे । औ पा य नि कं तदुपयोगिकौशलिकम् ।
कौ ष्ठे य कं राजस्थापरतदाकारामाद्यत्^२, अपरे तु कौष्ठेयं ग्रामोत्पन्न-
माचक्षते, तदयुक्तम्, षड्भागग्रहणेन तस्य सिद्धत्वादेव । दशविधं
चैतद्वा ष्ट्र संज्ञम् । ननु समाहर्तृसमुदयप्रस्थापनाध्याये राष्ट्रान्तर्गत
एव बलिर्भहितः, तथा पार्श्वपारिहोणिकौषयिकानि अन्यजातय एव
विशेषे परिपठितानि तेषाम्पुनरिह पाठस्तदुत्पादितानामपि कोशागार-
प्रवेशत्वज्ञापनार्थम् ।

धा न्य मू ल्यं धान्यविक्रयहिरण्यं, को श नि र्भा^३ रः हिरण्येन
धान्यक्रयः, प्र यो ग प्र त्या दा न म् वृद्धिप्रयुक्तधान्य-
AS'. p. 94 प्रवेशः, इत्येवं त्रिविधं क्र य म् ।

स स्य व र्णा नां सस्यजातीयानाम र्घा न्त रे णा र्घविशेषेण यथा-
शालिभिः चतुर्गुणको द्रव्यग्रहणमित्ययं वि नि म यः । स एकप्रकार
एव प रि व र्त कः ।

स स्य या च नं धान्यप्रार्थनम न्य तो मित्रादेर्याचितकम् ।

त दे वे ति अन्यतः सस्ययाचनमेव वेदेहकादिपि^४ ऋद्धादिना प्र ति-
दा ना र्थ मा प मि त्य क म्भवति ।

कुट्टकादिभिः पञ्चभिः प्रत्येकं कर्मशब्दः । तत्र कु ट्ट क क र्म कुण्डलं,
रो च क क र्म मुद्गमाषादिदलनं, स क्तु क र्म यवक्षोदभर्जनं^५ कादि-

१ “कोशाभिसंहरणोक्तम्” इति पाठोऽनुमेयः ।

२ “राजस्थापिततटाकारामाद्यत् पञ्चम्” इति पाठोऽनुमेयः ।

३ “०र्हो” — ‘श-स-य-गा’नाम् ।

४ निरर्थकोऽयं पाठः । “प्रामित्यकं” इति कल्पनीयम् ।

५ “०भर्जनादिकम्” — स ।

कम्, शुक्तकर्म इक्षुरसादिसन्धानं, पिष्टकर्म गोधूमादिपेषण-
कुट्टादिकर्म, तज्जीवनेषु कुट्टादिकर्मोपजीवनेषु यदुपादेयं, द्विविधन्तै-
लपोड^१ नम् पिष्टेषु दर्दिसंज्ञां मनुष्ययज्ञकर्मकरेषु च^२ क्रिकेषु
च प्रसिद्धेषु तथेक्षू^३णाञ्च द्विप्रकारमेव, क्षारकर्म फाणितगुड-
सङ्गादिक्रिया, तज्जीवनेष्विति सर्वत्रानुवर्तते, तस्मात्कोष्ठागारा-
ध्यक्षकर्तृकाणामेतेषान्तत्तज्जीव्युपादानस्य सं^४हनि केति संज्ञा ।

नष्टप्रस्मृतादिरिति । नष्टम् अनपगतं, प्रस्मृतं
विस्मृतं, तदुभयमपि उपलभ्यं नष्टप्रस्मृतमादिशब्दादायुक्तदण्डादयः
परिगृह्यन्ते, सोयमन्यजातः ।

व्ययप्रत्यायमाह । विक्षेपेत्यादि, शेषशब्दः प्रत्येकं,
विक्षेपशेषं प्रेषितदण्डोपयुक्तशेषश्च^५ कित्सो^६ वयोगशेषमन्त-
रारम्भशेषं परिकर्माद्यभिप्रेते तद^७र्गितस्य, लघुपरिव्ययकरणा-
च्छेषमित्ययं व्ययप्रत्यायः ।

तुलामानान्तरन्तुलामानाभ्यामधिकाभ्यां प्रा^८हित्वाहीनाद्यां^९

१ 'स'-धृत-C मूले "०पोलमौड्डभुवां" ।

२ "ओष्ठेषु"—स ।

३ "ओरभ्र-चाक्रिकेषु"—'श-स-य-गा'नाम् । "ओरभ्रिको" मेष-महिष-
जीवनः—Kullūka on Manu. III. 166. "चाक्रिकै" .. तिलपिण्याकयोश्चि"—
Rājatarāṅginī, VI. 272.

४ 'स'-धृत-C मूले "इषूयाम्" ।

५ "०सिंह०"—'श-स-य-गा'नाम् ।

६ "म्वि" पाठो युज्यते ।

७ "०कित्सोपयोग०" पाठः कल्पनीयः ।

८ "गृहीत्वा" पाठो युक्तः ।

९ "हीनाभ्यां" इति कल्पनीयम् ।

दत्ते यदुत्पन्नं ह स्त पू र ण मि ति, पू गफलादिगण्यपण्यानां व्रीह्यादि-
मेयध्रान्यानाञ्च गणने माने च खरश्च[१]धान्तर उ त्क रः शलाकादि
इत्येषां व्या जी ।

प र्यु षि त मनीनसंवत्सरशेष ग्रा जि तं पुष्पताम्बूलादिदानेन
नैपुण्योत्पादितं, अन्ये तु पर्युषितग्राजितस्यैकमेव पठन्तोऽतीत-
संवत्सरोत्पन्नमनुग्राहितमिदानीमुद्ग्राहितमाचक्षते, तद् प स्था न मि ति ।

धा न्य स्ने ह क्षा र ल व णा ना मित्यधिकारः । एतेषाममध्ये
धा न्य क ल्पं सी ता ध्य क्षे व क्ष्या म इति । अनागतावेष्टनं तत्र
युक्तिरिति ।

स पि रा द यश्चत्वारः स्नेहाः ।

फा^१ णि ता दि पञ्चविधः क्षा र व र्गः । तत्र गुडखण्डशर्करयो-
र्मध्यमावस्था म त्स्य णि ड का, शेषः प्रतीतः ।

सै न्ध वा दि षड्विधो ल व ण व र्गः । तत्रोद्भेदजमूष-
रलवणं, शेषाणि प्रतीतानि ।

म धु द्विविधं, क्षुद्राभिः संचितं क्षौद्रं मृद्रीकानां द्राक्षाणां रस
मा द्वि^२ कम् ।

शुक्तवर्गमाह, इ क्षु र से त्या दि । तत्रेक्षुरसगुडमधु-
फा णि ता नि प्रतीतानि । ज म्बू प न सा नां फलरसं मे ष शृ ङ्ग
पि प्प ली मू ल ञ्च प्रतीतम् । का था भि षु त स्ते षां काथेन
मिश्रितो मा सि कः षा ण्मा सि कः सां व त्स रि को वेति काल-
भेदेन निकृष्टमध्यमोत्तमत्वं भवति । चि द्भ टं वल्लीफलं प्रतीतम् ।
उ र्वा रु कं तदेव कन्दुक मि क्षु का ण्डा दी नि प्रतीतानि, तैरभिष्टुतो^३

१ 'स'-श्रुत-C मूले "पा०" ।

२ "०द्वि०"—'स-ग' योः ।

३ "०अवसृतः"—'श-स-य-गा'नाम् ।

मिश्रितः शुद्धो वा चिद्भटादिभिरभिहित शुक्लवर्ग इति इक्षुर-
सादीनां षण्णाश्चिद्भटादीनाश्च पञ्चानां व्यस्तसमस्तानाम्प्रयोगाद्वग-
ग्रहणम् ।

फलासुवर्गमाह,—वृक्षाः स्रो वक्ष इति । गोलडादिना प्रतीतः ।
विदलं दाडिममासुं चिञ्चाफलं, करमर्दासु मलकमातुलु-
ङ्गानि प्रतीतानि । कोलं क्षुद्रवदरं प्रतीतं, सौवोरकं उदक्षु स्वा-
दुबदरश्च जक्षकन्धर्य(?) देशादिप्रतीतमधुगामुलम् आदिग्रहणात्नीः सु-
कादिप्रदर्शनार्थमित्ययं फलासुवर्गः ।

दधि प्रतीतं, धान्यासुं काञ्चिकम् । आदिग्रहणमस्तुक्त-
AS. p. 95 कादिपरिग्रहार्थमित्ययं द्रवासुवर्गः ।

कटुकवर्गमाह,—पिप्पलीत्यादि । पिप्पली मरीचश्च शृङ्गि-
बेराणि प्रतीतान्यजा^१ किरातजोरकं तिक्तकं, चिकित्सकप्रसिद्ध-
गौरसर्षपा प्रसिद्धार्थकाः, कुस्तुम्बुरुणि धान्यकं, चोरकः^२
शतपुष्पानुकारी गुच्छः दमनकमरुवकौ मारप्रतीतौ, शिप्रुः
सोहजनकः^३ मधुशिग्रुस्तद्भेद एवमधुरः, काण्डग्रहणं तन्मूल-
ग्रहणार्थमादिग्रहणं राजसर्षपकाद्युपसंग्रहार्थम् । इत्ययं कटुक-
वर्गः ।

शाकानाह,—शुल्क^४ मत्स्येति । शुल्कशब्दः मत्स्यमांसा नि
प्रतीतानि, कन्दाः पिण्डालुकसूरणादयः, मूला न्यालकशतावरिप्रभृतीनि,
फलानि वार्ताककूष्मण्डादीनि, शाकानि वास्तुकजीरकादीनि,
आदिग्रहणं षड्रसमाषविकादिपरिग्रहणार्थमित्ययं शाकवर्गः ।

१ “अजाजि” एव प्रतीतः । ‘गे’ तथा ‘स’-धृत C मूले “ञ्जी” ।

२ “शोभाञ्जन” — ग ।

३ *Trigonella Corniculata*.

४ अत्र तथा ‘स’-धृत C मूले ‘शुल्क’ — पाठः प्राजादिकः । ‘श स-व-गा’ नाम्
“शुल्क” एव श्रेयान् ।

ततो धर्मपूर्वोक्तस्नेहादिनिश्चयवर्गादर्थं मा पदर्थं दुर्भिक्षा-
भ्य'पयोगाय क्षेत्रं पौरजा न पदाना मर्थं स्थापयेत् ।—अर्थ-
मुपयुज्यते, राज्ञो महानसादिव्ययेषूपयोजयेत् । निश्चितस्य
कालासहिष्णोः प्रतीकारमाह,—न वे न चानवं विशोधयेदिति,
नवं प्रक्षिप्य पुराणप्रयोगदुर्यात् ।

किञ्च क्षुण्णादिसप्तावस्थाभेदानां वान्यानां क्रियती वृद्धिः क्रिय-
द्वाक्षयः इत्येतत्कोष्ठागाराध्यक्षेण प्रत्यक्षं कुर्वीत । ततोन्वय-
व्यतिरेकाभ्यामनुमतिः । तत्र क्षुण्णम् सकृदवह(तं) घृष्टं वतीकृत^१,
षिष्टं श्लक्ष्णं चूर्णीकृतं, भृष्टं कपालपक्षम्, आद्रं^२ तिमितं
सक्तुपिष्टादिकं, सिद्धम् राज्ञश्च समर्पयेत्, वृद्धिरूपं चयः,
क्षयो हानिः, प्रमाणमियता एवं वृद्धिक्षयप्रमाणानि स्वयं
सकृत्प्रत्यक्षीकृत्य तदनुरूपाणि तत्कर्तृभिः कर्माणि कारयेदिति ।

यद्येवं कोद्रवव्रीहिणा मर्थं सारइत्यादिवचनमनर्थकमप्रत्यक्षा-
देव तस्य गतत्वात् । तत्क्रियते यथास्थितस्वभाववेदनाय ततो
न्यथा हितान्यथाभावे हरणप्रयोगाज्ज्ञानोयादितिज्ञापनार्थम् तदाह
कोद्रवव्रीहिणा मर्थं सार इति तत्पक्षद्वयेन तण्डुलप्रस्थः सर्व-
जनसामान्योयं विधिः । राजपुत्रीणामुत्तरत्र वक्ष्यमाणत्वात् । शालीनां
कलमानां अष्टभागोनः अर्थं सार इति वर्तते । अष्टभागश्च
प्रकृतेरेव ग्राह्यः, ततश्शालिं नामाष्टसु कुटुम्बेषु कुटुम्बत्रयन्तण्डुलानां
त्रिभागो नो वरकाणां वरत्राणां, कुटुम्बत्रये कुटुम्बद्वयन्तण्डुला-
नामिति केचित् । अपरे तु वरकाणां वरपट्टानां त्रिभागोनः प्रकृतितृ-
तीयांशान्मूनः ततश्च षट्सवरकप्रस्थेषु प्रस्थत्रयमर्थेन भवति, ततः
प्रकृतितृतीयांशप्रस्थद्वाच'गमात्सारः प्रस्थो भवति मियं गूणाम -

१ “क्षुण्णप०” इति कल्पनीयम् ।

२ ‘शस'-योः “नवे” ।

३ “फलीकृतं”—न ।

४ “द्वयागः” पाठोऽनुमेयः ।

धंसार इति । अर्धग्रहणेनुवर्तमाने पुनरर्धग्रहणं विस्पष्टार्थम् ।

नवभागवृद्धिश्चेति । अष्टसप्रस्थेषु पञ्चप्रस्थन्तण्डुलानामिति, उदाकरस्तुल्यइति । उदाकरको यवनाविकाविशेषः । स शुष्कापहतः प्रियङ्गुतुल्यसारः क्षुण्णस्तुसज्जलात्बहवः प्रागवस्थाप्रमाणतुल्यसारः न किञ्चिद्दीयते यवा गोधूमाश्च क्षुण्णास्तुसज्जलावहताः प्रागवस्थाप्रमाणतुल्याः चकारादुदाहरकश्च क्षुण्णा इति । तथा तिला य वा मुद्गमाषाश्च घृष्टा दलिताः तुल्या इति वर्तते । पञ्चभागवृद्धिर्गोधूम इति, गोधूमः पञ्चभागेन वर्धते सक्तवश्च पञ्चभागवृद्धयोऽधानाभ्यः पादोना कलायचक्रसीतिकलायप्रस्थो नतच्छलक्षणचूर्णस्य कुटुम्बत्रयः ।

मुद्गमाषानामर्धपादो नाष्टभागोना च मसी शैब्यानां वल्कलस्थकादिकोशिधान्यानामर्धसारस्तुपरहितो भवति । त्रिभागोनं मसूराणां, कुटुम्बत्रये दलिते नस्तुषीकृतसारस्य कुटुम्बत्रयम्भवति ।

पिष्टभावं गोधूमादिकुटुम्बत्रयस्य पिष्टस्य कुटुम्बत्रयम्भवति । गुल्माश्च मुद्गमाषादेरर्धमर्धादिगुणः प्रस्थे षट्कुटुम्ब इति द्विगुणो यावको यवौदनं, पुलकोर्धसिद्धास्तण्डुलाः, पिष्टञ्च गोधूमादितण्डुलचूर्णं सिद्धम् ।

द्विगुणमेव कोद्रवाद्यन्नः त्रिगुणमिति सुबोधमिति ।

तिमितमार्दीकृतमपराश्रम्फलाढकीचणकादि द्विगुण-

1 “रकस्तुल्यः”—‘शग’योः । “रका तु”—य ।

2 “लादपहतः” पाठः कल्पनीयः ।

3 “शा” —य ।

4 “चमसी” —‘श-य-ना’नाम् ।

5 “शैब्यानां” —ग ।

6 “कुलत्थादिकोशिधान्यानां” —‘ग’स्य व्याख्या ।

म्भवति । तेषामेव वि कृ ढा^१ नामङ्कुरितानां म र्धं म धि क मा द्रीकृता-
द्भवति ।

पञ्च भा ग वृ द्वि स्तेषामेवापराजानां भृ ष्टा ना म्पञ्चभागो
वर्धते क ला यस्तु भृ ष्टो द्वि गु णो भवति । ला जा व्रीह्यादयो
भ रु^२ जा श्च भृ ष्टा द्विगुणा एव भवन्ति ।

तैलमाह, ष ट् कं तै ल म त सी ना मि ति षट्खतसोऽकुटुम्बेष्वे-
कस्तैलकुटुम्ब इति । शेषं सुबोधम् । नि म्ब कु शा म्र क पि त्थाद्य
पञ्च भा ग का एवादिग्रहणादेरण्डहितकादयः परिगृह्यन्ते सषपाणां
प्राधान्यात्पृथक्पाठः ।

सूत्रमाह का र्पा स क्षौ मा णा मि ति । क्षौ मः वल्कलविशेषः
AS', p. 96 पञ्च प ले सू त्र प ल^३ म्भ व ति । सूत्रप्रमाणमप्रत्यक्षतोव-
गन्तव्यमिति ।

साम्प्रतं यथाहभक्तोपयोगाय चतस्रो हस्तिनां चतस्रो मनुष्याणा-
मेवमष्टौ भागा यदाक्षिप्यन्ते । द्वादशा विशिष्यन्ते तादृशास्तण्डुलाः
क ल भा नां बालहस्तिनां भोजनार्थाः । एवं सप्तानां व्याजादीनामेकैका-
वघट्टनक्रमेणैकादशकादीनि वर्णिकान्तराणि भवन्ति । व्या लः आरोहघा-
तकौ प वा ह्य यावानकोपयोगिना ना ह्यः युद्धयोग्यः अ ष्ट कं
प त्ती ना मि ति । पत्तयः पदातयो हि न हि प्रतिपत्तिकाः, देवीकुमारा-
राजपत्न्यः राजपुत्राश्च, उत्तमप्रतिपत्तिका राज्ञस्तु स्वयमुत्तमो-
त्तमप्रतिपत्तिकस्य पञ्चसु द्रोणेषु पञ्चाढकनिष्पत्तेश्चतुर्भागप्रह-
णम् ।

कु ण्ड^४ प रि शु द्धा नां वेति पक्षान्तरमवध्यातपराव फलीकरण-

१ 'स'—स्य "विरूपाणां" पाठो भ्रान्तः ।

२ "कृजा०"—स ।

३ "पलसूत्रम्" इति मूले । 'स' धृत-*C* मूले "पलं सूत्रम्" ।

४ "अखण्ड०" इति मूले ।

५ "मन्त्रतावयवानां" इति कल्पमीयम् ।

विवेचनप रिशुद्धानां तण्डुलानां वा प्रस्थं चतुः प्रसृतिः
मगधप्रसिद्धः तच्चतुर्भागसूपः प्रसृतिप्रमाणः सूपस्य षोडशभागिकं
लवणं, चतुर्भागाः सर्पिषस्तैलस्य वा, सूपस्यैव एवमेतदे-
कमाये^१ भक्तं मध्यमप्रतिपत्तिरुसाश्रुपुरुषभोजनम् ।

अवराणां निकृष्टानां प्रस्थः षड्भागाः सूपः सूपार्धभागाः स्नेहः
तैलादिलवणं तुल्यम् ।

पादोनं स्त्रोणा मिति । सूर्यभक्तमार्यस्त्रीणामपरभक्तमपरस्त्रीनाञ्च
यथास्वस्पादोनम् ।

अर्धं बालानामिति । आर्यबालानाम् अपरबालानाञ्च स्वमर्धं
द्रष्टव्यम् ।

सम्प्रति मांससंस्कारे स्नेहादीनाम्मानियममाह, मांसपलविंश-
त्या स्नेहार्धकुडुम्बश्चत्वारि पलानि, लवणस्य पलं लवणभावे सुव-
र्चिकायवक्षारादेः पलमेव द्विधरणिक इति । धरणद्वयं कन्दूनास्पिण्य
लोमरीचिशृंगिबेराणां, धरणप्रमाणं वक्ष्यति, अष्टाशीतिः सर्वपाक्य-
माषकस्ते षोडशधारणमिति । दधश्वात्रार्धप्रस्थः षोडशपलानीत्येवं
विंशतिमांसपलानामयं योगः ।

तेनेति यथोक्तयोगे नोत्तरं त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशदादिनामार्धगुणद्वै-
गुण्यादिना व्याख्यातम् । उत्तरग्रहणं भिन्नस्याप्युपलक्षणार्थम् ।

शाकानां वास्तुकप्रभृतीनामयमेवाध्यर्धगुणा योगः तद्यथा
शाकपलविंशत्या स्नेहः पादोनकुडुम्बोध्यर्धपलकलवणमित्यादि
शुक्लाणां द्विगुणमुभयेषां मांसानां शाकानाञ्च ।

यथास्नेहत्रस्नेहस्य कुडुम्बोन्यत्र अध्यर्धकुडुम्बोन्या हस्त्यश्व-
योस्तयो रध्यक्ष इति यथास्वं हस्त्यध्यक्षेश्वाध्यक्षे च वि-

१ “यु०”—‘स’ धृत-पाठः निरर्थकः ।

२ पौतवाध्यक्षे वक्ष्यते ।

धा प्र मा णं स्नेहतण्डुलादिप्रमाणं व क्ष्या म इत्यनागतावेक्ष-
णम् ।

तत्र युक्तिर्बलीवर्दानां वाहिनामपुङ्गवानां, मा ष द्रो ण मादकच-
तुष्ट्यं, य वा ना ऊत्र पु ला कः अर्धसिद्धा^१स्तण्डुलास्तावानेव शेष म-
श्व वि धा न मि हा नु क्तं यवसाद्यभ्रविधानं तदुक्तं ग्राह्यं तत्र वि-
क ल्पः या न पि ण्डा क तु ला च क...डितंशंवलपलशतं^२ दशा ढ क-
ङ्कणकुट्टनकानाम् ।

द्वि गु ण मिदं बलीवर्दविधानं म हि षा णा मु ष्ठा णा ऊत्र ।

अर्थ द्रो ण मा ढकद्वयद्वयं माषयवानामेकैकद्वयस्य खराणां गर्दभानां
AS', p.97 पृषतानां बिन्दुचित्रमृगाणां रोहितानां बाह्यमृगाणामा ढ कं
प्रस्थचतुष्टयम् ।

एणानां कुरङ्गाणां च प्रतीतानाम् ।

अर्धा ढ क म जा नाम् ।

व्याघ्रसिंहादीनामे क भ क्ता दे कद्विसप्तकपरीक्षणाच्छे षा नु
मा नं मात्रादिनियमानुमानं का र ये त् ।

अनुनिष्पतितानामङ्गारादीनां फलवत्त्वापादनेन प्रतिपत्तिमाह, अ-
ङ्गारान्त्वानिश्चादि पाककर्मणि समुत्पन्नान् ङ्गा रा न् लो ह क र्मा न्त-
निमित्तम् ।

१ “स्निग्धाः”—स ।

२ “विशेषो घाणपिण्याक्तुला कणकुण्डक” मिति भूले पाठः । विशेषः
अश्वपेक्षया विशेष एवमुच्यत इत्यर्थः । घाणपिण्याक्तुला शुष्कस्य
तिलकल्कस्य पलशतं, दशावकं, कणकुण्डकं वा तरङ्गुलानां स्रग्मांशमिश्र-
मलं वा ।—‘ग’—स्य व्याख्या ।

३ “ग्राह्येदिति” मले ।

**ABBREVIATIONS IN THE FOOTNOTES TO
BHATTASVAMIN'S COMMENTARY.**

- शु—Shama Sastri, R.—Arthasastra of Kautilya. Mysore, 1909.
- सु—Sorabji, I. J.—Some Notes on the Adhyaksha-Pracāra, Book II of the Kauṭīliyam-Arthaśāstram.—Allahabad, 1914.
- यु—Jolly, J.—Arthaśāstra of Kaṭilya.—Lahore. Vol. I, 1923, Vol. II, 1924.
- गु—Gaṇapati Śāstri, Mahāmahopādhyāya. The Arthaśāstra of Kaṭilya.—Trivendrum, 1924.